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TO
LIONEL DAVID BARNETT
BY
HIS PUPIL
~~THE~~ AUTHOR

FOREWORD

I ACCEDE with pleasure to the request of Dr. B. A. Saletore, M.A., PH.D., that I should write a foreword to his work, *Social and Political Life in the Vijayanagara Empire*. This was the thesis accepted by the University of London for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in 1931. It is published, as it is stated, with a grant from the University of London. Dr. Saletore steers clear of the political history of the Empire of Vijayanagara and addresses himself to writing an account, mainly from epigraphical sources, from the works of foreign travellers, and, to some extent, from contemporary literature, of the social and political life of the people living in the empire. It will be seen from the actual division of chapters of the work that the author attempts to give a full picture of the life that the people led under the protection of the empire.

This would necessarily involve an account of the administration, in its various branches, and of the several administrative institutions established therefor. These administrative institutions are described in eight chapters, II to IX. The remaining nine chapters are devoted to a description of the divisions of the people, the social institutions under which they were living, the position of the Brahmans, the status of women in Vijayanagara society, and subjects of that kind. Dr. Saletore, it is clear from the book, has examined the sources exhaustively, and has made his selection judiciously. He collects his information from a large number of sources, sorts them and arranges them in a logical order and presents, on the whole, a readable account. The very extent of the subject and the vastness of detail available would baffle any effort in this direction ordinarily, but Dr. Saletore has succeeded in producing a creditable work bearing on the vast subject. The general mass of detail that is brought together and the marshalling of these in successive sections would admit of easy criticism; but taken as a whole, the work gives a correct and complete view of the life of the people under the empire during the three centuries of its fight to preserve Hindu institutions and Hindu civilization. Voluminous as the work is at first sight, let me hope that Dr. Saletore's readers would be many and that they will find both pleasure and profit in the reading of the book.

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MYLAPORE, MADRAS,
6th December, 1933.

PREFACE

IN writing this book I have endeavoured to describe the activities of the princes and people of Vijayanagara in spheres related to their political and social wellbeing. We have been interested in Vijayanagara till now only as a political experiment with its interminable wars and its perennial political factions. I have eschewed these and have, on the other hand, applied myself to the elucidation of many an interesting problem connected with the private and public life of the mediaeval rulers and their subjects in all its manifold aspects.

This has led me to adopt a treatment of the various facts relating to the history of the Empire of Vijayanagara different to the one we have hitherto been accustomed. Vijayanagara rulers and their people may be judged in terms of the actions and thought of their predecessors both in and outside Karnāṭaka. It is with this object that the following method has been adopted in the work. Classical and mediaeval Hindu theories relating to government and society have been first given followed, wherever possible, by Vijayanagara conceptions of the same. Further, the origin of the political and social institutions of the Vijayanagara princes and people has been traced to their Hoysala and Tamil antecedents, in order to bring out more clearly the historical sequence that sometimes may be said to govern the actions of the mediaeval Hindu monarchs. In this way an attempt has been made for the first time to bring before the reader classical and mediaeval Hindu theory in harmony with Vijayanagara maxims and practice; and to enable him to estimate for himself the achievements of the rulers of Vijayanagara who have so often been called custodians of the Hindu Dharma.

And in so doing evidence from all available sources has been utilized. And no source of information has been found so fruitful as the numerous epigraphical records which, far from being merely documents that "seldom yield us more than a few names and dates" contain, especially in regard to governmental and social matters, innumerable details which throw a flood of light on the internal organization of Vijayanagara. Among the many other sources of information mention may be made of the testimony of foreign travellers. Although these supplement to a very large extent the accounts of Hindu writers and of inscriptions, yet they too have been critically examined, on occasions when they appeared to me as being either extravagant or untrustworthy.

But I must confess that I have not exhausted the subject. The exigencies of examination did not permit me to deal as

thoroughly with the topic as I had originally intended when I had planned the whole work. The evidence of some foreign witnesses, for example, had to be curtailed and much matter gleaned from epigraphs and literature expunged. But the works of these foreign travellers as well as those of other writers who have left their impressions of Vijayanagara, are given in the bibliography which, as far as possible, has been brought up-to-date.

A glossary of some important fiscal and governmental terms, occurring in inscriptions and literature used in this work as well as in those sources not mentioned in the treatise, has been appended in the belief that it will be found useful. But it is by no means complete or final.

I acknowledge with pleasure my indebtedness to the following : the authorities of the British Museum ; Sir E. Denison Ross, Director, School of Oriental Studies ; the High Commissioner for India ; the Librarian, India Office Library ; Mr. H. L. T. Gonsalves, Assistant, India Office Library ; the Secretary, Royal Asiatic Society, London ; Miss F. H. Latimer, Assistant Librarian, Royal Asiatic Society ; the Rev. Henry Heras, S.J., Bombay ; Dr. M. H. Krishna, Director of Archaeological Researches, Mysore ; Mr. G. Powell ; and Dr. K. M. Ashraf, Ph. D. I am particularly indebted to Mr. C. S. K. Pathy, Lecturer in Dravidian Languages, School of Oriental Studies, for having taught me the Tamil and Telugu languages. To Dr. L. D. Barnett, M.A., D. Litt., under whose directions this work was written, I owe a deep debt of gratitude. I am all the more grateful to him for having allowed me to dedicate this book to him. I am also thankful to Dr. S. Krishnaswamy Aiyangar for writing a Foreword to my work. Finally, I must say that but for the generous endowment which the University of London made, supplemented by an equally generous contribution from another quarter, I would not have been able to publish my work. To the London University as well as to the gentleman, who unfortunately prefers to remain anonymous, I beg to convey my profound gratitude.

15th December, 1933.

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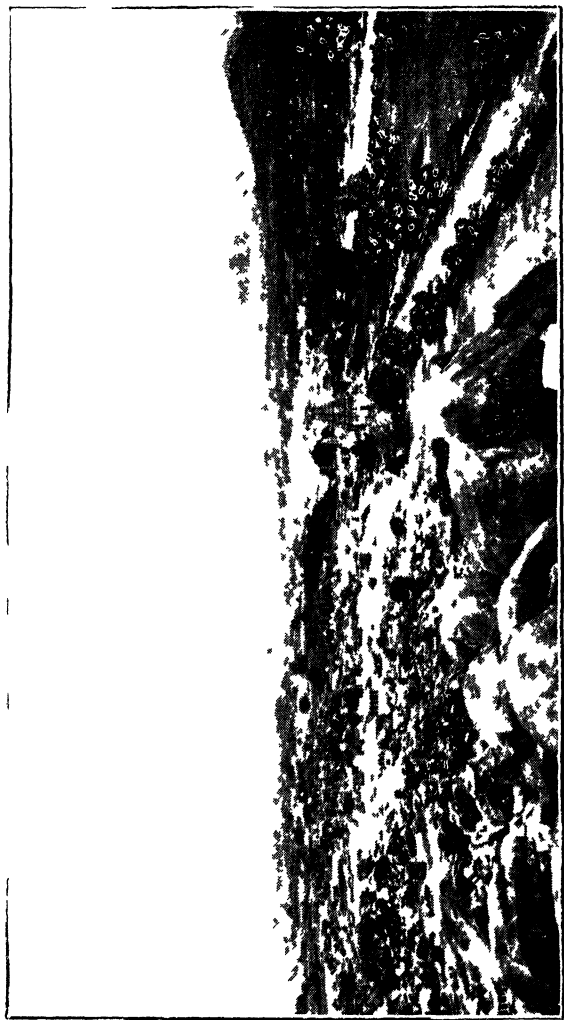
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Panoramic View of the Ruins of Vijayanagara

[Frontispiece Vol. 1.]

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL LIFE IN THE VIJAYANAGARA EMPIRE

VOLUME I

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

SECTION 1. *The Political Situation in the First Quarter of the 14th Century in Southern India*

TOWARDS the latter half of the thirteenth century A.D., there occurred a series of events which set ablaze the latent energy of the Hindu Dharma in southern India. The land south of the Vindhya, which had been left to itself for many centuries, was now suddenly confronted with a problem the magnitude of which the Hindus of southern India realized after eight and sixty years of humiliation. But at the end of that period, the smouldering forces of Hinduism suddenly swept away the growing menace, and allowed Hindu society to run on its own course for two hundred and fifty years of uninterrupted history. This is how what has been till now known as the Forgotten Empire of Vijayanagara came into being in southern India.

The terror which shook the country to its very foundation was entirely foreign; the measures adopted to meet and rout it were purely indigenous. It is in the explanation of these two that I intend to dwell on the Muhammadan conquest of southern India in the latter half of the thirteenth, and in the early years of the fourteenth, centuries; and on the remedies which the Hindus took not only to ward off the worst danger they ever had, but to stop its progress for centuries to come. The former will take us into the study of the political situation in southern India in the first quarter of the fourteenth century; and the latter into the study of the manner in which the Hindus of those

times led their lives. It is only when we have understood these two points that we shall be able to appreciate the remark that "the history of *Vijayanagar* is a subject of considerable interest in the annals of India, as the last barrier that was opposed to Mohamedan invasions, and that preserved the southern part of the Peninsula from foreign rule until a very modern period";¹ and that the Vijayanagara age marks only "a fresh instance of Hindu vitality", in the direction of creating an empire "which was at once a centre of both political and literary life."²

The political situation in southern India towards the end of the thirteenth century necessitated the disappearance of the old order of things in matters connected with the government, and to some extent, in questions related to the morality of the people. Four principal royal families held the divided sovereignty of the land south of the Vindhya; and it seemed as if every one of these failed to introduce a government strong enough to preserve Hindu society on the time-honoured principles of the ancients. The western part of India was ruled in the north by the Yādavas; the regions now known as the Kārṇāṭaka and Kanara were under the sway of the Hoysalas; the whole of the Malabar coast was within the jurisdiction of the ancient royal families of Travancore, Cochin and Calicut. On the eastern side the Kākatīyas governed the regions around Warangal; and the south of their kingdom was nominally under the equally, or perhaps more, ancient royal families of the Chōlas of Tamilakam and the Pāṇḍyas of Madura. To the Hoysalas alone, of all these, was handed down the right of holding the hegemony over southern India; and so we find that about the end of the thirteenth century, the Hoysala arms had spread over almost the whole of southern India, excepting the Malabar coast.³

It is in the nature of wise statesmanship to preserve the old order of things, and the Hoysalas, therefore, allowed the Chōla and Pāṇḍya political machinery to continue in its course. The political situation seemed to be quite normal, and it appeared as if the Hoysalas had nothing

¹ Wilson, *Preface to Ravenshaw's Inscriptions of Vijayanagar*, *Asiatic Researches*, XX. p. 1.

² Radhakumud Mookerjee, *Local Government in Ancient India*, p. 13.

³ *Archæological Survey Report for the year 1907-8*, p. 235; Caldwell, *The History of Tinnevely*, p. 44.

to fear from their enemies either from within or from without.

But their rivals in the north, the Yādavas, who vied with the Hoysalas for the sovereignty over the Karṇāṭaka on the break-up of the Kaḷachuriya Empire, failed to close their gates against greedy invaders; while the feudatories of the Hoysalas in the south, if tradition be true, called in the aid of the very enemy who was breaking the barriers of the Hindu kingdom in the north. The Yādavas, who had at one time claimed descent from "the same original stock with the Hoysalas,"¹ ruled from Dēvagiri, the modern Daulatabād, near Aurangābād. For many years, the successors of Siṅghaṇa I, the founder of the dynasty, measured swords with the Hoysalas for the supremacy over the Karṇāṭaka. In Śaka 1193 (A.D. 1271-2) Rāmachandra, the son of Kṛishṇa, ascended the throne.² He kept up the tradition of hostilities against the Hoysalas; and in Śaka 1199 (A.D. 1277) his general Sāḷuva Tikkama became famous as the "Overthrower of the Hoysala King". The Yādava sway under Rāmachandra "extended over all the dominions in the central and southern parts of the Bombay Presidency, of the dynasties that had preceded his".³

But troubles were soon to befall the Yādavas. About the year A.D. 1294 'Alā-ud-dīn, the nephew of Jalāl-ud-dīn, the Khilji Emperor of Delhi, discovered Dēvagiri.⁴ And the story that followed is easily told. The Islāmic career of conquest which began in A.D. 1000 in northern India had come to stay, so it appeared, even in southern India. 'Alā-ud-dīn returned to Delhi laden with "six hundred maunds of pearls, two maunds of diamonds, rubies, emeralds and sapphires, one thousand maunds of silver, and four thousand pieces of silk, besides," continues Firishtah, "a long list of other precious commodities, to

¹ Fleet, *The Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts of the Bombay Presidency*, p. 71. (1st ed.)

² Fleet, *ibid.*, p. 74; *Pāli, Sanskrit, and Old Canarese Inscriptions*, Nos. 6, 125, 202-5; *JRAS* (O.S.) II, p. 388; V, pp. 178, 183; Rice, *Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions*, p. 109.

³ Fleet, *Dyn. Kan. Dist.*, p. 74.

⁴ Firishtah, Briggs, *The Rise of the Muhammadan Power in India*, I, pp. 304-430; Elphinstone, *History of India*, pp. 386-408 (Cowell's ed.); Elliot, *History of India as told by her own Historians*, III, p. 201, seq. (Dowson's ed.)

which reason forbids us to give credit".¹ This event, which led to the subjugation of Dēvagiri, is ascribed by Dr. Fleet, who bases his remarks on the accounts of Firishtah, to the year A.D. 1294. Sewell would have the event placed in A.D. 1293.² There is reason to believe, however, that the Muhammadan menace had already come to the land, even as far as the Hoysala-nāḍu, fifteen years earlier; for we find in a copper-plate grant from Bēlūr dated A.D. 1278, of the times of Vīra Narasimha, who was ruling from the royal city of Dōrasamudra, that arrangements were made "to provide for the taxes which the residents from all parts in Vāraṇāsi must pay to the Turushkas".³ This compulsory levy, which was meant to eradicate an evil, only put off the danger for a worse day. The year A.D. 1278, therefore, may be taken to be the earliest date of the advent of the northern Muhammadan arms into the Karṇāṭaka proper.⁴

The forces of Islām soon spread themselves over the major portion of the land. From A.D. 1306, when Mālik Kāfūr started to subdue the Deccan,⁵ till about A.D. 1330, Dēvagiri, Warangal, and even Dōrasamudra fell. In A.D. 1309 that indomitable general invaded Warangal,—which was then under the Hindu Rāja whom Firishtah calls Ludder Deo (Rudra Dēva or Pratāpa Rudra Dēva),—by way of Dēvagiri.⁶ In the next year he marched against Dōrasamudra, the seat of the Hoysalas, and Ma'bar (i.e., the west coast) and took "Bilal Deo, Rāya of the Carnatic, prisoner".⁷ As the *Ta'rikhi-Firūz Shāhi* gives it, "at the first onslaught Bilāl Rāi fell into the hands of the Muhammadans, and Dhūr Samundar was captured. Thirty-six elephants, and all the treasures of the palace, fell into the hands of the victors".⁸ The Minister for Peace and War, it may incidentally be noted, in the year A.D. 1309 was one

¹ Fleet, *Dyn. Kan. Dist.*, p. 76; Firishtah, Briggs, *The Rise*, I, p. 310.

² Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire (Vijayanagar)*, p. 4 (1900); *Lists of the Antiquities in the Madras Presidency*, I, p. 103.

³ Rice, *Mysore Inscriptions, Bēlūr C.P.*, pp. 276-7.

⁴ Read Dr. S. K. Aiyangar, *South India and her Muhammadan Invaders*, pp. 69-73. Dr. Aiyangar places the first irruption of the Muhammadans into the Dekkan in A.D. 1296, p. 68.

⁵ Firishtah, Briggs, *The Rise*, I, p. 365, seq.; Fleet, *Dyn. Kan. Dist.*, p. 76.

⁶ Firishtah, Briggs, *The Rise*, I, p. 371.

⁷ Firishtah, *ibid.*, p. 373.

⁸ Elliot, *Hist. of India*, III, pp. 203-4.

Dēvappa Hariappa, the *sarvādhikāri* of Haḍavalike-nāḍ.¹ And the ruler who suffered the ignominious defeat was Ballāla III. That the Hoysalas received a crushing blow on this occasion there can be no doubt.² An inscription dated A.D. 1313 speaks of Ballāla Rāya, son of Vīra Ballāla III, entering the city from Delhi, and of the remission of all the taxes by the king as a mark of universal rejoicing. "When Pratāpa Chakravarti Hoysaṇa Vīra Ballāla Dēvarasa was ruling a peaceful kingdom, after the Turuka war, on the occasion of his son Vīra Ballāla Rāya, from Dilli entering the city on May 6th, 1313 (*Pramādhisaṁvasarada Jēshṭha-śudha-dasamiyalli*), he released the taxes, old and new, and those for destruction and injustice in Chikka Kūḍali and Hanasavāḍi, belonging to the god Rāmanātha of Kūḍali".³

Meanwhile, the Muhammadan arms, which had devastated the whole of western India and a very large part of southern India, were called into requisition by the once-feudatories of the Hoysalas, the Pāṇḍyas of Madura. These over-lords of Madura set an example that was to be the bane of the country for centuries to come. "Sundara, the son and murderer of Kales-Dēva (i.e., Kulaśekhara) gained the throne of the Pāṇḍya in A.D. 1310 by defeating his brother, Vīra, and being defeated by him later, fled to Delhi to bring in Muhammadan intercession on his behalf".⁴ Little did Sundara Pāṇḍya realize that the foreigners into whose hands he was thus playing himself, were a people who would not rest content with sending a mere contingent to the south. Mālik Kāfūr, now that another golden opportunity was given him for the subjugation of the whole of the south, rapidly turned his attention to the little principality of the Pāṇḍyas in the extreme south of the peninsula. After subduing Ma'bar, where he destroyed a Golden Temple, and beat "two Rāis",⁵ he entered the Pāṇḍya land,⁶ where at "Sett Bund Rameswar" he set up

¹ *Epigraphia Carnatica*, VII, Sh. 19, p. 13.

² A.S.R., 1907-8, p. 235; S. K. Aiyangar, *South India*, pp. 93-4.

³ E.C. VII., Sh. 68, p. 26.

⁴ Krishnamacharlu (referring to Sewell), *The Indian Antiquary*, LI., p. 231; S. K. Aiyangar in Satyanatha Iyer, *The Nayaks of Madura*, Intr., p. 5; S. K. Aiyangar, *South India*, pp. 69, 95-7.

⁵ Elliot, *Hist. of India*, III, p. 204.

⁶ S. K. Aiyangar in Satyanatha, *Nayaks*, Intr., p. 5. But according to Barani, the Muhammadan general returned to Delhi early in A.D. 1311. Elliot, *ibid.*, III, p. 204.

a mosque.¹ A Muhammadan Viceroy was established at Madura,² and the victory of the Muhammadans over the Hindus seemed complete.

The Hoysalas, realizing the immensity of the danger from the northern side, where their traditional enemies, the Yādavas, had completely succumbed to the Muhammadans in A.D. 1312, had now recourse to a measure which in the end proved beneficial to the Hindu cause. Out of sheer political necessity they continually shifted the seat of their government. From the year A.D. 1318 till A.D. 1343, Hoysala Vīra Ballāla III had a moving capital. In A.D. 1318 he was at Aruṇāsamudra³ but the next year he was at Dōrasamudra.⁴ In A.D. 1327 his worst fears were realized, for in that year Dōrasamudra was practically demolished.⁵ In A.D. 1328 Uṇṇāmalepaṭṭaṇa, called in one inscription Uraṇṇāmalepaṭṭaṇa (Tiruvaṇṇāmalai in the South Arcot district), was the capital.⁶ Driven from his home, Ballāla III was going to justify one of the titles he had—*Vīra*—by waging war with the enemy still. This can be made out by an inscription of A.D. 1330 which says that for the success of the arms and sword of Vīra Ballāla in that year a grant was made for the god Kēśava Perumāḷ of Kundāṇi in order to provide for the expenses of the festival in the month of Aṇṇasi.⁷ In the same year he was at his *nelevidu* Virūpākshapaṭṭaṇa.⁸ The next year he was again at Aruṇāsamudra.⁹ In about A.D. 1333 the Hoysala government was at Hosabēṭṭa.¹⁰ From A.D. 1334 till A.D. 1336 Ballāla was at Dōrasamudra.¹¹ The year A.D. 1339 saw

¹ Firishtah, Briggs, *The Rise*, I, p. 374. Briggs identifies this place with "a point of that name in Canara, south of Goa, and not that at 'Adam's Bridge,' on the Gulf of Mannar." *Ibid.*, p. note.

² Satyanatha, *Nayaks*, p. 2. Gopinatha Rao in his Introduction to *Madhurāvijayam* says that the Sultans of Madura "issued even coins of their own. One of these coins bears on its obverse the words 'Ahsan Shah 738' (of Hijra, i.e., A.D. 1377-8) and on the reverse 'Al Husainiyyu'", p. 29. Cf. Tufnell, *Hints to Coin Collectors*, pp. 26-7; *Epigraphia Indica*, VI, p. 324.

³ *E.C.*, IX, Intr., pp. 22-3. Cp. 73, p. 146.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Cp. 12, p. 138.

⁵ *A.S.R.*, 1907-8, p. 235; *Bombay Gazetteer*, I, pp. 509-10.

⁶ *E.C.*, IX, DB. 14, 18, pp. 63-4; Dv. 1, p. 74; Dv. 60, p. 81; Ht. 124, p. 104; in Dv. 60, it is called Uraṇṇāmalepaṭṭaṇa, p. 81.

⁷ *E.C.*, IX, An. 75, p. 117.

⁸ *E.C.*, V, Ak. 66, p. 135.

⁹ *E.C.* IX, Cp. 71, p. 145. Rice locates this place in the neighbourhood of Aruṇāchala or Sōṇāsaila or Tiruvaṇṇāmalai. Intr. p. 22.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, NI. 9, p. 32.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, Cp. 7, p. 137, Bn. 110, p. 22.

him at Viravijayavirūpākshapura.¹ In about A.D. 1340 he was at Hosanāḍu,² which he soon exchanged for Unṇāmale-paṭṭaṇa where he still was in A.D. 1342.³ Then in that year he again came to Virūpākshapura, or, as an inscription would have it, Virūpākshapāda.⁴ In A.D. 1343 he returned to Unṇāmale.⁵

Thus did the last prominent figure in Hoysala history, who seems to have ruled till A.D. 1343,⁶ suffering a disastrous defeat at the hands of the enemy, in his own way prepare the ground for some officers under him to gather strength against the common enemy. For with this constant changing of the last Hindu centre, the attention of the Muhammadans must have been considerably diverted.⁷ And the latter, although they had subjugated Warangal and Dēvagiri, routed the Hoysala forces in Dōrasamudra itself, and successfully intervened in the affairs of the Pāṇḍyan princes, did not succeed in wiping out completely all traces of the Hindu Power. As long as the Hoysalas held their own, so long did Hindu India remain. Whether or not the Muhammadans would have made a final attempt to crush the last stronghold of the Hindus is not certain; for about the year A.D. 1310 the minds of the Muhammadans in northern and central India were engrossed in

E.C., IX, Ht. 43, p. 92.

Ibid., DB. 43, p. 68.

Ibid., Bn. 21, p. 7; Bn. 24, p. 8; Bn. 129, p. 24; Ht. 147, p. 108; Dv. 46, p. 79; Dv. 54, p. 80; *A.S.R.* for 1907-8, p. 235, op. cit.

E.C., IX, Dv. 21, p. 76.

Ibid., Bn. 41, p. 10.

Rice places his death on the 8th of September 1342, in a war against the Turushkas at Beribe: *E.C.*, VI, Intr., p. 18; Kd. 75 of A.D. 1367. The name of the battle should be Tiruchiranāpalli, as Dr. S. K. Aiyangar correctly reads it. *E.C.*, VI, Kd. 75, text, p. 73; *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*, XI, p. 22, n. Mr. Kṛishṇa Sāstri says the date was A.D. 1343. *A.S.R.* for 1907-8, p. 235; *Epigraphical Report for the Southern Circle* for 1906, para. 51. According to Bn. 41 (*E.C.*, IX, text p. 19) Vira Ballāla was still ruling in A.D. 1343. Dr. S. K. Aiyangar agrees with Rice. *S. India.*, p. 69.

⁷ The fact of Ballāla III having changed his capital was understood in an unfavourable light by the late Mr. Kṛishṇa Sāstri. He writes: "Perhaps the change of capital by Ballāla III from Dhōrasamudra to Tiruvaṇṇāmalai was due not only to the fear of the Muhammadans, but also to the rising power of his feudatory chiefs Harihara I and Bukka I" (*A.S.R.* 1907-8, p. 236). The Rev. Heras comments on the above: "This is a totally unfounded supposition contradicted by the above facts" (*Beginnings of Vijayanagara History*, p. 68, note 2), and adduces in proof of what he says the same evidence from inscriptions which has been secured by independent but identical reasoning in this chapter. *B.A.S.*

domestic affairs which proved the ruin of their dominion in the land south of the Kṛishṇā.

But before the narrative of the break-up of the Muhammadan power in the extreme south is taken up, it is worth while to say something about the effect of the Muhammadan conquest on the people of southern India. In A.D. 1318 the news of the inhuman punishment meted out to the last of the Yādavas, Haripāla,¹ must have caused widespread consternation in the Hindu world. This terror was heightened by the tidings of the fall of the famous temple at Madura. The entry of the *Mlechchhas*, as the Muhammadans were called in those days, into Madura marked at once the height and decline of their dominion in southern India. The immediate result of the destruction of the temple was the shifting of the famous deity of that ancient city. The person into whose hands the custody of the image was given was no less than the renowned scholar Vēdānta Dēśika.² The Muhammadan conquest of Madura naturally had very bad consequences for the Hindu population. The *Pandyan Chronicle* relates that the proper tutelary deity of Madura went into the Malayālam country. Then the wall of the temple, the fourteen towers on it, and the streets inside were destroyed. The shrine of the god, the small choultry, and the great choultry escaped.³

A more detailed account of the deplorable state into which Madura fell is given by the strange woman who presented Kumāra Kaṁpaṇa, the eldest son of Bukka, with the divine sword which had been the heir loom in the royal Pāṇḍyan family. We have to read the remarkable poem *Madhurāvijayam* written by Kumāra Kaṁpaṇa's talented queen, Gaṅgādēvī, for an account of this. The hero Kumāra Kaṁpaṇa was one day accosted in the following strange manner by an unknown lady: "O King! The place now known as Vyāghrapuri (Chidambaram, Perumparaṅguliyūr) has become truly so, for tigers inhabit it now where men once dwelt; the *vimāna* (the dome of the central shrine) of

¹ Firishtah, Briggs, *The Rise*, I, p. 389; Sewell, *For. Emp.*, p. 4; Elliot, *History of India*, III, p. 215.

² Gaṅgādēvī, *Madhurāvijayam*, Intr., p. 26 (Edited by Harihara and Srinivāsa Sāstri; Intr., by T. A. Gōpinātha Rao); Tatacharya, *Vedānta Deśika*, pp. 17-19 (Madras, 1911).

³ Taylor, *Oriental Historical Manuscripts*, I, p. 35; Heras, *The Aravidu Dynasty of Vijayanagara*, p. 101.

Srīraṅgam is so dilapidated that now it is the hood of the Ādisēsha alone that is protecting the image of Raṅganātha from the falling debris. The Lord of Gajāraṇya (Tiruvānikkā, Jambukēśvaram near Srīraṅgam), who once killed an elephant to obtain its skin for his garment, has now again been reduced to this condition, because he is stripped bare of all the clothing; while the *garbha griha* (central shrine) of many another temple is crumbling, its *maṇḍapa* over-grown with vegetation and the wooden doors of the temple eaten up by white ants. Where there resounded once the joyous music of the *mṛidaṅgam* (a kind of drum), there is heard at present the howl of the jackal that has made it its abode. The river Kāvērī, that was curbed by proper dams and flowed in regular channels, has begun to run in all directions. In the *agrahāras* where the smoke issuing from the fire offerings (*yāgadhūma*) was largely visible and in which the chant of the Vēdas was everywhere audible, we have now the offensive smelling smoke issuing from the roasting of flesh by the Muhammadans and the harsh voice of these ruffians alone is heard there. The beautiful cocoanut trees which were gracing the gardens surrounding the city of Madura have been cut down by these intruders, and in place of these, we see plenty of *śūlas* (iron tridents set before some minor local deities) with garlands made by stringing human heads together, resembling and recalling in a remote manner the cocoanut trees. The water of the river Tāmbraparṇī which used to be rendered white by the sandal-paste rubbed away from the breasts of youthful maidens who were bathing in it is now flowing red with the blood of cows slaughtered by these giant sinners. . . . O Sovereign! Once upon a time the divine Viśvakarma, gathering the splinters from the weapons of all the Dēvas and melting them together, shaped this strange sword and presented it to Paramēśvara for gaining victory over the *daityas*. By performing a severe penance, one of the Pāṇḍya kings obtained it from the Lord Paramēśvara. With the help of this divine sword the descendants of his race continued to rule the kingdom prosperously for a very long period; but by a misfortune, the princes of the Pāṇḍya dynasty lost the virility of their sires. Agastya, having secured this remarkable sword, presents this now to you. By wielding this weapon, you will attain unabating vigour and the weapons of the enemy will become

powerless against you. Just as Kṛishṇa slew Kāṁsa in Madhurā in olden times, O King! do you proceed now to the southern Madhura, and slaughter the Mussulman king, the enemy of the world, and set up several pillars of victory on the bridge of Rāma (between the mainland and the island of Rāmēśvaram). Then, during your administration of the south, you shall also build a strong dam across the Kāvērī, and make her flow in a manner useful to the agricultural population."¹

The Muhammadans at this time were beset with tremendous difficulties. The seeds of disunion were already sown in the later years of 'Alā-ud-dīn Khiljī. The rise of Mālik Kāfūr, the consequent split among the Muhammadans into the rival camps of the "Amīrs of the New Mussulmans", and "Amīrs of the Old", the revolt of Mālik Yakkhahi against the Sultan, the plots of Khusrau Khān, leading to the Darwari revolt,² the failure of the Prince 'Aluf Khān to capture Warangal for the first time,³—all these showed the danger that was ahead, when the air was suddenly lit up with the flames of widespread revolt in the Empire of Muhammad Tughlaq.⁴ The career of conquest of the Muhammadans was suddenly stopped by the Muhammadans themselves, who offered to the north Indian power insurmountable barriers firstly in the kingdom of the Sultanate of Gulbarga; and when it fell, in the four principalities into which it was broken up.⁵ Thus the central authority at Delhi was hindered from coming to the rescue of the southern Sultanate of Madura in times of dire need.

But the Muhammadans would not yield without one more struggle; and the Hindus would not rest in peace without another bid for independence. In A.D. 1338 Muhammad Tughlaq sent an army against his own nephew Bahā-ud-dīn, also known as Khūr Sarīf, who had been placed over the Government of the Deccan, with his capital at Sagar, but who had now rebelled against the Emperor. Khūr Sarīf fled to the court of the Hindu Rāja of Kāmpīla, with whom he had maintained friendly relations. The Imperial army, it was evident, was driving its own

Madhurāvijayam, Intr., pp. 10-13.

Elliot, *Hist. of India*, III, p. 229, seq.

Firishtah, Briggs, *The Rise*, I, pp. 403-4.

Elliot, *ibid.*, III, pp. 254, 258, seq.

Elliot, *Numismata Orientalia*, p. 90.

men into the Hindu camp. Another force was sent against the rebel, who now took shelter at the court of "Bilal Dew" (i.e., the Hoysala king at Dōrasamudra).¹ It was to the Hindu interest that a bid for independence should be made under cover of a most un-Hindu-like act, sanctioned neither by international usage nor by ancient practice. The Ballāḷa Rāya, who can be no other than Vīra Ballāḷa III, delivered the refugee into the hands of the army of Muhammad Tughlaq.² The old Hindu monarch, who had tasted the wrath of the Delhi Sultan about eleven years ago, sacrificed the interests of a royal guest for the cause of his religion and country; and thus was the Sultan made to believe that his southern dominions were still under a spell of tranquillity.

Meanwhile, the sovereignty over the south was imperceptibly changing hands. The old royal house of the Hoysalas was being replaced by the new one of the Kurubas. The transference of power took place so indiscernibly that neither the Sultan of Delhi nor his Viceroy at Madura ever realized that a small family of five brothers, guided by the profound wisdom of two ascetics, and almost with the sanction of the Hoysalas themselves, was laying the foundation of the mightiest Hindu Empire southern India had ever seen. The Hindu kingdom of the Hoysalas, however, was destined yet to linger on. In A.D. 1340 a grant refers to the *yuvarājābhishēka* ceremony of Prince Vīra Virūpāksha Ballāḷa by Vīra Ballāḷa III himself.³ This event took place at Hosapaṭṭaṇa. But in the same year Ballāḷa III seems to have given prominence to a man who was to be, in all likelihood, the prime-factor in the struggle against Islām. In that year the *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara*, Master of Four Oceans, *Arirāya-vibhāḍa*, *Bhāshege-tappuva-rāyara-gaṇḍa*, Vīra Hariappa Oḍeya was ruling the kingdom of the world, while the government of the kingdom of Kukkala-nāḍu was given over to Mayilaya Nāyaka under him.⁴

The mention of Hariappa as a *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* presupposes that he was under Ballāḷa III, although in this

¹ Firishṭah, Briggs, *The Rise*, I, pp. 418-19.

² *Ibid.*, I, p. 419.

³ E.C. IX, Bn. 111, p. 22, text p. 40.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Nl. 19, p. 33. Cf. Heras, *The Beginning*, p. 67.

incomplete and illegible inscription the name of the overlord is not given. This assumption is supported by the fact that Ballāla III not only performed the *yuvarājābhishēka* ceremony of his son, the future Ballāla IV in the same year A.D. 1340, but lived to fight another war against the Turukas in A.D. 1342 in which, as narrated above, he lost his life. The absence of the sovereign's name in the inscription may be explained by saying the Hariappa Oḍeya was perhaps empowered to issue grants in his own name.

He was not the only high officer who was given this privilege. In A.D. 1345 the *Mahānāyakāchārya*, *Bhāshege-tappuwa-rāyara-gaṇḍa*, Vīra Māji Hiriya Pemmaya Nāyaka granted land to Raṅganātha Bhaṭṭa's son Bhavbhūti Jāla in Eḷahaṅka-nāḍ as an *agrahāra* free of imposts.¹ Vīra Māji Pemmaya Nāyaka does not mention his overlord. That the title *Master of the Four Oceans* assumed by Harihara in A.D. 1340 does not suggest to us the independent position of that officer under Ballāla, can be made out by the course of future events, and by a study of the relationship which existed between Harihara and the Hoysala family. We may suppose that this title, which, along with the two others, *Arirāya-vibhāḍa* and *Bhāshege-tappuwa-rāyara-gaṇḍa*, formed the rightful beginning of the laudatory names of his successors, must have been given to him as a distinction for some act of personal bravery about which we know nothing at present. For it will be seen that in the year A.D. 1346 Harihara, on his assumption of royal power, will call himself Master only of three Oceans,—the Northern, the Western, and the Eastern—and not as he styled himself in the year A.D. 1340. It would not be far wrong to suppose that this Harihara was the same Dēvappa Hariappa, who figured as the Minister for Peace and War in the year A.D. 1309 on the eve of the destruction of Dōra-samudra.² It is quite likely that in view of the proposed part he was going to play in the great struggle, he had exchanged the ordinary *Dēvappa* for the more fitting *Vīra*. However that may be, as far as the ruling powers in southern India were concerned, there was nothing in the air to show that the glory of the Hoysalas was going to be eclipsed by the rising splendour of another family. The credit of creating an opposition to Islām is given by most writers

¹ E.C., IX., Dv. 3, p. 74.

² *Supra*, p. 5.

to people who were not Karnāṭaka by birth. But whether or not the stalwart supporters of the Hindu Dharma were of Karnāṭaka origin,—a question which will be discussed presently,—the Hoysalas saw no reason whatsoever for obstructing the members of the new family in carrying out the great duty which these latter had imposed upon themselves. This apparent indifference on the part of the Hoysalas was not without foundation.

SECTION 2. *The Needs of the Times*

THE question of the race and nationality of those who led the Hindu confederacy was secondary to the question of the vital needs of the times. The first and foremost need was an organization that “would keep the aggressive Muhammadan efforts confined to the northern side of the Krishnā”.¹ The necessity of stemming the tide of foreign domination was linked with the equally difficult problem of creating a strong government. But since neither men nor money could be brought together for the maintenance of any kind of stable political machinery, there arose the third great need of preserving the Hindu society, its traditions, and its ancient Dharma from the ravaging influence of the new civilization. Hence we find this age to be an era made memorable because of the conquests of more than one mighty king; a period of intense literary life as represented by the famous Sāyaṇāchārya and his school; and by Vēdānta Dēśikāchārya, the renowned Vaishṇava scholar and poet;² and an epoch of religious excitement and moral awakening when the “teachings of Sankara, Rāmānuja, and Madhwāchārya; the doctrines of Vēdānta, *Adwaita*, *Dwaita* schools; the creed of the *Jaṅgamas* or *Lingāyats*, etc., led to interminable discussions, all urging their respective tenets with a zeal”³ which, though it showed itself at first in unwarranted “persecution of the Jainas and other sects, especially their extirpation of the Buddhists”,³ still lived to create for centuries to come, chiefly through

¹ S. K. Aiyangar, *Some Contributions of South India to Indian Culture*, pp. 299-300.

² Mookerjee, *Local Government*, p. 13; R. G. Bhandarkar, *A Peep into the Early History of the Dekkan*, p. 73 (1895).

³ Elliot, *Num. Orient.*, p. 92.

the timely intervention of the royal mediator, Bukka I and the unrecorded influence of the learned minister, Vidyāranya, an atmosphere of good-will and harmony which, when all other things are considered, was perhaps the greatest heritage which the Vijayanagara monarchs have given to the country.

The times craved for a leader, and a blow was struck in the name of religion and country by five brothers acting under the influence of a great ascetic. These were Harihara, Kaṁpa, Bukka, Mārappa, and Muddappa, and were the sons of one Saṅgama.¹ Bukka in the centre, Mārappa in the west, Kaṁpa in the east, and Harihara in the north-west, with the aid firstly of Kriyāsakti, and then of Vidyātīrtha, and then again of Mādhavāchārya Vidyāranya, directed affairs for the liberation of the Hindus from the Muhammadan yoke.² From the centre Bukka was planning the subjugation of the south. For the story of the struggle against the southern Sultanate of Madura, we have to rely on Hindu sources like the *Madhurāvijayam*, the *Kōyiloḷugu*, the *Rāmābhyudayam*, the *Sāluvaabhyudayam*, the *Jaiminī Bhāratamu*, the *Varāhapurāṇam*, and the *Pandyan Chronicle*. The *Madhurāvijayam* relates that the king Bukka, after advising his son, the elder Kaṁpa, on the bearing suitable to his princely rank, sent him to the south, first against Sambuvarāya, the ruler over the Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam, then against the Vanyarājas, and, finally, against the Turushkas of Madura.³ The young commander gradually cut off all help which the southern Sultan might otherwise have received from the enemies of the rising Hindu power. He was, as narrated in the legend, enabled to do this chiefly through the aid of the divine sword which the strange woman presented to him. The conquest of the Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam was accomplished in about Śaka 1282-83⁴ (A.D. 1360-1), and in ten years' time the Muhammadan governor at Samayavaram (Kaṇṇanūr),

¹ Rice, *Mysore and Coorg*, p. 112; *Ep. Ind.*, III, p. 32; *E.C.*, III, Intr., pp. 21-2.

² Butterworth and Venugopala Chetty, *Inscriptions in the Nellore District*, II, pp. 789-90; *Madhurāvijayam*, Intr., p. 31. A.S.R. for 1907-8, pp. 237, n. (1), 239-40; Heras, *The Beginnings*, p. 93. seq.

³ *Madhurāvijayam*, Intr., pp. 5-6; Canto, III, vv. 34-44, pp. 24-6.

⁴ *E. Report for the Southern Circle for 1901*, No. 250; *Madhurāvijayam*, Intr., p. 19.

a place six miles north of Srīraṅgam, was defeated.¹ It did not take a long time to conquer Madura, which was recovered by the Hindus in Saka 1293.²

The story of the destruction of the Muhammadan outpost at Samayavaram is thus narrated in the great Tamil poem *Srīraṅgam Kōyilolugu* :

“ . . . Gōppanārya, the Brāhmaṇa general of Kaṁpaṇa, was placed by his master in charge of the Province of Seṇji (Gingee). He was a Srīvaishṇava by persuasion, and belonged to the Bhāradvāja gōtra, and the Āpastambha sūtra. While on one occasion when he had gone to Tirupati on a pilgrimage, he found in the central shrine of the temple of Veṅkatēśa on the Tirumala hill an additional bronze image, and on questioning about it, he learnt that it was the image of the God Raṅganātha of Srīraṅgam, which, after being taken away from that place shortly before the Turushkas entered Srīraṅgam to Tirunārāyaṇapuram by way of Jōtishkuḍi, Tirumāliruṇjōlai, (Aḷagarkōyil), Kōlikkūḍu (Calicut), and Puṇṅanūr, was kept for some time at Tirunārāyaṇapuram (Mēlukōṭe), and then finally taken to Tirupati Tirumala. On hearing this account from the priests, Gōpaṇṇa induced them to remove the image to his capital, and keep it in *pūjā* there until such time as the Mussulmans were driven out of Srīraṅgam. The priests permitted him to do so, he took it, set it up temporarily in the beautiful rock-cut shrine of Raṅganātha on the hill of Siṅgavaram, a suburb of Seṇji, and arranged for the conduct of the *pūjā* and offerings.

“The Chief of the Mussulmans who were left behind at Srīraṅgam stayed for some time in the temple of Raṅganātha, but finding his health suffering by his stay in the island of Srīraṅgam, he removed his quarters to Samayavaram (Kaṇṇanūr), situated at a distance of six miles north of Srīraṅgam, fortified that place with the stones obtained by demolishing one of the outer enclosures of Srīraṅgam, and was living there. At this time a Kāṇiyāla Brāhmaṇa, named Siṅgappirān, of an adjoining village, through the influence of a Hindu dancing-girl of Srīraṅgam, who had entered into intimacy with Mussulman chief solely with the object of saving the temple from destruction, secured

¹ *Madhurāvijayam*, Intr., p. 29.

² *Ibid*; *Ep. Ind.*, VI, pp. 322-31.

a post in the service of the Muhammadan chief, and was continuing to discharge his duties apparently faithfully to his new master. As soon as the news of the establishment of a powerful kingdom at Āneguṇḍi (Vijayanagar), the conquest of the Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam by the representatives of that kingdom, and the establishment of a gubernatorial seat at Seṇji by a Vaishṇava Brāhmaṇa reached the people of Srīraṅgam, Tirumaṇattūn-nambi, the son of Siṅgappirān, despatched Uttama-nambi, one of the *Sthalattār* to Seṇji to inform Gōpaṇārya that he would be communicating to the Governor news of the affairs of the Mussulmans from time to time, and that he should be prepared to start out with his army to crush the Muhammadans when the proper opportunity was intimated to him. Thus, then, was established communication between Seṇji and Samayavaram. Finally in Śaka 1293, just 10 years after Kaṁpaṇa occupied Conjeeveram, an invitation was sent to him by Tirumaṇattūn-nambi to march against the Muhammadans in Samayavaram and Srīraṅgam, who had degenerated by drink and debauchery, and become thoroughly powerless to resist an attack." Gōpaṇārya proceeded against Srīraṅgam, crushed the Mussulmans, and on the 17th day of Vaikāsi, in the year Paritāpi, of the Śaka 1293 (A.D. 1370-1), reset up the image of Raṅganātha with great *éclat*. On this occasion old Vēdānta Dēśika returned also to Srīraṅgam from his retreat at Satyamaṅgalam, and praised Gōpaṇārya in two Sanskrit verses; these were engraved on the eastern wall of the first *prākāra* of the Raṅganātha temple.¹ The person, it is surmised, who suffered defeat and death at the hands of Kaṁpaṇa "must be the successor of Aḥsan Shāh".²

The people heard the news of the downfall of the enemy with great joy and attributed to gods what men had failed to do. Thus the story of the opening of the doors of the Madura temple and what the people saw there, is narrated in the *Pandyan Chronicle*: "During these Mahomedan days, in the *Virothikiratu* year, of the era of *Salivahana* one

¹ *Srīraṅgam Kōyiloḷugu* quoted by Gopinatha Rao in his Introduction to *Madhurāvijayam*, pp. 25-9; Taylor, *O.H. MSS.* II., pp. 17, 111; *A Catalogue Raisonée of the Oriental MSS.* III., p. 439; 18 of 1899; Heras, *Aravidu*, p. 105; S. K. Aiyangar, *South India*, p. 116.

² Gopinatha Rao, *Madhurāvijayam*, p. 29; *Ep. Ind.*, VI., p. 324, op. cit.

thousand two hundred and ninety-three, the general of the King of Mysore, named *Kampanudiaver*, a native of *Carnata*, having conquered the *Mahomedans*, took possession of the kingdom. He opened the *Siva* and *Vishnu* temples, which had been locked-up, (throughout the country). He opened the god's temple at *Madura*; and obtained a personal view of the god. Things were found precisely as on the day when the temple was shut: the lamp that was lighted on that day, the sandal wood powder, the garland of flowers, and the ornaments usually placed on the morning of festival days, were now found to be exactly as it is usual to find them on the same evening of such festival days. The general seeing this miracle, was glad; struck his eyes and with great piety made the customary offering; he gave many villages to the temple, and many jewels, and established ordinances for the regular performance of worship. He (the general), with his son *Yembanudiaver*, and his son-in-law *Porkashudiaver*, ruled the kingdom thirty-three years, from *Virothikirathu* to *Sitterabanu* year. These last two also gave many jewels to the *Siva* and *Vishnu* temples, and ordered the sacred services to be conducted".¹ Kumāra Kaṁpaṇa had saved the honour of the land; and there is no wonder, therefore, in the people calling him by the name of the province from which he hailed—Kaṁpaṇa of Kaṁṇāṭaka.²

While Kaṁpaṇa was shaking off the shackles of slavery in the south,³ and Kriyāsakti, Vidyātirtha and Vidyāraṇya were advising the young warriors as to the mode of administration, the Hoysala kingdom had already disappeared under the stress of the new movement. It must be remembered that the indefatigable sons of Saṅgama threw upon the enemy a united front; and this concerted action of theirs had the double effect of silencing all opposition at home, where, as we shall see, there was really none, and of annihilating the forces of Islām, which took two centuries and a half to combine again against the Hindus of southern India. We know that in A.D. 1343 Virūpāksha Ballāla, son of Ballāla III, was crowned king. This can be inferred from an inscription dated in that year which records the granting of a *śāsana* by Ballappa Daṇḍanāyaka, on the

¹ Taylor, *O. H. MSS.*, I, pp. 35-7; Heras, *Aravidu*, p. 114.

² Taylor, *ibid.*, I, pp. 35, 203.

³ *Ep. Ind.*, VI, p. 324, op. cit.

occasion of the anointment ceremony of Śrī Vīra Virūpāksha Ballāḷa, to the farmers of Halle Hiriyūr. (*ā Ballappa Daṇḍanāyakaru śrī Vīra Virūpāksha Ballāḷa Dēvarige paṭṭavādalli* etc.).¹ It could not have been, therefore, in that year that the new rulers unfurled the Vijayanagara banner. Three years later one of the brothers called Mārappa from Kallāsa, "acquired a kingdom in the west", by defeating, firstly, an unknown ruler, and then by directing his attention to the north, where he defeated the Kadamba king, surrounded like Śakra by an army composed of elephants, horses, and foot-soldiers, in a great battle. Thence Mārappa in order to see Śiva, the Lord of Gōkarṇa, the original creator of the world, came to Gōmantasaila in Chandrugupti, where he ruled in peace.² In that same year (A.D. 1346) Harihara, hitherto known as Hariappa, assumed regal titles, and proclaimed himself the ruler of the whole country between the Eastern and Western Oceans.³ That this was indeed the real date of the foundation of the Vijayanagara Empire can be made out from an inscription of Harihara, dated in the same year (A.D. 1346) which says that "having conquered the Earth from the Eastern to the Western Oceans, in order to celebrate the festival of his victory (*jayōtsavam khyāpayitum akarōd dharmman uttaman*), he made an excellent grant".⁴ And that this was the Vīra Hariappa of A.D. 1340 can be gathered by noting the similarity of the titles which he assumed in that year⁵ to those which he had in A.D. 1346,⁶ and which his successors lived to prefix to their names.

The year A.D. 1346, therefore, marks a new era in the history of southern India. It saw the land rise out from a period of eight and sixty years of struggle, during which the intrepid hoofs of alien soldiers had defiled the country in all directions, into an age when the new rulers did all they could to make the people more happy and peaceful than they had ever been before. After half a century of humiliation the people at last realized the need of winning

¹ E. C., VI, Cm. 105, text, p. 202.

² E. C., VIII, Sb. 375, p. 66.

³ *Ibid.*, Tl. 154, p. 193; E.C., VI, Intr. p. 21, Sg. I, p. 92; A.S.R. for 1907-8, p. 230. Sewell places the death of Harihara in or about A.D. 1343. *For. Emp.*, p. 26.

⁴ E.C., VI, Sg. 1, text, p. 347.

⁵ E. C., IX, Nl. 19, p. 33, op. cit.

⁶ E. C., X, Mr. 61, translit., p. 204.

freedom from alien rulers in order to protect their homes and their ancient heritage.

The prompt action of the founders of Vijayanagara, and the fact of there being no revolution against them, need now to be explained. It may be argued that the Hoy-salas acquiesced in the growing power of the new-comers,—two of whom, Harihara and Kaṁpaṇa (the sons of the third of the five brothers, Bukka) had already seen service under Ballāḷa III, the former as the *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* probably over a region which included Kukkala-nāḍu, and the latter, according to the local chronicles of Madura, as the door-keeper of Vira Ballāḷa III,¹—out of sheer political necessity, or because of some alliance between themselves and the rising feudatories, the nature of which may be hypothetically summarized to be as follows.

We are told that Harihara, along with his brothers, some nobles, and one Ballappa Daṇṇāyaka, went in A.D. 1346, on a pilgrimage to the famous Śringēri Maṭha which was then under the guidance of Bhārata-tīrtha Śrīpāda.² This Ballappa Daṇṇāyaka is mentioned as the *Alīya* or son-in-law of Harihara. A guess may be hazarded as to the lineage of this Ballappa whom Harihara, the founder of a great dynasty, thought fit to make his son-in-law. In A.D. 1297 we have Dāṭiya Sōmeyya Daṇṇāyaka's son Singeya Daṇḍanāyaka and inhabitants of Periya-nāḍu remitting certain taxes for the god Dāmōdara.³ About the year A.D. 1314 we have under Ballāḷa Dēva his great minister Sōmeyya Daṇṇāyaka.⁴ In about A.D. 1319 the same minister was under the same monarch.⁵ In A.D. 1334 while Vira Ballāḷa was ruling, Singeya Daṇṇāyaka's younger brother, Vallappa Daṇṇāyaka, made some grants.⁶ In A.D. 1336 Vallappa, younger brother of Dāṭi Singeya Daṇṇāyaka, figures again.⁷ In A.D. 1343 Vallappa, son of Dāṭi Sōmeyya Daṇṇāyaka, is the chief minister of Ballāḷa III.⁸ In the same year under Vira Ballāḷa's son, Virūpāksha Ballāḷa, we have Ballappa Daṇḍanāyaka, son of Pāḍiya

¹ S. K. Aiyangar in Satyanatha, *Nayaks*, Intr., p. 3.

² E. C., VI, Sg. 1, op. cit.

³ E. C., IX, An. 84, p. 119.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Kn. 37, p. 125.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Kn. 69, p. 129.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Ht. 96, p. 99.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Ht. 134, p. 105.

⁸ *Ibid.*, Ht. 75, p. 96.

Sōmaya Daṇḍanāyaka.¹ In A.D. 1346 Vallappa was a *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* under Harihara.² Hence this Vallappa Daṇḍanāyaka was the younger brother of Singeya Daṇḍanāyaka, son of Dāḍiya Sōmaya or (Sōmeyya) Daṇḍanāyaka.

We shall first ascertain the status Vallappa occupied in Hoysala history; and then trace the relationship between him and the Vijayanagara king. It is well known that the tendency of mediaeval monarchs was to bestow high offices on their near relations. Thus we find in A.D. 1339 the father of Vallappa and Singeya, Dāḍiya Sōmeyya, called "the minister descended from that king" (Ballāla III), [*tasya-rājānvaya*].³ This settles the princely rank of the father of Vallappa, and, therefore, of Vallappa himself. An inscription dated A.D. 1339 confirms this fact. It speaks of Vallappa Daṇḍanāyaka as being the younger brother of Dāḍi (Dāṭi) Singeya Daṇṇāyaka, who was the son of Vīra Ballāla Dēva.⁴ Then again, as related above in A.D. 1334, we have the fact that in the reign of Ballāla Dēva, "during the times of one of his sons," Singeya Daṇṇāyaka's younger brother Vallappa made some grants.⁵ It is evident, therefore, that Dāḍi Sōmaya Daṇṇāyaka and his two sons, Singeya and Vallappa belonged to the Hoysala house. This Vallappa written in the Hosakōṭe inscription in Tamil is to be identified with Ballappa of the Sringēri Maṭha inscription. The name Pāḍiya Sōmaya of the Chik-kamagalūr inscription is probably written by error for Dāḍiya or Dāṭiya Sōmaya.⁶

If this is allowed, then, the wisdom of Harihara I, who gave his daughter in marriage to Vallappa or Ballappa, may be well appreciated. The Hoysala and Vijayanagara houses were thus united in the reign of Harihara. Firish-tah's remark that the centre of activity might be traced to the "House of Bilal Deo", therefore, may be justified.

¹ E. C., VI, Cm. 105, p. 49.

² E. C., X, Mr. 61, p. 169, op. cit.

³ E. C., IX, Ht. 43, p. 92.

⁴ *Mysore Archaeological Report* for 1913-4, pp. 44-5.

⁵ E. C., IX, Ht. 96, op. cit.

⁶ I am glad to note that the Rev. Heras comes to the same conclusion as regards the relationship between Vallappa and Harihara. He says: "All these facts undoubtedly disclose that the three families of Ballāla III, of Harihara I, and of Dāḍiya Sōmaya, who so frequently intermingled with one another, were not only Yādavas but also belonged to the same common stock of the Hoysala-varṇśa". *The Beginnings*, p. 93.

That it was to the interest of these new relations of the Hoysalas to allow matters a free movement, can be seen by the way in which the *yuvarājābhishēka* ceremony of Virūpāksha Ballāḷa, or Ballāḷa IV, was conducted in A.D. 1340. The absence of any political struggle and the rapid rise to power of the founders of Vijayanagara may be explained, therefore, not by saying that the dumb millions in their traditional apathy did not mind who ruled over them; or by saying simply that the Vijayanagara dynasty was "a necessary continuative substitute for the fallen dynasty after the circumstances of a crushing foreign conquest",¹ but by tracing the true relationship which existed between the old and the new families; and especially by understanding the ideal which the founders of the latter placed before themselves, and which, in spite of foreign wars and palace intrigues, they and their successors succeeded in maintaining with firmness and splendour till the end of the sixteenth century. The vanishing rulers as well as the common people realized that the honour of their homes and the destiny of the country were safe in the hands of the descendants of Saṅgama.

The ideal which these new rulers set before them was extremely simple; for they understood that if their rule was to last long, their Empire was to be the channel through which the ancient currents of Chōla and Karnāṭaka life were to flow undisturbed for the betterment of the land. That they fully comprehended the magnitude of their task can be understood by the extreme care with which they introduced any change either in the social or political sphere. From the setting up of pillars to commemorate a victory to the performance of the *tulāpurushadāna* ceremony; from the checking of revenue registers to the exemption of some of the most useful commodities, or classes of men, from taxation, the new dynasty set to work on the principles of the old ones which had guided the affairs of the Tamil and the Karnāṭaka lands from the dawn of history till the fourteenth century. But this did not prevent them from setting before them an ideal which, in the strange words of an inscription dated A.D. 1341, was the following :

"In the Kali age, evil having greatly increased, Dharma seeing that it was impossible for it to move about, went

¹ Krishnamacharlu, *I. A.*, LI, p. 233.

to the side of its master, the creator and benefactor of the world, and said: 'With only one leg (left), how can I travel about in the troubles of this Kali age? Show some mercy, lord, yours it is to remove the difficulties of those who bow before you.' Hearing this from Dharma, the Father (*tāta*) being favourable to the prayer he thus for a long time presented, made in the great royal line of which Sailāṅka was the lord, a king named Saṅgama".¹ Another epigraph gives the ideal in clearer terms. It is dated in the year A.D. 1376, and it runs thus: "In the world Achyuta (Kṛishṇa) was born to Yaśōdha and Naṇḍa Gōpa, and gave them a promise that he would eventually re-appear as a king to deliver the world when it was overspread by Mlēcchhas. Accordingly he was born in the region of Pampāpuri to Saṅgama and his wife Kāmābikā as Bukka-mahīpati".²

Therefore, "the one object was the preservation of Hindu independence in South India, with all the multiplicity of its religions, Hindu and Jain, perhaps even to a very slight extent Buddhist, and providing, for the further development of these on peaceful lines, a home in the country, south of the river Kṛishṇā".³ And Vijayanagara stood, not as an expression of Force, as some would have it,⁴ but "as the visible embodiment of the national resistance to save this enclave for the Hindus and keep it free from being overrun by the Muhammadans".⁵ That the Vijayanagara Empire shared the fate of all mediaeval empires is no justification for our condemning it as an organization which "contained no principles of development, and therefore could not be lasting", and that "like many of its kind, it was ruined by those very causes which had brought it into existence".⁶ The disaster which overtook the Empire in A.D. 1565 should not cloud our imagination in our endeavour to appreciate the genuine attempts of the founders, and even of their successors after the battle of Rākshasa-Taṅg-

¹ E.C., VIII, Sb. 375, pp. 65-6.

² E. C., IV, Intr., p. 23. Yd. 46, p. 58.

³ S. K. Aiyangar, *Some Contributions*, p. 299.

⁴ Iswari Prasad, *History of Mediaeval India*, "The Italian Machiavel of the fifteenth century asserted the mighty fundamental that 'the state is force'. The definition appears with remarkable appositeness to the Vijayanagara empire", p. 441.

⁵ S. K. Aiyangar, *ibid.*, p. 297.

⁶ Iswari Prasad, *ibid.*

aḍi, who, whatever may have been their defects as statesmen and soldiers, lived to work out a noble ideal, and to preserve with scrupulous care all that was great and good in the realms of Hindu thought and culture.

SECTION 3. *The Origin of the Founders of Vijayanagara*

The imperative needs of the times eclipsed the question of the birth and pedigree of the rulers. So prominent was the part which these founders played, and so deeply was it appreciated by all the people, that distant provinces of the Empire claimed them for themselves. Thus we find that the founders of the first dynasty are said to have been related to the royal house of Warangal; some say that they were connected with the Tuḷuvas of the west coast; others would trace the descent of the founders to the Yādava line; while some would link them with the house of the Hoysalas of Dōrasamudra. The Telugu, Tuluva, Yādava, and Karṇāṭaka claims, therefore, will now be examined.¹

Of all these that which has gained most popularity is the Telugu origin of the first dynasty. In fact, the mention of a Idumakaṇṭi Gaṅgi Redḍi Gāru as a servant under Bukkarāya Oḍeya in Nellore about A.D. 1314-5;² the marked leaning which the Vijayanagara rulers showed, especially during and after the times of Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya the Great, for all things Telugu; and the prominence which the last dynasty—the Āraṇḍu—acquired in the annals of the Vijayanagara Empire—all heighten the belief that the founders were really of Telugu origin. It is said, for example, according to tradition that Harihara and Bukka “were descended from a series of petty princes or landholders, possibly feudatories of the *Belal kings*, or even of *Pratāpa Rudra*, who took advantage of a period of public commotion to lay the foundation of a new state;”³ and that these two “fugitives from Warangal after it was taken by the Mohamedans encountered the sage in the woods, and were elevated by him to sovereignty”. This makes the two brothers officers of the Muhammadan conqueror of Warangal, who were sent by their master, after the capture of that city, against the Ballāla Rāya. They

¹ *Bombay Gasetteer*, XXII, p. 402.

² *Butterworth-Chetty, Nellore Ins.*, II, p. 643.

³ *Wilson, Mackenzie Collection, Intr.*, p. cxli (1828 ed.); p. 84 (1882

were defeated, their army dispersed, and they fled into the woods where they founded Vijayanagara.¹

Buchanan relates in the same manner: "In the year *Sarvadavi* of this *Raja Worugulla Pritapa Rāya*, the house guards of the treasury were *Hari hara* and *Buca Rāya*. According to this order, these two men came to *Vijaya-nagara*. The year *Sarvadavi* is the commencement of the kingdom of the *Rāyarū*. This year, on Monday, the 5th of *Chaitra*, they placed the pillar (a ceremony similar to ours of laying the foundation stone) for building *Vijaya-nagara*. The *Rājās* were placed on a throne of jewels".² These two traditions have led many to remark that "an off-shoot of the royal house of Warangal established a dynasty in the south, at the city of Vijayanagara on the Tumbadra. The name of Karnata fell into disuse",³ and that the greatest monarch of the family, *Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya* "was descended from an off-shoot of the royal family of Telingana".⁴

Col. Mark Wilks, while narrating the capture of the city of Warangal by the Muhammadans, writes: "Two illustrious fugitives, Booka and Aka Hurryhur (i.e., Bukka and Hakka or Harihara respectively), officers of the treasury of the dethroned king of Warankul (i.e., Warangal), warned by one of those sacred visions which precedes, or is feigned to precede, the establishment of every Hindoo empire, formed the project of a new government, to be fixed on the banks of the Toombudra, a southern branch of the Kistna, under the spiritual and temporal guidance of the sage Videyarannea (*Vidyāranya*) . . . This origin of the new government at once explains the ascendancy of the Telinga language and nation at this capital of Carnatic. . . . The government founded by foreigners was also supported by foreigners; and in the center of Canara, a Telinga court was supported by a Telinga army. . . ."⁵

Wilson recapitulates the stories of the foundation of Vijayanagara thus: "The foundation of the state of

¹ Wilson, *Mack. Coll. Intr.*, p. cxi. (1828 ed.); p. 83, (1882 ed.).

² Buchanan, *A Journey through Malabar, Canara and Coorg*, III, p. 307; see also p. 113.

³ Wheeler, *A History of India from the Earliest Ages*, IV, P. I, p. 89.

⁴ Wheeler, *ibid.*, p. 91. Cf. Workman, *Through Town and Jungle*, p. 137, (1904).

⁵ Wilks, *Historical Sketches of the South of India*, I, pp. 13-4; (1810); I, p. 8 (1869); Heras, *The Beginnings*, p. 62.

Vijayanagar is very generally admitted to have arisen out of the subversion of the Hindu governments of the *Kakateeya* and the *Belāla Rājas* by the incursions of the Mohamedans in the beginning of the fourteenth century . . .”¹

Sewell in his *A Forgotten Empire* writes: “. . . the two brothers, (Harihara and Bukka), Hindus of the Kuruba caste, who were men of strong religious feeling, serving in the treasury of the king of Warangal, fled from that place on its sack and destruction in 1323 and took service under the petty Rājah of Ānegundi”.²

Dr. Vincent Smith writes: “Good authority exists for regarding the brothers as fugitives from the eastern Telinga or Telugu kingdom of Warangal”.³

Mr. Suryanarayana Rao is also inclined to admit the Telugu origin of the family.⁴

Mr. Rangachari is also of the same opinion: “The Rāyas of Vijayanagar were probably Telugus, though their capital was in the Canarese country.”⁵

To Mr. Lewis Rice, too, the Telugu origin seemed plausible: “They may have descended”, says he, “from feudatories either of the Hoysala Ballālas or of Pratāpa Rudra of the Kākateya family.”⁶

Without entering into minuter details,⁷ it may be said that the Telugu claims cannot be entertained for the following reasons:

Firstly, it is hard to believe that Pratāpa Rudra of Warangal, who was at deadly grips with the Muhammadan general, would have advised his guards of the treasury, or his own relatives, to go to the south and found an Empire when he himself was in the direst need of all possible aid from his relatives and feudatories.

¹ Wilson, *The Mack., Coll. Intr.*, p. cxi, (1828 ed.); p. 83, (1882 ed.).

² Sewell, *For Emp.*, p. 23. But Sewell himself criticizes this story as found in Buchanan. See *infra* p. 89.

This does not, however, prevent him from repeating the same story.

³ Smith, *Oxford History of India*, p. 301, (1923).

⁴ Suryanarayana Rao, *The Never to be Forgotten Empire of Vijayanagara*, pp. 19, 148.

⁵ Rangachari, *I.A.*, XLIII, p. 113.

⁶ Rice, *Mysore: A Gasetteer*, I, p. 223, (1877); I, p. 345 (1897); Heras, *The Beginnings*, pp. 62-3.

⁷ Heras has also dealt with this question. Read, *The Beginnings*, p. 61, *seq.*

Secondly, granting that Pratāpa Rudra did send some of his relatives to the south, it is difficult to understand how these royal persons failed to keep up a royal practice. According to the Hindu lawgivers, the genealogical portion of grants must give the names of at least three generations.¹ If the founders of Vijayanagara were really of the royal line of Warangal, both according to the direction of the lawgivers and according to the usage of the land over which they ruled, they would certainly have given the names of at least three generations of rulers who preceded them either in the direct or in the indirect line. But all the inscriptions of the founders hitherto discovered carry the traditions only as far as Saṅgama, the father of the five brothers. The absence of the famous principle laid down by the Sanskrit lawgivers, which the Vijayanagara monarchs themselves carried out,—as they did many a great precept of the ancients,—is enough to disprove the connection between the first dynasty of Vijayanagara and that of Warangal.

Thirdly, the story of the foundation of Vijayanagara by the five brothers with the aid of the sage Vidyāraṇya is based on certain inscriptions the authenticity of which has been questioned on historical grounds. And, as we shall see in the ensuing chapters, much credence cannot be given to the story of the Hare, the Ascetic, and the five brothers, and the consequent founding of the city of Vijayanagara with the help of Vidyāraṇya. The versions in Buchanan and in the *Mackenzie Collection* presuppose the existence of a Vijayanagara before the royal fugitives came from Warangal. It will be seen that the founders of the Empire for some years remained content to rule from the Hoysala capitals, and then, after some time, one of them built the famous City of Victory.

Finally, all these stories speak of the intimate relationship of the founders with the great ascetic, Vidyāraṇya. Epigraphical and contemporary evidence, however, belie such an assumption. For the fact was that the family priest of the founders was at first Kāśivilāsa Kriyāsakti Paṇḍita, and not Vidyāraṇya.²

¹ Fleet, *Dyn. Kan. Dist.*, p. 18.

² *Vide* below Chapter III. Cf. Heras, *The Beginnings*, p. 61 *seq.*, 118, *seq.*

The second set of claims centres round Tuluva, which has also declared the founders to be her own. It is said that Mādhava Vidyāraṇya propitiated the favour of the goddess Bhuvanēśvarī, and discovered a treasure which he bestowed on Harihara and Bukka. "These last two persons appear to have been sons of Sangama, most probably a feudal chieftain of *Tuluva*, under the *Belala* rajas; but they themselves were, apparently, soldiers of fortune who had been in the service of the *Warankal* kings".¹ Then again, according to some, "the first princes of the family were from Telingana, but others brought them from Tuluva, which seems most probable, as they were possessed at an early period of their intercourse with the Mohamedans, of sea-ports on the western coast".² The discrepancy arises from the confusion which tradition has made between the first dynasty on the one hand and the second and third on the other. These latter were called the Sāluva and the Tuḷuva dynasties respectively of Vijayanagara; and it was the Tuḷuva family which sent forth the greatest Vijayanagara monarch, and gave to south India the most glorious age in her mediaeval history. In the *Āmuktamālyada*, for example, the history of the lunar race is given, and it is said that by the medium of the Tuḷuva country, the line of Narasiṃharāya and Kṛishṇa Rāya sprang into fame.³ All epigraphical evidence, of course, supports the Tuluva origin of the third dynasty of Vijayanagara. It may be interesting to note in this connection that a coin of Narasiṃha also proves his Tuḷuva origin. Elliott remarks about a coin figured by Wilson from the *Mackenzie Collection*: "The Kuppēlūr inscription describes him (Narasiṅga) as the son of Isvara, and a coin bearing this name may be explained in this connection. It represents the figures of Rāma and Sīta, seated with Hanumān, and on the reverse, the word Isvara in Canarese . . ."⁴ Further, the very close connection between the Tuḷuva and the Vijayanagara rulers can also be made out from the fact that Dēva Rāya's elder sister, Harimā, married Sāluva Tippa Rāja, of the Lunar race,⁵ a

Taylor, *O.H.MSS.*, II, p. 92.

Wilson, *Mack. Coll.*, p. 266.

Taylor, *A Cat. Rais.*, III, p. 227; *Āmuktamālyada*, Canto. I, v. 23, seq. p. 17, seq., (Vāvilāṣa Rāmaswamy Sāstri, 1907).

Elliott, *Num. Orient.*, p. 95.

E. C., XI, Cd. 29, p. 9.

person who could have belonged to no other Sāḷuva family except that which then ruled from Saṅgītapura in Tuḷuva.

Mr. Rice is responsible for saying that the founders were connected with the Kadāmbas. "The founders of the Vijayanagara empire in 1336 seem to have been connected with the Kadamba family and from that time no trace is met with of the latter".¹ There is an echo of this in the remarks of the Russian traveller, Nikitin: "The Hindoo Sultan Kadam is a very powerful prince".² There is one fact, however, which goes entirely against the Kadamba origin of the founders of Vijayanagara. Mārappa, one of the five brothers, as we have already noted, conquered the Kadamba king who was like Śakra, surrounded with elephants and horses and foot-soldiers, and then established his provincial seat at Chandragupti. If the first family really traced its descent from the Kadāmbas, there was no need for Mārappa to defeat a Kadamba king.

The Yādava origin of the first Vijayanagara house has found favour with a few, but is not accepted by the many. The able discussion of the subject by Sir Walter Elliot needs little further comment; but it may not be out of place to note the grounds on which the Yādava descent of the founders may be said to rest. It is said that according to a drama called *Nārāyaṇavilāsa*, written by Prince Virūpāksha, grandson of Rāma, and (grand) son of Bukka, Harihara II married Mallā Dēvī, the (grand) daughter of the last great Yādava king, Rāmachandra. The lines on which this is based are the following:

पुत्रो बुक्कनरेन्द्रस्य दौहित्रो रामभूपतेः ।

विद्यते हि विष्णुपद्मो राजा हरिहरात्मजः ॥³

This theory of Mr. V. Venkayya is supported by such references as are to be found in the inscriptions dated A.D. 1379 which say that Saṅgama was of the Yādava race;⁴ and that dated in A.D. 1463 wherein it is stated that Saṅ-

¹ Rice, *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. xxxvi.

² Major, *India in the Fifteenth Century*, p. 29.

³ Śēshagiri Sastri, *Report on Sanscrit and Tamil MSS. for 1896-97*, p. 90; *Epigraphical Report for the Southern Circle for 1899*, p. 22. "The 'Putro' has to be corrected into 'Pautro' 'Son's son'." *Ep. Ind.*, III, p. 225; *Ep. Ind.*, V, Ad. Cor., p. v; *Ep. Ind.*, VIII, p. 299; *I.A.*, XXXIV, p. 19.

⁴ Rice, *Mys. Ins.*, p. 55.

gama of the Yāduvaṁśa enabled Lakshmī the Kārṇāṭaka Dēśa to wear permanently her earrings.¹ This is repeated in the inscription dated A.D. 1474.² Mr. T. A. Gopinatha Rao, however, denies the Yādava descent on the following grounds: "A futile attempt was made by Mr. Venkayya to trace the origin of the Vijayanagara dynasty. Harihara II had a son named Virūpāksha. In certain inscriptions and in the Sanskrit drama called the *Nārāyaṇavilāsa*, the latter is said to be the son of Harihara II by his queen Mallā Dēvī, who is said to be the daughter of a Rāma Dēva, whom Mr. Venkayya identifies with the Dēvagiri Yādava king Rama Dēva, inferring that, having strengthened his friendship with the Dēvagiri king by this marriage, Harihara II then established the Vijayanagara kingdom. Rāmachandra of Dēvagiri lived between S. 1193 and 1231; Harihara II, one of the younger sons of Bukka I, reigned between S. 1298 and 1326, just about a hundred years after Rāmachandra. Consequently, the surmise is quite unjustifiable".³

In refuting thus the theory of Mr. Venkayya, Mr. Gopinatha Rao has rightly concluded that the disparity in the ages of Harihara II and the Yādava ruler goes entirely against the theory of the Vijayanagara king having married the daughter of Rāmachandra. But Mr. Gopinatha Rao has failed to identify the king called Rāma in the drama entitled *Nārāyaṇavilāsa*. This little point has until now remained unexplained. It is hardly possible that Virūpāksha could have been mistaken in the name of his maternal grandfather. Rāma Dēva, therefore, must have been a real name. This Rāma Dēva, I believe, is to be identified with the Sāḷuva Rāma Dēva, son of Sāḷuva Kāya Dēva. In an inscription dated A.D. 1384 it is said that when Harihara's son Bukka was ruling, the Vijayanagara army went to the Orangal country, and then the Turushkas came and attacked Koṭṭakoṇḍa, whereupon the *Nāyākāchārya* of Harihara Raya's house, Kāchi Nayaka's grandson Kaṁpaṇa fell upon the enemy; and in the fight that ensued, Sāḷuva Kāya Dēva's son, the *Maṇḍalika* Sāḷuva, the shelter of the good in Talakkāḍ, and the terrifier of the Turuka army, Sāḷuva Rāma Dēva fell fighting

¹ E.C., VIII, Tl. 206, p. 209.

² E.C., III, Ml. 121, p. 68.

³ Ep. Ind., XV, p. 11.

nobly against the Turuka army.¹ According to Mr. Gopinatha Kao's own calculation, the dates of Harihara's reign fall between Saka 1298 (A.D. 1376) and Saka 1326 (A.D. 1404). Sāluva Rāma, who fell fighting in A.D. 1348, therefore, was a contemporary of Harihara II, and there is nothing improbable in his daughter Mallā Dēvī marrying Harihara. This would explain the fondness of the Vijayanagara monarchs for the Sāluva name and titles. Through the Sāluvas the Vijayanagara kings could lay some pretensions for a lunar descent, although their desire to be of the Yādava stock fails to carry conviction with it. At the present stage of our investigations, we may rest satisfied with the conclusion of Sir Walter Elliot on this matter: "However uncertain the source of the other families might be, the correctness of that assigned to the earliest Vijayanagar dynasty cannot be questioned, for it has always been known as the Kuruba line".²

The ambition to trace their descent from the Yādavas was shared by the Vijayanagara monarchs with those who preceded them—the Hoysalas, between whom and themselves there was a similarity not only of language and system of government, but also, it may perhaps be said, of race and descent as well. The question of the origin of the first family, therefore, needs here some detailed explanation. The account of Firishtah, the evidence from inscriptions, and two Kannaḍa accounts written by contemporary authors will be our data in the solution of the problem. Firishtah narrates the story thus: "This year (=A.H. 744=A.D. 1344) Krishna Naig, the son of Ludder Dew, who lived near Wurungole, went privately to Bilal Dew, Raja of the Carnatic, and told him, that he had heard the Mahomedans, who were now very numerous in the Deccan, had formed the design of extirpating all the Hindoos, that it was, therefore, advisable to combine against them. Bilal Dew, convened a meeting of his kinsmen, and resolved, first, to secure the forts of his own country, and then to remove this seat of government among the mountains. Krishna Naig promised, on his part also, that when their plans were ripe for execution, to raise all the Hindoos of Wurungole and Tulingana, and put himself at their head.

¹ E.C., XII, Ck. 15, p. 75.

² Elliot, *Num. Or.*, p. 90, and *ibid.*, n. (1).

"Bilal Dew, accordingly, built a strong city upon the frontiers of his dominions, and called it after his son Beeja, to which the word nuggur, or city, was added, so that it is now known by the name of Beejanuggur. He then raised an army, and put part of it under the command of Krishna Naig, who reduced Wurungole, and compelled Imad-ool-Moolk, the governor, to retreat to Dowlutabad. Bilal Dew and Krishna Naig united to their forces the troops of the Rajas of Maabir and Dwar-Sumoodra, who were formerly tributaries to the government of the Carnatic. The confederate Hindoos seized the country occupied by the Mahomedans, in the Deccan, and expelled them, so that in a few months, Mahomed Toghluk had no possessions in that quarter except Dowlutabad".¹

Sewell, however, remarks that the credit of resuscitating Hindu life is to be given to the house of Āneguṇḍi: "The check was caused by a combination of small Hindu states—two of whom already defeated, Warangal and Dvārasamudra—defeated, and therefore in all probability not over-confident; the third, the tiny principality of Āneguṇḍi. The solid wall consisted of Āneguṇḍi grown into the great Empire of the Vijayanagar. To the kings of this house all the nations of the south submitted".² This is partially correct when we realize the fact that the *Beejanuggur* of Firishtah refers to *Vijayavirūpākshapura*, named after the Vīra Vijayavirūpāksha, son of Ballāla III, and built within the area of Āneguṇḍi which was the earliest capital of the founders of the Vijayanagara Empire.³

The *Tārīkh-i Firūz-Shāhi* locates the centre of activities in Kāmpili. We are told that "while this was going on a revolt broke out among the Hindus of Arangal. Kanyā Naik had gathered strength in the country, Malik Makbul, the *nāib-wazīr*, fled to Delhi, and the Hindus took possession of Arangal, which was thus entirely lost. About the same time one of the relations of Kanyā Nāik, whom the Sultan had sent to Kambala (Kāmpila) apostatized from Islām and stirred up a revolt. The land of Kambala also was thus lost, and fell into the hands of the Hindus".⁴

¹ Firishtah, Briggs, *The Rise*, I, p. 427. Cf. Wheeler, *History of India*, IV, Pt. 1, p. 83, n. (4).

² Sewell, *For. Emp.*, p. 5; Slater, *Q.J.M.S.*, II, p. 54.

³ Cf. Heras, *The Beginnings*, p. 128.

⁴ Elliot, *Hist. of Ind.*, III, p. 245.

Recently two palm-leaf manuscripts in Kannaḍa called *Paradāra Sōdara Rāmana Kathe* by Nañjuṇḍa, and *Kumāra Rāmana Sāṅgatyā* by Gaṅga, both dealing exhaustively with the conquests of a king Kaṁpila, have been brought to light by Mr. M. H. Rama Sarma.¹ These two accounts, while recapitulating the elements of truth as given in the version of Firishtah and the *Tārīkh-i Firūz-Shāhī*, make the two brothers, according to the opinion of Mr. Rāma Sarma, officers of the treasury of the Rāja of Kaṁpila. Mr. Sarma's arguments may be summarized thus :

That, according to Gaṅga, the author of *Kumāra Rāmana Sāṅgatyā*, an ancestor of the king of Kaṁpila is said to have retired to the south after the destruction of Dēvagiri by the Turukas;

That the refugee secured the estate for his maintenance at the hands of a chief who ruled at Chirtakūṭadurga;²

That one of the two records speaks of a "successful battle fought by Kaṁpila with Ballāla"³ (Vīra Ballāla III);

That "references in inscriptions to battles between the generals of Kaṁpila and those of Ballāla are frequent";⁴

That "Kaṁpila was finally crushed" by the imperial forces of Delhi;⁵

That king "Kaṁpila ruled at least from 1303 till 1325, possibly a little longer";⁶

That among his vassals, as noticed by Nañjuṇḍa, there were "Bhāva Saṅgama, or Saṅgama, the brother-in-law, Bhaṇḍārada Harihara, and Bhaṇḍārada Bukkaṇṇa".⁷

And that "Hukka and Bukka, who were his treasurers, were perhaps the sons of one of the Saṅgamas in his service".⁸

While the two accounts of Nañjuṇḍa and Gaṅga enable us to identify the *Crynmata* of Nuniz with the *Kummaṭa* of Rāmanātha, and to solve to a great extent the question

¹ Rāma Sarma. *The Kingdom of Kampila, Journal of the Bombay Historical Society*, II, pp. 201-8. About the same time an independent study of these MSS. was made by Dr. Venkata Ramanayya, *Kampili and Vijayanagara*.

² Sarma, *ibid.*, p. 203.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 204.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 204-5.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 207.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 208.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 205.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 208.

of the political situation of the south at the time of its conquest by the Muhammadans, both of which Mr. Sarma has successfully done in his *Kingdom of Kāmpila*, there are two facts which seem rather difficult to understand:¹

Firstly, whether a powerful prince like the Rāja of Kāmpila, who could twice defeat the imperial army,² and whose own army was composed of 100,000 foot, 5,000 horse and 100 elephants, which he sent against Ballāla III,³ would ever have been indiscreet enough to allow a family made up of a father and two sons to hold the important office of treasurers at one and the same time.

Secondly, whether Vīra Ballāla III, as we have it on the evidence of inscriptions which we have already seen, would have allowed Harihara and Bukka to enter into his service, especially when he knew that both of them had held the office of treasurers in the government of his worst Hindu enemy, the Rāja of Kāmpila. One fails to see how Ballāla III could ever have made Harihara his own *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara*, or Kāmpa, the son of Bukka I, his door-keeper, if the Hoysala ruler was aware of the former having served in the government of Kāmpila.

However that may be, even the accounts of Nañjuṇḍa and Gaṅga add to the evidence which is overwhelmingly in favour of the point we are to understand, viz., that the first rulers of Vijayanagara were of pure Kārṇāṭaka stock. The founders of Vijayanagara sprang from a Kārṇāṭaka tribe; they ruled in the Hoysana or Kārṇāṭaka land; they maintained the Hoysala or Kārṇāṭaka traditions, and even allowed the Hoysala officers to continue in their office; they showed great unwillingness to part with the birth-place of the Hoysalas; they were proud to call themselves rulers who made it possible for the *Lady Kārṇāṭaka Dēśa* to wear permanently her ear-rings; they subscribed themselves till and beyond the days of their splendour, in the Kārṇāṭaka language; and finally, their family god, even for many years after the fatal battle of Rākshasa-Taṅgaḍi was always a Kārṇāṭaka deity. These reasons make it impossible for one to believe that they originated from the Telugu land, although it is true that at the end of a

¹ See below, Chapter III.

² Sarma, *J.B.H.S.*, II., p. 207.

³ *Ibid.*

series of political events, a great Telugu dynasty took upon itself the much-worn mantle of Vijayanagara authority.

The fact of their having sprung from a Karnaṭaka tribe is never mentioned in any epigraph or poem. It is tradition which says that "the kings during whose reign they (Mādhava and Sāyaṇa) flourished, belonged to a low non-aryan caste, viz., that of the Canarese cow-herds; a caste which is respected to a certain extent on account of its members dealing with the sacred cow, though they are proverbially stupid to a degree and of filthy habits".¹ It may even be said that the original home of the Kuruba line was round about modern Hampi or the ancient Paṃpā-kshētra. This is inferred from the inscription dated A.D. 1376, already cited, which says that to drive out the *Mlechchhas* or Muhammadans, Kṛishṇa reincarnated himself "in the region of Paṃpāpuri", as Bukka-mahīpati, son of Saṅgama and Kāmāmbikā.²

We have seen how these rulers were eager to refer their humble origin to the acknowledged royal lineage of the Hoysalas, and their consequent Yādava claims. Further, it has also been remarked how they governed in their early years from one of the Hoysala capitals, Hosapaṭṭaṇa. They ruled over the Hoysala territories as well. In A.D. 1346 Hiriya (Senior) Hariappa Oḍeya was ruling the earth from the Hoysīṇa country.³ In A.D. 1352 we have Bukkaṇṇa ruling at Dōrasamudra and Penugoṇḍa.⁴ Bukka I is represented as a *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* ruling over the Hoysīṇa country.⁵ In A.D. 1353 he is ruling from Hosapaṭṭaṇa, the royal city of, possessed of all titles, Nijagali Kaṭaka Rāya.⁶ This Hosapaṭṭaṇa can be no other than the *Hosapaṭṭaṇa* where Ballāla III performed the *yuvarājābhishēka* ceremony of his son.

Burnell, Mādhava, *Dāyabhāga*, Intr., p. x.

E.C., IV, Yd. 46, op. cit.

My. Arch. Report for 1916, p. 56.

No. 522 of 1906; Rangachari, *A Topographical List of the Inscriptions in the Madras Presidency*, I, pp. 17, 103; Mack, *Ins. Ceded Districts*, No. 7, p. 20.

J. Bom. B.R.A.S., XII, pp. 338, 40.

E.C., X, Cd. 2, p. 2. The term *Nijagali* refers to *Nijagli* in Nelamaṅgala tāluka (E.C., IX, Intr., p. 24, n. (2); while the name Kaṭaka Rāya figures in a Nellore inscription (Butterworth-Chetty, *Nellore Ins.*, I, 174, v. 53). What connection there is between these two names I cannot make out. The Rev. Heras in his *Beginnings* guesses about them thus: "Evidently this was a well-known person in the time of Bukka, perhaps the most famous king of the kingdom of Hastinavati", p. 55. B.A.S.

That the Hoysala memories lingered on in the Vijayanagara mind for years to come can be seen from some more instances. In A.D. 1368 an officer called Gaṇapatima, acting under the orders of his master Basavayya Daṇṇayaka, during the times of Bukkaṇṇa Oḍeya, was "like the treasury of his (i.e., of Basavaya's) right-hand, governing the south of the Kāvērī in the country of the strong-armed Viṣṇuvardhana Pratāpa Hoysala".¹ Then again in A.D. 1376, while Harihara II was at Vijayanagara, a royal grant was made of the village of Hebasur, with its ten hamlets, belonging to Koṅṇunāḍu, on the north bank of the Kāvērī, in the Hoysaṇa country.² The same monarch in A.D. 1382 was ruling over Beḷanagara, the chief jewel in the crown of the Hoysala kingdom.³ Bukka Rāya, the son of Harihara, in A.D. 1388, was at Penugonḍa,⁴ which was once a Hoysala capital.

The Vijayanagara monarchs did not disturb the political machinery of the Hoysalas till they had gathered strength to set their own central authority on a firmer footing. Therefore, in A.D. 1346, we find a Pāṇḍya Chakravartin, with all titles, named Vīra Kāya, ruling in Sātaliḡe under Hariappa Oḍeyar, who was then the Master of Eastern, Western and Northern Oceans, but not of the Southern Ocean.⁵ The name *Pāṇḍya* implies that he must have been related to the Pāṇḍyas of Uchchaṅgi; and that the Vijayanagara rulers continued the Hoysala traditions of allowing the old royal families to rule over the lands of their ancestors. In A.D. 1355-6 we have a more definite instance of the preference which the Vijayanagara rulers gave to Hoysala officers. The Commander-in-Chief of Bukka was the son of Naḍegoṇṭa-Sāyana, Mallinātha, "who was the exalted commander of the Turuka army, the Seuana army, the Telunga army, the powerful Pāṇḍya army, and the Hoysala army".⁶ In A.D. 1346 under Vīra Hariappa, as we have already remarked, there was the *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Ariya Vallappa Daṇḍanāyaka, who, in A.D. 1333, under Ballāla III, granted to the authorities and Pāla Bhaṭṭa of the temple of Singisvaram-Uḍaiya-nāyanār at Tēkkal, two villages as a *dēva*-

E.C., IV, Ch. 113, p. 15.

Ibid., Yd. 46, p. 59.

Rice, *Mys. Ins.*, p. 267.

E.C., X., Gd. 6, p. 212.

E.C. VIII, Tl. 154, p. 193.

Rice, *Mys. Ins.*, pp. 2, 5.

dāna.¹ The same officer under the same Hoysala ruler in A.D. 1336 granted as a *sarvamānya*, exempt from all taxes, certain lands to all the *mahājanas* of the *brahmadēya* village Ivattam *alias* Varadarājachaturvēdimaṅgalaṁ in Pulliyurnāḍu.² This important person, who was, as we have seen, a minister of Ballāla III, Harihara won over to his side by making him his *āliya* or son-in-law.

The earlier Vijayanagara monarchs, moreover, continued the Hoysala tradition by prefixing to their names one of the titles of one of the later Hoysala kings. It has not been explained till now why the founders of the Empire had the title of *Oḍeyar* along with those of *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara*, *Arirāyavibhaḍa*, *Bhāshege-tappuwa-rāyara-gaṇḍa*, etc. If, as has been assumed in some quarters, Harihara assumed royal titles during the lifetime of Hoysala Ballāla III, or of his son Vīra Virūpāksha Ballāla, nothing could have prevented him and his brothers from calling themselves *Mahārājas* and *Rājaparamēśvaras* from the very start of their political career. But Harihara I and Bukka I called themselves *Oḍeyars* as a mark of respect to the memory of the last Hoysala ruler, Vīra Virūpāksha Ballāla, who, in an inscription dated A.D. 1342, as Mr. Krishna Sāstri rightly supposes, is called Haṁpe Oḍeyar.³

One of the principal officers of Bukka in A.D. 1369 was Vīra Ballāla Rāya's Balavaṅkappa Nāyaka's chief *Manneya*, a Bhīma among royal champions, Rāya Nāyaka, "ruling the kingdom in Kundaūr durgam in the middle of the Koṅgu-nāḍu".⁴ It may even be suspected that the founders were desirous to carry on the Western Chālukya traditions as well. In A.D. 1387 we have a distant echo of a Western Chālukya name in Harihara's *dharmma-manneya* called the Chālukya Nārāyaṇa, Chālukī Chakravartī, etc., son of Mali Dēvī, and Vīra Dēvarasa Vallabha Rāya Mahārāja.⁵ Even so late as A.D. 1426 an officer called Hole Koṅkaṇa, son of Siṁvarasa, under Dēva Rāya, is distinguished as the maintainer of the orders of the old kings of the Hoysala-nāḍu.⁶

E.C., X, Mr. 28, p. 163.

E.C., IX, Ht. 134, 137, p. 105.

Krishna Sastri, *Q.J.M.S.*, II, p. 129; Heras, *The Beginnings*, p. 110.

E.C., IX, Cp. 150, p. 164.

E.C., XI, Ht. 127, pp. 135-6.

E.C., III, TN. 55, p. 77.

The Karnāṭaka mould in the Vijayanagara mind is shown in the inscription dated A.D. 1359 which runs thus: "When the Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara etc. Vira Bukkaṇṇa Voḍeyar was ruling a peaceful kingdom, that Bukkaṇṇa Voḍeyar's Senior . . . Teppada Nārāyaṇa Oḍeyar, and Tipaṇṇa Oḍeyar (with various laudatory titles)? unwilling to give up Sosevūru, situated in the Kali-naḍiyamma-nāḍu Four-thousand, which is reckoned the Kākare-nāḍ of the Paṛiya ghaṭṭa (or? Western Ghats) . . ."¹ The unwillingness of the founders of Vijayanagara to give up Sosevūru, the birthplace of the Hoysalas, may be explained on the supposition that they wished to retain this famous place under their immediate personal supervision, in order that they might always associate their own name with that of their illustrious predecessors, between whom and themselves there was so much in common. And when we have noted the matrimonial alliance between a Vijayanagara princess and a representative, though not on the throne, of the Hoysala house, this desire to retain the birthplace of the Hoysalas under the royal authority is well understood.

Moreover, the Vijayanagara monarchs were proud to call themselves rulers who gave a new life to their Motherland, Karnāṭa. An inscription dated A.D. 1463 sings the praise of Saṅgama in this manner:

"In it (the Yaḍuvamśa) there was a king named Saṅgama of highest qualities, by whom the Lakshmi the Karnāṭa country was enabled permanently to wear her ear-rings (i.e., She was not allowed to remain a widow, or without a lord)."² In the *Madhurāvijayam*, too, we have the statement that Bukka was the full moon to the eyes of the people of Karnāṭaka. Thus writes the famous Princess Gaṅgādēvī:³

कर्णाटलोकनयनोत्सर्वपूर्णचन्द्रः साकं तथा हृदयसंमतया नरेन्द्रः ।

कालोचितान्यनुभवन् क्रमशः सुखानि वीरश्चिराय विजयापरमध्यवात्सीत ॥

It is well known that the Vijayanagara rulers, till the rise of the Āravīḍu family, always subscribed themselves

¹ E.C., VI, Intr., p. 21, Mg. 25, p. 63. The inscription unfortunately is much defaced, and, therefore, the passage cannot be fully made out.

² E.C., VIII, Nr. 69, p. 158; Tl. 206, p. 209.

³ Gaṅgādēvī, *Madhurāvijayam*, Canto I, v. 75, p. 9; *Ep. Ind.* XVII, p. 203.

at the end of their grants, in the name of their tutelary deity of Haṁpe, Virūpāksha, in the Kannaḍa language.¹ Even in their last days, the signature, not in the name of Virūpāksha, but in the name of Rāma, was in Kannaḍa,² though the Telugu influence is certainly seen in an earlier inscription dated Śaka 1535 (A.D. 1613) in which the king signs in the name of Śrī-Veṅkaṭeśa in Telugu.³

There is nothing which proves so much the Karnāṭaka origin of the founders as the fact that the tutelary god of the first three dynasties was always a Karnāṭaka deity. The family god of Saṅgama and his wife Kāmāmbikā and of their sons, was the "Guru of all gods, God Virūpāksha".⁴ It may reasonably be affirmed that this partiality of the founders to the family deity at Haṁpe was due to the influence of the great sage, Mādhavāchārya Vidyāranya, who was then guiding the destinies of the Empire; and also to the fact that Virūpāksha was the famous deity that had received in A.D. 1236 grants from the Hoysala king Sōmēśvara.⁵ There is a greater probability of another deity, and that also a Hoysala deity, having been the family god of the founders. An inscription of about A.D. 1397 records that by the orders of Harihara, Guṇḍa Daṇḍanātha, the Commander-in-Chief, restored the grants which Viṣṇuvardhana Biṭṭi Dēva, the ruler of the Hoysana country, had given for the god Chennakēśavanātha of Bēlūr, the family god of that great ruler, and which by lapse of time had been greatly reduced. Guṇḍa further laid down rules for the performance of all the ceremonies formerly ordained by Biṭṭi Dēva Rāya, and re-built with seven storeys the *gōpuram* the doorway of which Gaṅga Sālār, the Turuka of Kallubaraḡe, had burnt.⁶

We have to go the times of Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya to understand why Harihara was anxious to renovate the temple of Bēlūr and restore its grants. An inscription dated A.D. 1524 records that Basavappa Nāyaka, son of Jākaṇṇa Nāyaka, a servant of Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya, made a grant for god Chennakēśavanātha of Vēlāpura, the god

E.C., *passim*; Ep. Ind., XIV, pp. 240, 322.

My. Arch. Report for 1910-11, p. 53.

Ep. Ind., XIX, p. 89.

E.C., VIII, Sb. 375, p. 66.

My. Arch. Report for 1920, p. 14.

E.C., V. P. I., Bl. 3, p. 45, text p. 102.

of the Mahārājādhirāja's royal family.¹ Then again in A.D. 1548 we have god Chennakēśavanātha of Vēlāpurī called the original (*kulādhidēvate*) family god of the Mahārājādhirāja Sadāśiva.² This inscription of Sadāśiva confirms not only that of his illustrious predecessor but also lends support to the view that the deity at Bēlūr was perhaps the family god of the earlier rulers as well. But when they exchanged Chennakēśavanātha of Bēlūr for Virūpāksha of Hāmpe is a point which is difficult to solve for the present. It is not denied that the Vijayanagara rulers continued to sign, till the end of the III dynasty, all their grants and deeds in the name of Virūpāksha. But so intimately were the people acquainted with the Karnāṭaka origin of the monarchs that they always called the Vijayanagara kings Karnāṭaka monarchs, and their viceroys Karnāṭaka overlords.³ And even in A.D. 1571 in the time of Tirumala, the elaborate inscriptions of the king call them kings of Karnāṭaka.⁴

Thus did Karnāṭaka vindicate to the rest of the Hindu world her honour by sending forth a little band of five brothers, who, far from being "a stupid instrument for the renovation and restoration of Hinduism",⁵ stood out, Karnāṭaka by birth and Karnāṭaka in valour, as the champions of "all that was worth preserving in Hindu religion and culture".⁶

CHAPTER II

THE COUNTRY IN GENERAL

SECTION I. *Description of the Land*

THE Empire which thus arose on the soil of Karnāṭaka gradually extended its sway over the whole of the peninsula south of the river Kṛishnā. It was not an empty boast which the engravers recorded on stone when they said that

¹ E.C., V. P. I., Bl. 78, p. 64.

² *Ibid.*, Bl. 4, p. 45.

³ Taylor, O.H.M.S.S., II, p. 153, and *passim*.

⁴ E.C., XII, Tm. 1, pp. 1, 2. In the light of all this evidence it is unsafe, if not wrong, to assert that "there never was a Karnāṭaka kingdom", when referring to Vijayanagara. Burnell, *Vyavahāranirṇaya*, Intr., p. v. For a further discussion of the subject on the origin of the monarchs, see Heras, *The Beginnings*, p. 69, *seq.*

⁵ Burnell, *Dāyabhāga*, Intr., p. xi.

⁶ S. K. Aiyangar, *Some Contributions*, p. 298.

"Saṅgama of the Yaḍuvaṁśa enabled Lakshmi the Karṇāṭaka Dēśa to wear permanently her ear-rings".¹ The sons of Saṅgama had reason indeed to infuse new life into the old country. Known by the name of Punnāṭa (or Punnāḍ) in early history, it had withered till it rose under the general appellation of Gaṅgavādi 96,000; and when the warring peoples from the time of the Mauryas till those of the Hoysalas had pained it with their politics and soothed it with their songs, it reappeared again as Karṇāṭa of the Vijayanagara age.² According to an inscription dated in A.D. 1565, it was 126,000 *yōjanas* in extent, situated in the middle of the Jambūdvipa.³ With the roll of ages, Karṇāṭaka had not changed in its fertility and fame. Centuries before the rise of the Kurubas, the land of Karṇāṭaka had sheltered the Jaina sages of the north; and the nature of the country where the founders of the Vijayanagara Empire first made their appearance is thus described in an inscription of about A.D. 600. Bhadrabāhu, after having foretold in Ujjaini a period of twelve years of dire calamity, took his way to the south where his *saṅgha* made their abode. " . . . The whole of the *saṅgha*, leaving the northern regions, took their way to the south. And the ṛishi company arrived at a country counting many hundreds of villages, completely filled with the increase of people, money, gold, grain, cows, buffaloes, and goats.

"Whereupon at a mountain with lofty peaks, whose name was Kaṭavapra,—an ornament to the earth; the ground around which was variegated with the brilliant hues of the clusters of gay flowers fallen from the beautiful trees; the rocks on which were dark as the great rain clouds filled

¹ E.C., VIII, Tl. 206, p. 209, op. cit.

² Rice, I.A., XII, p. 13. The identification of Maisūru with Mahisha-maṇḍala, though no doubt very attractive to a Kannaḍiga, is untenable. See Fleet, J.R.A.S., 1910, p. 425, seq.; Pargiter, *ibid.*, p. 867; Rice, J.R.A.S., 1911, p. 809, seq.; Fleet, *ibid.*, p. 816, seq.; Rice, J.R.A.S., 1912, p. 241, seq.; Fleet, *ibid.*, p. 245, seq.; Narasimhachar, Q.J.M.S., X, p. 249, seq. A Sinda king Gaṇḍarādityarasa is called the lord of Māhishamatipura in Saka 969. He ruled over the Sindavādi 1,000, Beṇṇevūru 12, and Nūṛuguṇḍa. 711 of 1919; E. Report for 1920, p. 100. Buchanan speaks of a celebrated temple named after Mahishi supposed to have been built by Hanumānta, on the banks of the Tuṅgabbadrā near Maluru. *Travels through Malabar*, III, p. 286. Mr. Sēsha Ayyar would convert *Erumaināḍu* into *Erwai-nāḍu*=Land of Elephants, Q.J.M.S., XI, p. 76. For Mahishavishaya, see *Ep. Ind.*, IV, p. 58, n. 2. See also Munshi, I.A. LI, p. 219.

³ E.C., VII, Ci. 62, p. 189.

with water; abounding with wild boars, panthers, tigers, bears, hyænas, serpents, and deer; filled with caves caverns, large ravines, and forests',¹ the *saṅgha* fixed its quarters.

That the people loved to praise Kaṇṇāṭaka in the later ages as well can be seen from the following description of it by the poet Nañjuṇḍa (A.D. 1525) who in his *Kumāra Rāmana Kathe* says:²

ಕಾವೇರಿಯಿಂದಂ ಗೋದಾವರಿವರೆಗಮಿ |
 ದರ್ವಸುಧಾತಳ ವಳಯ ||
 ಭಾವಿಸೆ ಕರ್ಣಾಟಕಜನಪದವದ |
 ನಾವೆನೊಲಿದು ಬಣ್ಣಿ ಸುವಸು ||
 ನಡೆವಂಜೆ ನುಡಿವರಗಿಳಿ ನಲಿದಾಡುವ |
 ಬೆಡಗಿನ ನವಿಲು ಕೂಗಿಡುವ ||
 ಪಡಿಯದಿವಕ್ಕಿ ಮೊರೆವ ಪರಮೆಗಳೆರ್ಬೆ |
 ಗೆಡಿಪುವು ಪಳಿಕರನಲ್ಲಿ ||
 ಮಡಿಯೆಂಬ ಮಾತು ಸಂಖ್ಯಾವಾಚಿಗಳ ಕಟ್ಟ |
 ಕಡೆಯೊಳು ಶಾಕವಾಟೆಯೊಳು ||
 ತಡೆಯದಾರಜಕರೊಳಲ್ಲದಾಜನಪದ |
 ದೆಡೆಯೊಳಿಲ್ಲಿ ನೋಡಿದಡಂ ||

In order to estimate adequately the remarks of foreigners about the land, and the zeal with which princes and peoples made it wealthy and famous, we may go beyond the bounds of brevity and listen to the well known Sarvajña about the nature of the country. This poet, who may have lived about A.D. 1700 or earlier,³ compares Kaṇṇāṭaka with the adjacent countries in the following lines:

"On each road are thorns of the Shabby Ocymum; all those who are born speak indistinctly. The road to the East is not to be taken. Roasted corn is cheap; for an obeisance you get some butter-milk; there are small Solanum fruits to suck (instead of mangoes). Can one declare the East to be rich?

¹ E.C., II, No. 1, p. 1. (1st. ed.); pp. 1-2, (2nd. ed.) Rice, *Mys. Ins.*, p. 302.

² *Kaṇṇāṭaka Kavicharite*, II, p. 205. Evidently Nañjuṇḍa had Nṛpatuṅga's verses in mind. Read *Kavirājamārgga*, I. 36, p. 6. (text).

³ The date of this poet is however disputed. See *infra*.

"Whithersoever you look, you see thorns of the miserable Ocymum. All the people, even when grown up, speak indistinctly. The North is not beautiful. The villages are far from each other; water is met every ten miles; there is no shade to stand under. The road to the North is not to be taken.

"With your dish of great millet you have many varieties of split pulse and the milk of well-fed buffaloes. Look at the riches of the Middle Country—the Land of Growth (Karnāṭaka)! With your dish of Panicum you have suitable split pulse and a lump of butter as big as a sling-stone. Look at the means of the Middle Country! You have your cake of wheaten flour and the milk of the lusty buffaloes and the love of a modest female! I have not seen the like! May cake dust (that does not satiate) fall into the mouth of him who says that the country, where the Bengal gram and wheat are sown and grown, should be burnt!

"The forest (of the West) is full of immature fruit; the country is full of huge trees; promises are not kept. I have had quite enough of the Hill Country (i.e., Male-nāḍu). The climate is damp, bellies are swollen; ah! why should one go to a country where sinners stir and eat their food with wooden ladles? There are green ginger and turmeric: there are jaggery and betel; there are good jack-fruits to eat. Can one declare the Hill Country to be a good one? There is rice water, there is mud, there are not dwellings, there are wives that are gratifying. Oh! Look at the relieving features of the Hill Country!

"But in this Southern direction Asuras have been born as men. Daśasira's (Rāvaṇa's) enemy has given them their name and rejected the region of the Tigulas. There are the kālākūṭa poison and such malice as you might experience if you trusted a scorpion... How shall I tell the self-conceit of the country where reasoning has been born!"

Making due allowance for the provincialism which has made the poet speak in disparaging terms about the great people of the south, we may, nevertheless, note that he speaks of the ancient Gaṅgavāḍi in words the truth of which has been amply borne out by foreign travellers. Duarte Barbosa, who was for sixteen years in the Indian

seas, and who visited Vijayanagara in A.D. 1504-1515,¹ confirms the opinion of Sarvajña as regards the richness of the soil of the centre of the Empire. "This kingdom of Narsinga," says Duarte Barbosa, "is very rich and well supplied with provisions, and is very full of cities and large townships; and all the country is very fertile and brought under cultivation".²

Paes, who was in the city of Vijayanagara in about A.D. 1520,³ in his *Chronicle* writes: "Now to tell of the aforesaid kingdom (of Vijayanagara). It is a country sparsely wooded except along this *serra* on the east (i.e., on the west of the territory of Vijayanagara), but in places you walk for two or three leagues under groves of trees; and behind cities and towns and villages they have plantations of mangoes and jackfruit trees, and tamarinds and other very large trees, which form resting-places where merchants halt with their merchandise. . . These domains are very well cultivated and very fertile, and are provided with quantities of cattle, such as cows, buffaloes, and sheep; also of birds, both those belonging to the hills and those reared at home, and in this in greater abundance than in our tracts. The land has plenty of rice and Indian-corn, grains, beans and other kind of crops which are not sown in our parts; also an infinity of cotton".⁴

About the eastern parts of the Vijayanagara Empire we have the following from the writings of Nicholas Pimenta, who went from Tanjore to Mailāpūr in A.D. 1559: "From hence (i.e., Tanjore) we went by land to Saint Thomas, travelling twelve days in a pleasant Country beautified with Groves and Streams, enriched with a fertile soil and wholesome eyre".⁵

This fertile region over which the Vijayanagara monarchs ruled was bounded on three sides by the ocean and on the northern side by an almost impenetrable belt of forest. The justification of the title of *pūrva-paschima-dakshina-samudrādhipati* (Lord of the Eastern, Western and Southern Oceans) which the Hindu rulers assumed, is to be found in these words of 'Abdur Razzāq, the ambassador

¹ Barbosa, *A Description of the Coasts of E. Africa and Malabar*, Preface, p. vii. (Trans. by Stanley); Burgess, *Chronology of Modern India*, p. 13.

² Barbosa, *ibid.*, p. 79.

³ Sewell, *For. Emp.*, p. vi.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 237.

⁵ Nicholas Pimenta, Purchas, *Pilgrims*, X, p. 207.

from the court of Sultan Shāh Rukh,¹ who stayed in the great capital from the end of April A.D. 1443 till the 5th of December A.D. 1443.² "His dominions (i.e. those of Dēva Rāya II) extended from the frontier of Serendib to the extremities of the country of Kalbergah (i.e., from the Kṛishṇā river to Cape Comorin)".³ "Inland, his cities and provinces extended over a journey of three months".⁴ As regards the northern frontier, Paes relates thus: "On the extreme east of these two kingdoms (i.e., the kingdom of the Hindus and that of 'Ādil Shāh) you must know that the country is all covered with scrub, the densest possible to be seen, in which there are great beasts; and (this) forms so strong a fortress for it that it protects both sides; it has its entrances by which they pass from one kingdom to the other".⁵

SECTION 2. *Flowers, Birds, and Animals of the Empire*

We shall now describe in detail this country and its people in order to appreciate better their achievement when compared with some of the principles of the Hindu writers on polity. To start with, an account of the flora and fauna of the land will be given, since these, especially the latter, have played an important part in the socio-economic and religious as well as political spheres of life.⁶ No one who has carefully examined the neglected sculptured walls of Hampi, notably of the Hazāra Rāma temple, the Achyuta Rāya temple, and the Dasara Dibba, can fail to admire the skill with which the Vijayanagara architects have left behind them a definite evidence of their intimate acquaintance with the animals of the country. It does not appear from the bas-reliefs of Hampi that the people made indiscriminate use of their animals for religious purposes, although it may be said with some measure of truth that the consecration of animals to gods and goddesses as well as the deification of fauna form two important features of the religious system of the Hindus.⁷

Elliot, *Hist. of India*, IV, p. 89; Sewell, *For. Emp.*, p. 87.

Hultzsch, *I.A.*, XX, p. 301.

Sewell, *ibid.*, p. 88.

Elliot, *ibid.*, IV, p. 103.

Sewell, *ibid.*, pp. 243-4.

Sarkar, *Positive Background of Hindu Sociology*, I., pp. 46-47.

Ibid., I, p. 221.

In order to know how far the people in the middle ages realized the importance of animals for their social and economic purposes, we shall follow, firstly, the travellers from Honnāvūru to Madura, and from Madura to Mailāpūr, in their quest of the animals of Vijayanagara, and then, in a subsequent connection, dwell at length on the method by which the Vijayanagara architects actually made an ample use of their environment in matters of art and religion.

Varthema, who undertook his travels between the years A.D. 1502 and 1508, while speaking about Honnāvūru, then-called by the foreigners, Onore, says: ". . . and some kinds of animals are found here, viz., wild hogs, stags, wolves, lions, and a great number of birds different from ours; there are also many peacocks and parrots there. They have beef of cows, that is real cows, and sheep in abundance. Roses, flowers, fruits are found here all throughout the year".¹ The same traveller visiting Bhatkal remarked thus about the animals in that city: "Neither horses nor mules nor asses, are customary here, but there are cows, buffaloes, sheep, oxen and goats".² Duarte Barbosa in A.D. 1514 wrote the following about the animals in Tuḷuva-nāḍu, which he calls *Tulinat*, and on the Western Ghauts: "This range (i.e., the Western Ghauts in Tuḷuva) is peopled in several parts, with good towns and villages, very luxuriant in water and delicious fruit; and in it there are many wild boars, and large and fine deer, many leopards, ounces, lions, tigers, bears and some animals of an ashy colour, which look like horses, very active and which cannot be caught (i.e. 'the Nil-cow or Blue Cow'). There are serpents with wings, which fly, very venomous, so that their breath and looks kill whatever person places himself very near them, and they always go amongst the trees. There are also many wild elephants; and many stones of geyonzas, amethysts, and soft sapphires, are found in the rivers where they are deposited. They carry them from the mountains to sell them in the Malabar towns, where they are wrought".³

¹ Varthema, *The Itinerary*, p. 122, (Trans. by Jones); *ibid.*, p. 50, (Trans. by Temple).

² Varthema, *ibid.*, Jones, p. 120; Temple, p. 49.

³ Barbosa, Stanley, pp. 84-5.

Nothing could escape the notice of these foreign travellers. John Nieuhof in A.D. 1664 writes thus in his *Voyages and Travels* about the venomous creatures of the extreme south of the Empire: "... the Sea shoar abounds in Hares and Partridges, the first of which resemble our Rabbits, their Flesh being tough, yet in Taste like our Hares. . . They have here Mice as big as Cats. . . which dare not approach them, for, if they be pursued, they will settle upon a Chair or Chest, and sitting upright, Fight and Bite like Dogs. . . They will dig underneath the Doors and do considerable mischief to the Merchandise in the Warehouse. . . This Country also produces Serpents and diverse other sorts of venomous Creatures".¹

From the observations of Paes we can infer that the remarks of Nieuhof about the partridges of the south hold good of Karnāṭaka proper as well. "In this country," writes Paes, "there are many partridges, but they are not of the same sort or quality as ours: they are like the *estarnas* of Italy.

"There are three sorts of these; one class has only a small spur such as those of Portugal have; another class has on each foot two very sharp spurs, almost as long and thick as one's finger; the other class is painted, and of these you will find the markets full; as also of quails, and hares, and all kinds of wild fowl, and other birds which live in the lakes and which look like geese. All these birds and game animals they sell alive, and they are very cheap, for they give six or eight partridges for a *vintem*, and of hares they give sometimes two and sometimes one. Of other birds they give more than you can count, for even of the large ones, they give so many that you would hardly pay any attention to the little ones they give you, such as doves and pigeons and the common birds of this country. The doves are of two kinds; some are like those in Portugal, others are as large as thrushes; of the doves they give twelve or fourteen for a *favao*; the pigeons are the same price as the other birds".²

Thus, according to the foreign travellers, it seems certain that Vijayanagara possessed one of the many attributes of an ideal capital as described in the mediaeval Hindu

¹ Churchill, *A Collection of Voyages and Travels*, II. (John Nieuhof, *Voyages and Travels into Brazil and the East Indies*), p. 297; Visvanatha, *Nayaks*, p. 331.

² Sewell, *For. Emp.*, pp. 257-8.

books. In the *Sukraniti*, for example, birds are mentioned, along with cattle and other animals, as some of the attractions of the place where the capital city is to be built.¹

As regards domestic economy, Sukrāchārya mentions cows, buffaloes, goats, cats, dogs, sheep and deer.² The most popular of these is the cow. How far it could be said that the Vijayanagara monarchs were orthodox in the matter of maintaining the sanctity of the cow will be seen in a subsequent chapter; for the present we shall say something about the prosperous condition of cattle in the capital. Paes is positive about this vital question of the agriculturists. "For the state of this city", says he, "is not like that of other cities, which often fail of supplies and provisions, for in this city everything abounds; and also the quantity of butter and oil and milk sold every day, that is a thing I cannot refrain from mentioning; and as for the rearing of cows and buffaloes which goes on in the city, there is so much that you will go very far before you find another like it". "There are also in this city places where they sell live sheep; you will see the fields round the city full of them, and also of cows and buffaloes—it is a very pretty sight to see,—and also the many she-goats and kids, and the he-goats so large that they are bridled and saddled. Many sheep are like that also, and boys ride them".³

The Hindus of Vijayanagara looked upon the cow with great reverence. To a traveller come from abroad this was something remarkable. Paes writes thus: "For you must know that in this land they do not slaughter oxen or cows; the oxen are beasts of burden and are like sumpter-mules; these carry all their goods. They worship the cows, and have them in their pagodas made in stone, and also bulls; they have many bulls that they present to these pagodas, and these bulls go about the city without any one causing them any harm or loss".⁴ Nuniz, another Portuguese traveller, confirms what Paes says about the devotion with which the people of Vijayanagara looked upon the cow. "These people have such devotion to cows," writes Nuniz, "that they kiss them every day, some they say even on

¹ *Sukraniti*, I, ll. 425, 428, p. 28; Sarkar, *Pos. Back.*, I, p. 250.

² Sarkar, *ibid.*, I, p. 48.

³ Sewell, *For. Emp.*, pp. 258-60.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 238.

the rump—a thing I do not assert for their honour—and with the droppings of these cows they absolve themselves from their sins as if with holy 'water'".¹ Admitting that the Hindus, according to the opinion of some, went, as they do go now, beyond the bounds of reason in their adoration of the cow, it remains to be seen why they have ever held it in such sacredness. The cow "typifies the all-yielding Earth. All agricultural labour depends on the ox, for no such animal as the cart-horse exists in India. There is a typical 'cow of plenty'—Kāmadhēnu, supposed to yield all desired objects, images of which are commonly seen in the bazaars, and bought as objects of reverence; and the letting loose of a bull properly stamped with the symbols of Siva, in sacred cities like Benares and Gayā, that it may be tended and revered by pious persons, is a highly meritorious act".² It is this latter, perhaps, to which Paes refers in his description of the bulls and the pagodas in the capital.

It seems as if the people of Vijayanagara, in spite of their rearing many sheep, were ignorant of the manufacturing of woollen fabrics. We gather this from Paes himself. While describing the king's palace and the "House of Victory", with its beautiful scaffoldings, he says: "Let no one fancy that these cloths were of wool, because there are none such in the country, but they are of very fine cotton".³ Perhaps because of the hot climate the people dispensed with woollen clothes.

However that may be, to the three animals which have become famous in the Hindu classics, because of their association with the greatness of Indra,—the cow, the horse, and the elephant,⁴—the Vijayanagara princes became very partial. The mediaeval monarchs shared with the ancients the affection which they had for the horse. According to Bāṇa, the people of the times of Harshavardhana had Gōvinda as the tutelary god of the stables,⁵ and the horse was held high in the royal estimation.⁶ The best horses in the Vijayanagara age were mostly imported

¹ Sewell, *For. Emp.*, p. 391. See *infra*, Volume II, Chapter III. Brahmins.

² Sarkar, *Pos. Back*, I, p. 22.

³ Sewell, *ibid.*, p. 264.

⁴ Sarkar, *ibid.*, p. 223. Indra's elephant is called Airāvata; his horse Uchchaisravas, and his cow Kāmudughā or Nahdint.

⁵ Bāṇa, *Harshacharita*, p. 51. (Trans. by Cowell and Thomas).

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 50.

from Persia. Commenting on the short life of the horses brought from abroad, Barbosa says: "These horses live but for a short time, they are not bred in this country, for all of them are brought there from the kingdom of Ormuz and that of Cambay, and on that account, and for the great need of them, they are worth so much money".¹ Varthema, too, has something to say about the Persian horses. "He (i.e., Narsiṅga, Emperor of Vijayanagara) is a very powerful king, and keeps up constantly 40,000 horsemen. And you must know that a horse is worth at least 300, 400 and 500 *pardai* and some are purchased for 800 *pardai*, because horses are not produced there, neither are many mares found there, because those kings who hold the seaports do not allow them to be brought together".²

The wars waged against the Muhammadans demanded the maintenance of an efficient contingent of cavalry; and the Hindu rulers, therefore, did not neglect the care of the horses which they bought at great price. Barbosa gives us some additional information as regards the price of these animals. "The horses", says he, "cost from three to six hundred ducats each, and some of the choicest for his (King's) personal use, nine hundred or a thousand ducats".³


The Central Government solved the question of cavalry in the following manner: the various viceroys, many of whom were given great powers of administration, were ordered to maintain the horses for the king. Defective as this system was, since it laid the king at the mercy of his nobles as regards the most important part of the army, the times, and, perhaps, the wealth of the nobles, needed such a procedure, which does not seem to have caused any inconvenience or danger to the Vijayanagara Emperor. "These horses", according to Barbosa, "are distributed amongst the great lords who are responsible for them, and keep them for the gentry and knights to whom the king bids them to be given: and he gives to each knight a horse and a groom and a slave girl, and for his personal expenses four or five *pardaos* of gold per month, according to who he is; and, besides that, each day's provisions for the horse and groom; and they send to the kitchen for the rations both for the elephants and horses. The kitchens are very

¹ Barbosa, Stanley, p. 90.

² Varthema, Temple, p. 51.

³ Barbosa, Stanley, pp. 89-90.

large and numerous, they contain many cauldrons of copper, and several officials who cook the food of the elephants and horses; which, it must be said, is rice, chick-peas, and other vegetables. In all this there is much order and arrangement, and if the knight to whom the king has given a horse cares for it and treats it well, they take away that one and give him another and a better one; and if he is negligent, they take his away and give him another that is worse. And thus all the king's horses and elephants are well fed and cared for, at his cost; and the grandees, to whom he gives a great quantity of them, act in the same manner with their knights".¹

The fine breed of the days of Barbosa seems to have degenerated into the puny ones of the Ikkēri times which formed an epilogue to Vijayanagara history. Pietro della Valle in A.D. 1623 thus describes them: "All the rest of us rode upon Horses of the place, which are of very small size, and were sent to us for that purpose accoutr'd after their manner, with saddles pretty high to look upon, but to me very inconvenient; for they have bows and cruppers very high, and are all of hard wood, without any stuffing but with sharp wreath'd edges, cover'd with black or red Cloth lay'd with bands of Gold, or yellow, or other colour; in the cruppers are many carv'd ornaments of this figure , besides certain extravagant tassels hanging down to the stirrups; and, were they not so hard, they would be neither unhandsome nor unsafe to ride upon".²

The importance of horses and elephants on state occasions is described by Paes. While narrating the events of a great Hindu festival, he speaks about the House of Victory thus: "You must know that when it is morning the king comes to this House of Victory, and betakes himself to the room where the idol is with its Brahmans, and he performs his prayers and ceremonies. Outside the house are some of his favourites, and on the square are many dancing-girls dancing. In the verandahs round the square are many captains and chief people who come there in order to see; and on the ground, near the platform of the house, are eleven horses with handsome and well-arranged trappings, and behind them are four beautiful elephants with many adornments. After the king has

¹ *Barbosa*, Stanley, p. 90.

² *Pietro della Valle*, *Travels*, II, pp. 249-50.

entered inside he comes out, and with him a Brahman who takes in his hand a basket full of white roses and approaches the king on the platform, and the king, taking three handfuls of these roses, throws them to the horses, and after he has thrown them he takes a basket of perfumes and acts towards them as though he would cense them; and when he has finished doing this he reaches towards the elephants and does the same to them. And when the king has finished this, the Brahman takes the basket and descends to the platform, and from thence puts those roses and other flowers on the heads of all the horses and this done, returns to the king".¹

The royal horses, which were branded with the king's mark,² shared this unique honour at the hands of the monarch along with the State elephants. The price of the elephants was naturally exorbitant. According to Barbosa, "the elephants, (were paid) at the price of fifteen hundred to two thousand ducats each, because they are very great and well-fitted for war, and for taking about with him (the king) continually for state".³

Like the horse, the elephant was an animal that was imported into the country. The land which supplied Vijayanagara with elephants was, according to 'Abdur Razzāq, Ceylon.⁴ "And in this island (of Ceylon) are reared many wild elephants which the King has caught and tamed. These he sells to the merchants of Chara-mandel, of Narsingua (Vijayanagara), Malabar, Daquem and Cambaia, who came hither to seek them".⁵ In these words does Barbosa confirm what 'Abdur Razzāq says about the country from where elephants were imported into Vijayanagara. Why this animal, which has good claims to be called a characteristic member of the fauna of India, should have been imported from Ceylon is a matter that cannot be understood. For among the places from where Indians brought elephants, as given in the *Sukranīti* and in the *Ā'in-Akbarī*, Ceylon is not mentioned at all.⁶ The only explanation perhaps is that since the central regions of India, which were famous for their

Sewell, *For. Emp.*, p. 266

Ibid., p. 381.

Barbosa, Stanley, p. 89.

Major, *India*, p. 29; Elliot, *Hist. of India*, IV, p. 111.

Barbosa, Dames, II, p. 113.

Sarkar, *Pos. Back.*, I, p. 285.

elephants, were in the hands of the Muhammadans, the Vijayanagara emperors were naturally inclined to turn their minds to Ceylon in the south, which could be approached from any one of the numerous ports of the Empire.

It will be interesting to see something in detail about these animals, which figure so prominently in the designs of the Vijayanagara architects. The elephants were caught in the following manner in the days of 'Abdur Razzāq. "The manner in which they catch the elephants", says he, "is this : they dig a pit in the way by which the animal usually goes to drink, which they cover over lightly. When an elephant falls into it, no man is allowed to go near the animal for two or three days; at the end of that period a man comes up and strikes him several hard blows with a bludgeon, when suddenly another man appears to drive off the striker, and seizing the bludgeon, throws it away. He then retires, after placing forage before the elephant. This practice is repeated for several days; the first lays on the blows, and the second drives him away, until the animal begins to have a liking for his protector, who by degrees approaches the animal, and places before it the fruits which elephants are partial to, and scratches and rules the animal, until by this kind of treatment, he becomes tame, and submits his neck to the chain".¹ In the skilful practice of catching and taming an elephant, the Vijayanagara people did not introduce a new art. So far back as the times of Chandragupta, the importance of the elephant in the life of the people was seen in the institution of a law by which "the killing of an elephant was visited even with capital punishment."²

In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries in southern India the elephants were housed in stables, and were looked after by a large number of officials, who maintained order even in the matter of feeding them. 'Abdur Razzāq informs us that the stables of these animals were opposite the offices of the Minister.³ The custom of having separate stables for the royal elephants continued till the days of the Ikkēri

¹ Elliot, *Hist. of India*, IV. p. 110; Major, *India*, pp. 27-8. Cf. With the ancient method as given by Megasthenes, *Book III. Fragment XXXVI*; Sarkar, *Pos. Back.* I, p. 280.

² Sarkar, *ibid.*, I, p. 280.

³ Elliot, *ibid.*, p. 109.

Nāyaks. Pietro della Valle speaks of them while narrating the events of the reign of Veṅkaṭappa Nāyaka.¹ As regards the details of the manner by which they fed the elephants in Vijayanagara times, we have to read the accounts of 'Abdur Razzāq. "Each has a separate stall; the walls are very strong and high, and are covered with strong wood. The chains on the necks and backs of the elephants are firmly attached to the beams above; if the chains were bound any other way, the elephants would easily detach themselves. Chains are also bound upon the fore-legs".² This is how they were fed: "Every morning this animal (i.e., the white elephant of the king) is brought into the presence of the monarch; for to cast eye upon him is thought a favourable omen. The balance elephants are fed on *kichū*, which after being cooked, is turned out from the cauldron before the elephant, and after being sprinkled with salt and moist sugar, is made into a mass, and then balls of about two *mans* (maunds) are dipped in butter, and are then placed by the keepers in the mouths of the animals. If any of these ingredients is forgotten, the elephant is ready to kill its keeper, and the king also severely punishes his negligence. They are fed twice a day in this way".³ We have already noted the remark of Barbosa that in all this there was "much order and arrangement".

The people who looked with such great care after the feeding of the elephants did not neglect the matter of breeding them. The Persian ambassador informs us that "between the first and second *enceinte* of the city and between the northern and western faces the breeding of the elephants take place, and it is here the young ones are produced".⁴

Man driven by the desire to possess more wealth and power must have been tyrannical in those days; and elephants must have broken their bondage, pursuing their mahouts as they have done in our own times. 'Abdur Razzāq gives us a story of how an elephant ran for its

¹ Pietro della Valle, *Travels*, II, p. 265.

² Elliot, *Hist. of India*, IV, p. 110.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 109-10.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 109. Cf. Varthema: 'The said elephant, when he wishes to generate, goes into a secret place, that is, into the water in certain marshes, and they unite and generate like human beings'. Temple, p. 53; Jones, p. 129.

freedom from its keeper; and Varthema adds his remarks on the intelligence, discretion, and strength of these animals. These two accounts speak as much for the wisdom of the elephants as for the astuteness with which the Vijayanagara people curbed them. The story as given by 'Abdur Razzāq is the following :

“They tell the following story of an elephant that fled from his bondage, and absconded to the deserts and the jungles. His keeper, in pursuit of him, dug pits in the path which he was likely to frequent. The elephant, apprehensive of his artifices, seizing a club, and holding it like a staff in his trunk, kept feeling and sounding the earth with great caution as he advanced; and so arrived at the drinking ford. The elephant-drivers despaired of taking him; but as the king was very anxious to have him caught, one of the keepers mounted a tree under which the elephant was likely to go, and there lay hid, till, at the moment of his passing underneath, he threw himself down on the back of the animal, and seizing the strong cord which they strap over the back and chest of those animals, and which had not yet been detached, he held it fast within his grasp. In spite of all the turnings and motions which the elephant made to escape and in spite of his lashing with his trunk, it was all of no avail. When he began rolling upon his sides, the keeper leapt upon the flank uppermost, and meanwhile struck the animal severe sharp blows upon the head, so that, being at last exhausted, the beast gave in, and submitted his body to the bonds, and his neck to the fetters. The keeper brought the elephant into the presence of the king, who bestowed a handsome reward upon him”.¹

Varthema's observations are also to be noted. “It occurs to me here”, says he, “to touch upon a subject worthy of notice, viz., the discretion, the intelligence, and the strength of the elephant. We will first say in which manner he fights. When an elephant goes into battle he carries a saddle, in the same manner as they are borne by the mules of the kingdom of Naples, fastened underneath by two iron chains. On each side of the said saddle he carries a large and very strong wooden box, and in each box there go three men. On the neck of the elephant, between the boxes and the plank, a man sits astride who

¹ Elliot, *Hist. of India*, IV, pp. 110-11.

speaks to the elephant, for the said elephant possesses more intelligence than any other animal in the world; so that there are in all seven persons who go upon the said elephant; and they go armed with shirts of mail, and with bows and lances, swords and shields. And in like manner they arm the elephant with mail, especially the head and the trunk. They fasten to the trunk a sword two *braccia* long, as thick and wide as the hand of a man. And in that way they fight. And he who sits upon his neck orders: 'Go forward', or 'Turn back', 'Strike this one', 'Strike that one', 'Do not strike any more', and he understands as though he were a human being. But if at any time they are put to flight it is impossible to restrain them; for this race of people are great masters of the art of making fireworks; and these animals have a great dread of fire, and through this means they sometimes take to flight. But in every way this animal is the most discreet in the world and the most powerful. I have seen three elephants bring a ship from the sea to the land, in a manner I will tell you. When I was in Cananor, some Moorish merchants brought a ship on shore in this manner, after the custom of Christians. They beach ships the prow foremost, but here they put the side of the vessel foremost, and under the said ship they put three pieces of wood, and on the side next the sea I saw three elephants kneel down and with their heads push the ship on to dry land. Many say that the elephant has no joints, and I say that it is true that they have not the joints so high as other animals, but they have them low. . . and with this trunk I have seen them pull down a branch from a tree which twenty-four of our men could not pull to the ground with a rope, and the elephant tore it down with three pulls. . . . So that, in conclusion, I say that I have seen some elephants which have more understanding, and more discretion and intelligence, than any kind of people I have met with".¹

From all these observations of different eye-witnesses, we are to conclude that the people of Vijayanagara must have been thoroughly conversant with all the rules as laid down in the classical books on elephants and their training, like the *Pālakāpya*, Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*, the *Bṛhatsamhita* and the like.²

¹ Varthema, Temple, pp. 51-3.

² Sarkar, *Pos. Back*, I, p. 287, *passim*.

The Vijayanagara monarchs maintained elephants for purposes of State, war and trade. The State elephant is thus described by 'Abdur Razzāq: "The King has a white elephant exceedingly large, with here and there as many as thirty spots of colour".¹ We shall see later on how elephants were made use of in the meting out of justice by the Vijayanagara administrators. It is Paes who informs us that the monarch "had eight hundred elephants attached to his person", and that the care of these elephants was given over to the captains.² We are unable for the present to form any estimate of the volume of foreign trade in connection with horses and elephants in Vijayanagara times.

Besides these two animals there was another one which had been since the days of Harshavardhana a native of the land. Indeed there is reason to believe that the camel has played a small but significant part in the economic life of the people from the times of Kauṭilya.³ Bāṇa acquaints us with the fact that the camel was used as a swift courier in the 7th century A.D. Harshavardhana foreboding his father's death, "in hot haste he despatched express couriers and swift camel riders one after another to procure his brother's coming".⁴ These animals have been so faithfully represented on the walls of Vijayanagara that it would not be wrong to say that they must have been an extremely common sight in the streets of the capital. From the sculptures at Hampi it can be made out that camels were used for carrying persons, and perhaps, loads as well. Judged by the profusion with which they are carved on the walls of the City of Victory, it may be said that the persons who used them must have been powerful and prosperous.⁵ Their introduction as well as that of the horse was due to the intimate relations with foreigners, especially with the Muhammadans. In fact, Nuniz relates that the ambassador from the court of 'Ādil Shāh, by name "Matuco-tam", brought with him one hundred and fifty horses and pack animals, among which were certain camels.⁶ It

Elliot, *Hist. of India*, IV, p. 109.

Sewell, *For. Emp.*, p. 281.

Sarkar, (quoting Law, *Studies in Hindu Polity*, p. 27) *Pos. Back.*, I, p. 244.

Bāṇa, *Harshacharita*, p. 145.

Cf. Sarkar, *ibid.*, I, pp. 244-5.

Sewell, *ibid.*, p. 350.

is this fact, perhaps, which is illustrated in the sculptures of the capital in which a drummer, with his drum slung round his waist, is followed by persons one of whom is blowing a trumpet, and by a small person who is leading two camels that have two Muhammadans dancing behind them. In the days of Dēva Rāya II it is said that the great general whom the king selected for his southern campaigns, called Nāgama Nāyaka, possessed an imperial army which was made up of 40,000 horse, 4,000 elephants, and 10,000 camels.¹

We must not omit to mention asses, which also were used as beasts of burden. In the days of Paes they were common in the streets of the capital.²

SECTION 3. *The Means of Communication*

Ancient writers on polity have laid down definite rules as regards the means of communication between the city (*pura*) and the country (*janapada*). Although it is not possible at the present stage of our investigations to say in what respects the Vijayanagara monarchs and people followed in every detail the directions of the Hindu writers, yet it is not improbable that in most matters connected with the general well-being of the State, scrupulous care was bestowed by them on the observance of such of the rules that were most suited to their times. Hindu theorists like Sūkrāchārya have, as is well known to students of Hindu polity, carefully considered the question of linking the capital with the country, and, consequently, the topic of building good roads for the comfort and convenience of travellers and for State purposes. An efficient government of a large empire like that of Vijayanagara for a period of nearly three centuries presupposes, in addition to other things, the existence of some means of communication. In this section we shall see to what extent the Vijayanagara people solved the question of land and water transport.

The Vijayanagara Empire embraced the lands of the Karṇāṭaka and Tamil peoples; and to neither of these was it a new thing to traverse the seas. The Tamilians were an ancient maritime people whose influence had reached

¹ Taylor, *O.H.M.S.S.*, II, p. 3; Rangachari, *I.A.*, XLIII, p. 191.

² Sewell, *For. Emp.*, p. 238.

the shores of Sumatra.¹ In the days of Rājendra I, a great army seems to have been sent across the ocean to Burma.² As regards the people of Karṇāṭaka, the activities of the Vira Baṇajas were so varied and extensive as to justify their claims to have penetrated "into the regions of the six continents" "by land routes and water routes".³ From the Tamilians and the Karṇāṭakas was handed down the impulse to trade with trans-oceanic people in the Vijayanagara age. Water transport in the mediaeval days was regulated by boats, ships, and by the maintenance of a system of ferries and fords.

Evidence as regards the overseas trade in the Vijayanagara times may be gathered both from the accounts of Hindu and foreign writers. According to the *Harivilāsam* of Śrīnātha it appears almost certain that Vijayanagara could boast of enterprising traders.⁴ This is corroborated by the remark of 'Abdur Razzāq that Vijayanagara possessed "300 seaports, every one of which is equal to Kālikot (Calicut)"—a port which in the opinion of that same traveller, was populated by bold navigators, and which was one of the greatest shipping centres of the world.⁵ From the inscriptions we can make out that at least in two parts of the Empire the Vijayanagara monarchs maintained fleets. An inscription dated A.D. 1412 speaks of Seṭṭi Gauḍa, who is styled *Nāvigada-Prabhu* (Lord of Ships), at Maṅgalūr (Mangalore).⁶ There is no doubt that in the southern part of the Empire there was a navy. This can be inferred from an inscription dated Śaka 1361 (A.D. 1439-40) which mentions Lakkanna Daṇṇāyaka Oḍeyar, the *Lord of the Southern Ocean*.⁷ We may suppose that the eastern coast of the Empire was also under the jurisdiction of a high official from the fact of Viraśrī Sōvaṇṇa Oḍeyar having been mentioned as the *Lord of the Eastern Ocean* in Śaka 1275 (A.D. 1353-4).⁸

But the inscription which gives us positive evidence of an intimate acquaintance of the people with the art of ship-

¹ Kanakasabhai, *The Tamils 1800 Years Ago*, pp. 11, 38, 185.

² S. K. Aiyangar, *Ancient India*, p. 130.

³ *E.C.*, VII, Sk. 118, p. 86. See *infra*, Volume II, Chapter II, Section Guilds.

⁴ S. K. Aiyangar, *The Sources of Vijayanagara History*, pp. 4, 57.

⁵ Elliot, *Hist. of India*, IV, p. 103.

⁶ *E.C.*, VIII, Sb. 467, p. 78.

⁷ 26 of 1913.

⁸ 500 of 1906.

building, prior to the advent of the Portuguese, carries us to the year A.D. 1413, when the following was written about the Jaina sages : "May they dwell in my heart—the Tirthaṅkaras, who taking on board the ship of sacred lore,—possessed of all brilliant jewels, freed from bilge-water (*otherwise* saving the ignorant), containing cabins of various modes of argument, painted with the lime (or nectar) of the *syāt-kāra*, and furnished with the high mast of compassion for living creatures—others (found) in the middle of the ocean, of worldly existence—carry them over to the land of immortality".¹ According to Barbosa, however, southern India got its ships built also in the Maldio (Maldiv) Islands, where many great ships were made of palm trunks sewn together with threads, having keels and being of great burden. "They also build smaller boats for rowing, like *bargantins* or *fustas*; these are the most graceful in the world, right well-built and extremely light".²

River transport was a source of revenue to the monarchs. The trade of the people of southern India was retarded to some extent by the rugged beds of the rivers, especially near the capital; nevertheless, it is interesting to note that by means of ferries, fords, and a peculiar type of boat, the Vijayanagara people solved successfully the question of the rivers. They were careful to make the rivers highways of traffic and to remove the impediments presented by them as advised by Sukra.³ In this as well as in other matters, old usage was allowed to have its own way. The custom of ferrying people across a river with and without a fee was prevalent even in the times of Rājendra Chōla Dēva.⁴ To facilitate free ferrying, fords were sometimes constructed at the royal bidding. Thus in about A.D. 1383 Kumāra Kampana ordered the building of easy fords across the Tuṅgabhadrā.⁵ The ferrymen and their boats, especially near the capital, have figured in the inscriptions and in the accounts of foreigners. A ferryman was called

¹ E.C., II, No. 258, p. 116. (Second Ed). The art of building merchant-ships can, as is well known, be dated to the earliest times of Tamil history. B.A.S.

² Barbosa, Dames, II, pp. 107-8. Cf. Chabiani, *Economic Conditions*, p. 64.

³ Sukrācharya, *Nītisāra*, IV, iv. 11. 125-29, p. 166; Sarkar, *Pos. Back.*, I, p. 35.

⁴ *South Indian Ins.*, III, P. I, p. 15; *Arch. S. of W. India*, IV, p. 100.

⁵ *My. Arch. Report* for 1920, p. 36.

harugola and a boatman *ambiga*; the peculiar boat of the former was known as *harigōlu*, and the raft went by the name of *teppa*.¹ The *harigōlu* was a coracle or round basket-boat, covered with hides, commonly used in Mysore at the ferries. These round boats are mentioned so late as A.D. 1671 when Keladi Sōmasēkhara Nāyaka caused to be written, and gave to Harugol Mudaliṅga and the other boatmen of the Tuṅgabhadra river, near Sīmoge, a copper-*sāsana* as follows: "Whereas you have applied for the grant of an *umbali*,—so that you may remain under the control of the Sīmoge fort, and keeping *harigōls*, ferry across passengers going to and fro, taking money from them, and will when necessity arises provide abundance of *harigōls*, for the service of the palace—we have granted land to you etc".² This inscription of Sōmasēkhara Nāyaka enables us to conjecture that the *harugōls* of Āneguṇḍi must also have been under the direct supervision of the governor of Āneguṇḍi, since the Tuṅgabhadra joined that ancient city with the capital at a vulnerable point. Our supposition is strengthened by a lithic record of A.D. 1453 which confirms a grant made to *ambigarū*,³ and especially by an unpublished inscription dated A.D. 1556 which records that the ferrymen of Āneguṇḍi were entitled by royal permission to a fee of one *kāśu* per head.³

What interests us more is the manner in which these curious conveyances are rowed. Paes gives us an account of the purpose to which these round basket-boats were put, and the skill with which they were used. "A captain lives in this city (Āneguṇḍi) for the king," says Paes. "People cross to this place by boats which are round like baskets; inside they are made of cane, and outside are covered with leather; they are able to carry fifteen or twenty persons, and even horses and oxen can cross in them if necessary; but for the most part these animals swim across the river. Men row them with a sort of paddle, and the boats are always turning round, as they cannot go straight like others; in all the kingdom where there are streams there are no other boats but these".⁴ That Paes was cor-

¹ Rice, *My. Ins.* p. 26. n.

² *E.C.*, VII, Sh, 3, p. 4.

³ *My. Arch. Report* for 1920, p. 16. I am indebted to Dr. M. H. Krishna, Director of Archaeological Researches, Mysore, for this information, vide his letter dated 13-12-1929.

⁴ Sewell, *For. Emp.*, p. 259.

rect in his supposition that these boats were used in other parts of the kingdom is proved by the remark of Nuniz who, while describing the activities of the Sultan (Muhammad Tughlaq), narrates that that monarch after conquering "Ballagate" (Bālāghāt, or the region above the Ghats) passed into "the kingdom of Bisnaga" across "the river of Duree" "in basket boats without finding any one to oppose the passage".¹

There is every reason to believe that on the southern and eastern shores the fisher-folk swept the seas with their *catamarans*, which, however, do not figure prominently in Vijayanagara days. Nevertheless from a letter dated A.D. 1700 from the Jesuit Father Peter Martin we learn that he was met, on his approaching the southern coast, by a fisherman "sitting on a catimaron, or several thick Pieces of Wood fastened together in the Form of a Raft".² These *catamarans* (*kaṭṭumarani*) are to be classed with the *teppa* mentioned above.

In spite of the foregoing observations made by the foreigners and the Hindu stone-masons, our information is inadequate as regards the manner in which the Vijayanagara monarchs dealt with the important question of ocean transport. In fact, it may not be far wrong to state that they failed to handle satisfactorily this vital topic of oceanic trade and maritime activity. The Vijayanagara people were essentially a land people; and to them as well as to their rulers, the problem of land transport seemed of greater significance than that of water transport. What a profound effect this had on the fate of the Hindu Empire can only be understood when we follow the thread of political events that ushered in the maritime powers of the Occident on the southern, eastern and western parts of the peninsula. But in judging the Vijayanagara people due consideration is also to be given to the fact that, lacking as they were in all the modern means of transport, they succeeded in maintaining, according to the standards of the age, a brisk commercial and social life in all parts of their Empire.

Man and beast enabled them to tackle the problem of trade and travel. Some general notion of travel in those days can be got by contrasting the conditions in Vijayanagara with those prevalent in the times of Harshavardhana.

¹ Sewell, *For. Emp.*, p. 292, also p. 293.

² Lockman, *The Travels of the Jesuits*, I, p. 358.

The news of the illness of that monarch's father was conveyed to him, while he was in the northern forests, by a man called Kuraṅgaka who approached "with a billet tied in a forehead-wrap of rags of deep indigo hue".¹ Then that prince, Harsha, prepared to march home. "Footmen being sent ahead to secure a relay of villagers to show the best way, he passed the night in the saddle".²

In Vijayanagara times speed in travelling was secured by means of relays of Bōyees or palanquin-bearers. Vijaya Rāghava Nāyaka, son of the famous Raghunātha Nāyaka, used to go daily from his palace at Tanjore to the temple of Srīraṅgam which was at a distance of 3 *āmaḍa* (30 miles). He had fifty changes of Bōyees on the road, and used to start early in the morning at sunrise and return after worshipping the god after 16 *ghaḍis* (12.24 o'clock).³ But to the average citizens it must have been an age of tedious travelling. Nicolo dei Conti writes that "eight days journey from Bizenegalia (i.e., Vijayanagara)" was the "very noble city of Pelagonda (i.e., Penugonḍa)".⁴ According to 'Abdur Razzāq, it took eighteen days to go from the capital to the port of Mangalore.⁵

This brings us to the question of roads in Vijayanagara. But here again our knowledge is meagre. How far they followed the precepts of the mediaeval Hindu writers like Śukra in the matter of the construction of roads cannot be made out. The assumption is that there must have been good roads, if we are to believe contemporary foreign opinion. Roads are of different width in the *Nītisāra* of Śukra. The footpaths of a *grāmā* and the *mārga* or narrow streets of the capital, the rural lanes and the king's highway or *rājamārga*—all these have been dealt with by that great Hindu writer.⁶ From the accounts of travellers and epigraphical records we are able to gather a little about the existence of these in Vijayanagara. The Russian traveller Nikitin speaks of a road going straight through the town.⁷ Barbosa, as we shall see later on, definitely tells us that the

¹ Bāna, *Harshacharita*, p. 133.

² *Ibid.*, p. 135.

³ Aiyangar, *The Sources*, p. 324.

⁴ Major, *India*, p. 7.

⁵ Elliot, *Hist. of India*, IV, p. 124.

⁶ *Sukranūti*, I, ll. 520, 523, 530, 532, pp. 34-5; Sarkar, *Pos. Back.*, P. I., p. 78.

⁷ Major, *ibid.*, p. 29.

streets and squares were very wide.¹ Paes informs us of "a broad and beautiful street",² while dealing with the outer circles of the capital. Then again while describing the citadels, he writes, that he saw "a very beautiful street of very beautiful houses".³ And he further says that there were thirty-four streets between the House of Victory and the Palace.⁴ One of the roads mentioned by Śukra is the *mārga*. An inscription dated A.D. 1399 speaks of a *mārga*.⁵ The streets were named, and in this respect the Vijayanagara monarchs were guided by ancient usage. Thus in the days of Jaṭavarman Śundara Pāṇḍya, according to an inscription dated in the seventeenth year of his reign, a street was called Buvanamuḍupperunderuvu in the village of Madurāntaka-chaturvēdi-maṅgaḷam.⁶ An equally formidable name of a street in the times of Ariyaṇṇa Uḍaiyar (i.e., Harihara Rāya II) was that of the street Nārpattēṇṇāyiraperunderuvu in *agaram* Tirumaḷisai.⁷

The monotony and weariness of travel in those days must have been in a way compensated by the grace and grandeur of the vehicles, some of which, like the palanquin of the Bōyees and the howdah over the elephant, possessed, it must be admitted, a singular charm to the Indian eye. The conveyances, according to Śukra, are the elephant, the camel, the bull and the horse. These he describes as excellent beasts of burden in descending order. Carriages are the best of all conveyances except in the rainy season.⁸ Except these last, the Vijayanagara people were familiar with all the rest, although we may observe that travellers speak of carts as well. Barbosa in A.D. 1514 noted the following about the beasts of burden: "And they carry their goods by means of buffaloes, oxen, asses, and ponies, and do their field work with them".⁹ While speaking of pepper which was imported into the city from Malabar, he says that it was "brought from Malabar on oxen and asses".¹⁰ Both Paes and Nuniz agree with Barbosa on this point. The former

¹ *Barbosa*, Stanley, p. 85.

² Sewell, *For. Emp.*, p. 255.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 260.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 264-5.

⁵ *E.C.*, V. P. II, Cn. 175, text, p. 609.

⁶ 308 of 1909.

⁷ 21 of 1911.

⁸ *Sukraniti*, IV, vii, ll. 352-3, p. 234; Sarkar, *Pos. Back.*, I, p. 263.

⁹ *Barbosa*, Stanley, p. 85.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 86.

says: "... the oxen are beasts of burden and are sumpter-mules; these carry all their goods".¹ And the latter remarks, "... for all comes from outside on pack-oxen since in this country they always use beasts for burdens . . ."² These animals were also used for the same purpose in the Hoysala times. While describing the greatness of the Vīra Baṇaja Dharma, an inscription dated A.D. 1150 says the following: "The Nānā-dēśis enjoying in great comfort, merit, wealth, pleasure and property (the four objects of human desire)", "were also the carriers with asses and buffaloes, adorned 'with red trappings' of the country's trade." Caesar Frederick tells us that people "ride on bullocks with pannels as wee terme them, girts and bridles, and they have a very good commodious pace".⁴

As regards carts we may note that in about A.D. 1590 Rāja Nāyaka, son of Dēvappa Gauḍa, chief of the Hadināḍ country, caused two breaches in a tank to be reconstructed by the hands of the cartmen of the Nandyāḷa country.⁵ The Vīra Baṇajas who, as we have seen, penetrated into the regions of the six continents, could "on the moving cart they place their feet" as well as notice "a cart that has been robbed".⁶ The open space in front of the king's palace, according to Paes, was the road where passed "all the carts and conveyances carrying stores and everything else . . .".⁷

Horses might not have been so frequently used as beasts of burden because of the fact of their having been imported from Persia and of their great use in the wars. Nevertheless, they were trained in the art of caracoling and prancing, and were held in such high respect that feudatory kings had to take their oath of allegiance on the king's horse. This we gather from Paes. "When the (triumphal) cars (belonging to the great nobles) have gone out they are immediately followed by many horses covered with trappings and cloths of very fine stuff of the king's colours, and with many roses and flowers on their heads and necks, and with their bridles all gilded; and in front of these horses goes a horse with two state-umbrellas of

¹ Sewell, *For. Emp.*, p. 238.

² *Ibid.*, p. 366.

³ E.C., VII, Sk. 118, pp. 86-7.

⁴ Caesar Frederick, *Purchas, Pilgrims*, X, p. 98.

⁵ E.C., IV, Yl. 27, p. 30.

⁶ E.C., VII, Sk. 118, op. cit.

⁷ Sewell, *ibid.*, p. 254.

the king and with grander decorations than the others, and one of the lesser equerries leads it by the bridle. In front of this horse goes another caracoling and prancing, as do all horses here, being trained in that art. You must know that this horse that is conducted with all this state is a horse that the king keeps, and on which they are sworn and received as kings, and on it must be sworn all those that shall come after them; and in case such a horse dies they put another in its place. If any king does not wish to be sworn on horseback, they swear him on an elephant, which they keep and treat with equal dignity.”¹

We have already seen something about the elephants in the Vijayanagara times. These animals have always been associated with rank and wealth in India.² Grandiloquent names were given to the howdahs which carried royal personages. Thus that which belonged to Raghunātha Nāvaka of Tanjore, was called Vijayagaruḍādri.³

In addition to the services of the animals mentioned above, those of man were also in great demand. A large population, the exact estimate of which however cannot be gathered; the consequent cheapness of labour; the four-fold divisions of society; the tradition of having a particular class of people to do a particular trade; the rights and privileges which such people enjoyed; and the existence of slavery—these were perhaps some of the reasons why man in those days performed, as he unfortunately does still in some parts of southern India, the work of a beast of burden. The palanquins, most often beautiful in design and costly in value, with their traditional carriers, the Bōyees, used by the captains and the rich classes, were the rule of the day. Barbosa tells us how the nobles, who had incurred the king's displeasure, were ordered to present themselves before him. They “have to come immediately: and they come in very rich litters on men's shoulders, and their horses are led by the bridle before them, and many horses go in front of them”.⁴ The common people were not allowed the use of this coveted conveyance. “All the captains of this kingdom”, according to Nuniz, “make use of litters and palanqueens. These are like biers and men

¹ Sewell, *For. Emp.*, p. 272.

² *Sukranīti*, V, l. 167, p. 268; Sarkar, *Pos. Back.*, I, p. 263.

³ *Raghunāthābhyaṇam*, *Sources*, p. 259.

⁴ *Barbosa*, Stanley, p. 89.

carry them on their shoulders, but people are not allowed to make use of litters unless they are cavaliers of the highest rank, and the captains and principal persons use palanqueens. There are always at the court where the King is twenty thousand litters and palanqueens".¹

Foreign travellers, however, were entitled to go in a palanquin. Caesar Frederick thus narrates how with two of the Portuguese he went from the capital to Goa. "At the end of two moneths, I determined to goe for Goa in the company of two other Portuguall Merchants, which were making ready to depart, with two Palanchines or little Litters, which are very commodious for the way, with eight Falchines which are men hired to carry the Palanchines, eight for a palanchine, foure at a time: they carry them as we use to carry Barrowes. And I bought me two Bullocks, one of them to ride on, and the other to carry my victuals and provision, for in that Country men ride on bullocks with pannels, as wee terme them, girts and bridles, and they have a very good commodious pace. From Bezeneger to Goa in Summer it is eight daies journey, but we went in the midst of winter, in the month of July, and were fiteene dayes comming to Ancola on the Sea coast, so in eight dayes I had lost my two Bullocks; for he that carried my victuals was weake and could not goe; the other, when I came unto a River where there was a little bridge to passe over, I put my Bullock to swimming, and in the midst of the River there was a little Iland, unto the which my bullocke went, and finding pasture, there hee remained still, and in no wise we could come unto him: and so perforce, I was forced to leave him; and at that time there was so much raine, and I was forced to goe seven dayes a foot with great paines: and by great chance I met with Falchines by the way, whom I hired to carry my clothes and victuals".²

From the account given by Nuniz we suppose there must have been almost an army of palanquin-bearers under the immediate control of the king. Moreover, from the number of palanquins given it is evident that they must have been designed for different purposes. This is confirmed by the *History of the Carnataca Governors* which says that in the palace of Tirumala Nāyaka "Further to the east, the palanquin of ceremony, common palanquins,

¹ Sewell, *For. Emp.*, p. 389.

² Caesar Frederick, *Purchas, Pilgrims*, X, p. 98.

and other conveyances, are kept".¹ And our assumption about the great number of palanquin-bearers is likewise attested by Paes, who informs us that litters were used to convey the royal ladies, and that "When they wish to go out they are carried in litters shut up and closed, so that they cannot be seen, and all the eunuchs with them, fully three or four hundred; and all other people keep a long distance from them".² The manner in which the royal ladies travelled is also described by Nuniz. "When he (the king) journeys to any place he takes twenty-five or thirty of his most favourite wives, who go with him, each one in her palanqueen with poles. The palanqueen of the principal wife is all covered with scarlet cloth, tasselled with large and heavy work in seed-pearls and pearls, and the pole itself is ornamented with gold. The palanqueens of the other wives are ornamented only with silver, but another palanqueen, which is for his own person, always goes on the right side, and is in the same way decorated with gold. For a son or a daughter, if such an one goes with him, he takes another bedstead of ivory inlaid with gold . . .".³

The Bōyees, or the palanquin-bearers,⁴ were paid their wages before starting on a journey. How these simple folk could compensate for their faint-heartedness by their honesty is very well illustrated in the following adventure which befell poor Caesar Frederick in A.D. 1567: "The Winter in those parts of the Indies beginneth the fifteenth of May, and lasteth unto the end of October: and as we were in Ancola, there came another Merchant of Horses in a Palanchine, and two Portuguall Souldiers, which came from Zeilan (Ceylon), and two carriers of Letters, which were Christians borne in the Indies: all these consorted to goe to Goa together, and I determind to go with them; and caused a pallachine to be made for me very poorely of Canes; and in one of them Canes I hid privily all the Jewels I had, and according to the order, I took eight Falchines to carie me: and one day about eleven of the clocke we set forwards on our journey; and about two of the clocke in the afternoone, as we passed a Mountaine which divideth the territorie of Ancola and Dialcan, I being a little behind

¹ Taylor, *O.H.MSS.*, II, p. 157.

² Sewell, *For. Emp.*, p. 248.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 370.

⁴ Francis, *Bellary Gazetteer*, p. 60.

my company, was assaulted by eight theeves, foure of them had swords and targets, and the other foure had bowes and arrowes. When the Falchines that carried me understood the noise of the assault, they let the Pallachine and me fall to the ground, and ranne away and left me alone, with my clothes wrapped about me: presently the theeves were on my necke and rifling me, they striped me starke naked, and I fained my selfe sicke, because I would not leave the Pallachine; and I had made me a little bed of my clothes; the theeves sought it very narrowly and subtilly, and found two Purses that I had, well bound up together, wherein I had put my copper money which I had changed for foure Pagodies in Ancola. The theeves thinking that it had been so many Ducats of gold, searched me no further: then they threw all my clothes in a bush, and hied them away, and as God would have it, at their departure there fell from them a hankercher, an when I saw it, I rose from my pallanchine or couch, and tooke it up and wrapped it together within my pallanchine. Then these my Falchines were of so good condition, that they returned to seeke me, whereas I thought I should not have found so much goodnesse in them: because they were payed their money aforehand, as is the case, I had thought to have seene them no more. Before there comming I was determined to pluck the Cane wherein my Jewels were hidden, out of my couch, and to have made me a walking staffe to carry in my hand to Goa, thinking that should I have gone thither on foot, but by the faithfulness of my Falchines, I was rid of that trouble, and so in foure dayes they carried me to Goa, in which time I made hard fare, for the theeves left me neither money, gold, nor silver, and that which I did eate was given of my men for Gods sake: and after at my comming to Goa, I payed them for every thing royally that I had of them".¹

In the mediaeval political manual of *Sukra*, an important link in the chain between the city and the country districts is the rest-house or inn or *serai*.² There is no evidence to prove that the rest-houses in southern India in mediaeval times were built according to the principles of *Sukra* between every two *grāmas*. But there cannot be a doubt that

¹ Caesar Frederick, *Purchas, Pilgrims*, X, p. 100.

² *Sukranīti*, I, ll. 538-9, p. 35.

rest-houses existed in those days. We shall have an occasion of describing these which were called *chhatras* some of which were founded by the nobles, others by the common people. Although some were meant for the use of the poorer class of Brahmans, yet all the people, and especially pilgrims, were fed in them. The rest-houses for the pilgrims were commonly known as choultries. A powerful chief under Veṅkaṭa II by name Dēvalu Pāpa Rāya, with three hundred Brahmans under him, "gave hospitality to the pilgrims who went on, or came from Tripeti (Tirupati)".¹ The ancient city of Madura could boast of the famous New Choultry of Tirumala Nāyaka.² Since most of the Vijayanagara *chhatras* were under the control of the temples of the villages and towns, and since the central government guided the management of the temples, we presume that the inns must also have been under the supervision of the officers of the king. In fact, these rest-houses owed their existence to the large public charities of the times; and these latter, as an inscription dated A.D. 1462 tells us, were "placed under the protection of the king".³ This was quite in keeping with the principle laid down in the *Sukranīti* that rest-houses near the *grāmas* were to be under the administration of the village authorities.⁴ But evidence is lacking about these Vijayanagara rest-houses as regards an interesting point mentioned in the *Sukranīti*—the subjection of travellers to strict rules and queries at the hands of the officials in charge of the inns.⁵

¹ SECTION 4. *The Cities of the Empire*

The records of foreign travellers are full of remarks on the briskness of trade and the consequent prosperity of the different parts of the Vijayanagara Empire. They write in almost all instances after personal observation of the commercial life in the cities, some of which, like those in the south, could lay good pretensions to antiquity. The Vijayanagara monarchs did not introduce the system of building towns.⁶ To the Tamils it was already a familiar

¹ Heras, *Aravidu*, p. 322.

² Taylor, *O.H.MSS.*, II, p. 115.

³ *E.C.*, X, Bn. 24, pp. 140-1.

⁴ *Sukranīti*, I, ll. 544-9, p. 35.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ Read C. P. Venkataramanaya, *Town Planning in Ancient Dekkan*, p. 5, seq.; Binode Behari Dutt, *Town Planning in Ancient India*, (1925).

art. But in mediaeval days a new life was infused into the cities of southern India. Whether on the western, eastern or southern coast, or in the interior, these centres of commercial and intellectual activity contributed to the wealth of the Empire. Barbosa gives us a list of "good-sized" cities. They were the following: Mergen (Mirjān), Honor (Honnāvūru), Baticala (Bhaṭkal), Majandur (Baindūr), Bacanor (Bārakūr), Brace-lore (Basrūr), Mangalor (Mangalore), Cumbola (Kumbḷa).¹ Faria y Sousa confirms Barbosa about "*Onor, Baticale, Barcalor, Baranor* and others on the Province of *Canara* subject to the king of *Bisnaga*".²

Among these Onor or Honor or Honnāvūru was well known for its antiquity. It was the chief city of the Hanu-
vara Dvīpa over which ruled the famous ally of Rāma, Hanumaṇṭa.³ In about A.D. 1170 the great minister Heggaḍe Lakumayya, having freed the kingdom of his royal master Hoysala Narasiṃha from enemies, gave grants of land for the worship of the god Kēśava of Honnāvūru.⁴ Towards the end of the fourteenth century this city was under a Muhammadan governor named Jamāl-ud-dīn Muhammad Ibn Hasan, who was, according to Ibn Baṭūṭah, "subject to an infidel king, whose name is Haraib" (i.e., Hariappa Oḍeyar).⁵ Soon the little town rose into prominence as a centre of foreign trade. It was under a Vijayanagara viceroy whom Varthema styles "a pagan and is subject to the king of Narsinga"⁶ (i.e., Vijayanagara). This traveller has, as we have already seen in connection with the description of the fauna of the country, something to say about the general condition of the city. "There is," says he, "a great deal of rice here, as is usual in India, and some kinds of animals. . . . The air of this place is most perfect, and the people here are longer lived than we are".⁷ It came into some prominence in the history of the Portuguese and their relations with the Vijayanagara monarchs. Dom Francisco de Almeida burnt it in A.D.

Barbosa, *Dames*, II, pp. 185-97.

Faria y Sousa, *Asia Portuguesa*, I, p. 95. (Trans. by Capt. John Stevens).

Rice, *My. Ins.*, Intr., p. xxx.

E.C., V. P.I. Hn. 66, p. 20.

Ibn Baṭūṭah, *Travels*, pp. 165-6. (Lee.)

Varthema, Jones, pp. 121-2.

Varthema, Temple, p. 50.

1505.¹ Soon after in A.D. 1510 "the King of Garsopa and Timoja had an interview with Albuquerque" at that place.² The Portuguese captured it in A.D. 1569;³ and it was still under their influence in the days of Pietro della Valle.⁴

Another flourishing city on the same coast was Bhaṭkaḷ (Baṭṭakāḷa). The travellers have a word of praise for it. Varthema says that "Bathacala" was "a very noble city of India", "walled, and very beautiful, and almost a mile distant from the sea. Its king is subject to the King of Narsinga. The city has no seaport, the only approach to it being a small river".⁵ Barbosa supplements this account with more details. He writes: "This town is situated in level country, it is very populous, and not walled; it is surrounded with many gardens, very good estates, and very fresh and abundant water".⁶ Though in this account he contradicts Varthema's remark that the city had a wall, yet he admits that Bhaṭkaḷ was a "large town", "of very great trade in merchandise, inhabited by many Moors and Gentiles, very commercial people. And at this port congregate many ships from Orguz (Ormuz), to load very good white rice, sugar in powder, of which there is much in this country, for they do not know how to make it in loaves; and it is worth at the rate of two hundred and forty maravedis the arroba (i.e., quarter of hundred-weight)." About its viceroy he says: "This town produces much revenue to the King. Its governor is a Gentile; he is named Damaqueti. He is very rich in money and jewels. The King of Narsinga has given this place and others to a nephew of his, who rules and governs them, and lives in great State, and calls himself king, but is in obedience to the king his uncle".⁷ To the Portuguese this was an important centre of influence. Barbosa speaks of the ships bound for Aden, in the harbour of Bhaṭkaḷ, "risking themselves, although it is forbidden them by the Portuguese", who prohibited the importation of spices and drugs. Bhaṭkaḷ paid an annual tribute to the king of Portugal.⁸

Danvers, *The Portuguese in India*, I, p. 120.

Ibid., p. 207.

Ibid., p. 547.

Pietro della Valle, *Travels*, II, p. 202, n (7).

Varthema, Jones, 119; Temple, 49.

Barbosa, Stanley, p. 81.

Ibid., pp. 79-80; Dames, I, pp. 187-8.

Ibid., p. 81; Dames, *ibid.*, pp. 189-90.

Another city of some commercial importance on the same coast was Añkōlā. Varthema calls it "Centacula".¹ In the times of Caesar Frederick it belonged to the Queen of Gērsoppe, whom he calls "Queen of Gargopam", who paid tribute to the king of Bezeneger (Vijayanagara).²

But a more important town than Añkōlā was Mañgaḷūr (Mangalore). In the days of 'Abdur Razzāq, it marked the limits of the Vijayanagara Empire on the Malabar coast.³ When Barbosa visited it, it was already a flourishing town. He writes thus about it: "The banks of this river (i.e., Nētrāvati) are very pretty, and very full of woods and palm trees, and are very thickly inhabited by Moors and Gentiles, and studded with fine buildings and houses of prayer of the Gentiles, which are very large and enriched with large revenues. There are also many mosques, where they greatly honour Mahomed".⁴ As we remarked in an earlier connection, Mañgaḷūr was the headquarters of the Vijayanagara fleet on the Tuḷuva coast under its officer who was called *Nāvigada-Prabhu* (Lord of Ships). In A.D. 1514, however, it was looted by the Portuguese captain, Luiz de Mello de Silva.⁵

The boundaries of the Vijayanagara Empire to the north of Malabar, however, in the days of Barbosa, were marked by the small town of Kumbḷa. ". . . here the Kingdom of Narsinga comes to end along the coast of this province of Tulināt (i.e., Tuḷu-nāḍu)".⁶

There were prosperous cities in Tuḷuva besides Mañgaḷūr. The chief among them was Saṅgītapura, also named Hāḍuhalḷi. An inscription dated A.D. 1488 sings its praise thus: ". . . the abode of fortune, having splendid chaityālayas, a place of descent in the female line, inhabited by happy, generous, and pleasure-loving people, filled with elephants, horses, and powerful warriors, resplendent with lofty mansions is Saṅgītapura, worthy of all praise. With bands of clever persons, poets, disputers, orators, and declaimers, a place for the production of elegant literature,

¹ Varthema, Jones, p. 120, n. (2).

² Caesar Frederick, Purchas, *Pilgrims*, X, p. 99.

³ Elliot, *Hist. of India*, IV, p. 103; Sewell, *For. Emp.*, p. 88.

⁴ Barbosa, Stanely, p. 83.

⁵ Burgess, *Chronology*, p. 38.

⁶ Barbosa, *ibid.*, p. 83; Dames, I, pp. 195-6.

renowned for all the fine arts, was Saṅgītapura".¹ That this was no "conventional bombast" which the engraver wrote will be evident when we shall see something about the literary activities of the times.

Both according to foreign travellers and inscriptions, the regions on the Western Ghats were dotted with rich cities. Speaking in general about these, Barbosa remarks: "This range is peopled in several parts, with good towns and villages, very luxuriant in water and delicious fruit".² Among such thriving cities mention must be made Uddhare. It was the capital of the Eighteen Kāmpanas. An inscription dated A.D. 1380 says the following about it: *adu nānā-dēva-harmya-pryutav atula-vāpīṭakāñchitaṁ saṁpadamaṁ tāld-irppa viprādy-akhila-jana-samētaṁ lasat-purpa-vāṭi viditōdyānādi-yuktaṁ prakāṣa-kalam-jāla-prasū lātōrppuda sakala-muni-prēma-dharmmābhiraṁaṁ ene mere Uddhare*.³

Equally famous was another city, Gērasoppe. About A.D. 1274 Ādiyanna, son of Gōvinda Setṭi of Gērasape, and lay disciple of Prabhāchandra Bhaṭṭāraka Dēva, granted as a perpetual endowment four *gadyānas* to provide for milk for the daily anointment of Gommaṭa Dēva at Belgōla.⁴ From the thirteenth century onwards Gērasoppe constantly exerts a steady influence in the commercial, literary, and religious life of the people, "On the southern petal of the great lotus Jambu-dvīpa is the Bhārata country, in which, on the eastern side of the western ocean, is the great Taulava country. In it, on the south bank of the Aṁbu river, shining like the *śrī-puṇḍra* (or central sectarian mark on the forehead of Vaishṇavas) is Kshēmapura, (i.e., Gērasoppe), like Purandhara (Indra's city), with glittering *gōṇṇas* (or temple towers). With five Jina Chaityas, king's palaces, abode of yōgis, lines of merchants' houses, with crowds of people devoted to acts of merit and liberality, groups of gurus and yatis, bands of poets and learned men, multitudes of excellent Bhavyas (or Jainas)—what city in the world was so celebrated as Gērasoppe?"⁵ No wonder this city, which was thus praised in about A.D. 1560, figured

¹ E.C., VIII, Sa. 163, p. 123.

² Barbosa, Stanley, p. 84.

³ E.C., VIII, Sb. 152, text, p. 22.

⁴ E.C., II, No. 247, p. 104. (2nd ed.).

⁵ E.C., VIII, Sa. 56, p. 100.

conspicuously in the annals of the Portuguese in India under its able rulers of Tuḷuva origin.¹

Bhāraṅgi was another mountain city which may be noted. It was in Nāgarakhaṇḍa, and, according to an inscription dated A.D. 1415, it was also a centre of pious and learned men. "Among the islands Jambu-dvīpa, and among countries Kannaḍa country, are distinguished for beauty, wealth, and truthfulness. In Jambu-dvīpa in the Karṇāṭaka-vishaya, adorned with all manner of trees (named) is Nāgarakhaṇḍa. A head-ornament to that nāḍu is Bhāraṅgi, filled with wise Bhavyas (or Jainas), learned men, just men and wealthy people, so that it seemed the abode of goddess of fortune".²

That the praise which the Hindu composers gave to these cities filled with good buildings and intelligent people was not exaggerated is shown by the account of another important city on the hills, Bidrūr (Bednore), which 'Abdur Razzāq saw on his way to the great Hindu capital. On leaving a huge mountain, "the base of which cast a shadow on the sun", says he, "and whose sword (peak) sheathed itself in the neck of Mars", and crossing a forest, he arrived at "the city of Bidrūr, of which the houses were like palaces and its beauties like houries. In Bidrūr there is a temple so high that you can see it at a distance of several *parasangs*. It is impossible to describe it without fear of being charged with exaggeration. In brief, in the middle of the city, there is an open space extending for about ten *jarihs*, charming as the garden of Iram. In it there are flowers of every kind, like leaves. In the middle of the garden there is a terrace (*kursī*), composed of stones, raised to the height of a man; so exquisitely cut are they, and joined together with so much nicety, that you would say it was one slab of stone, or a piece of blue firmament which had fallen upon the earth. In the middle of this terrace there is a lofty building comprising a cupola of blue stone, on which are cut figures, arranged in three rows, tier above tier. Such reliefs and pictures could not have been represented upon it by the sharp style and decep-

¹ Danvers, *The Portuguese*, I. 193, and *passim*; *My. Arch. Report* for 1916-17, p. 69. As a famous water-fall, this place has received praise even at the hands of modern travellers. Forbes, *I.A.*, XLII, pp. 285-6; Bowring, *Eastern Experiences*, p. 115; Rice, *My. Gaz.*, II, p. 470, *seq.* (Rev. ed.): *J.A.S.B.*, XIV, P. I, p. 421.

² E.C., VIII, Sb. 329, p. 58; Sb. 330, p. 59.

tive pencil. From the top to the bottom there was not a space of the palm of a hand on that lofty building which was not adorned with paintings of Europe and Khatã (China). The building was constructed on four terraces of the length of thirty yards, and of the breadth of twenty yards, and its height was about fifty yards. All the other edifices, small and great, are carved and painted with exceeding delicacy. In that temple, night and day, after prayers unaccepted by God, they sing and play musical instruments, enjoy concerts, and give feasts. All the people of the village enjoy pensions and allowances from the building; for offerings are presented to it from distant cities. In the opinion of these irreligious men, it is the *ka'ba* of the infidels".¹

Beyond the Western Ghats too the land could boast of prosperous towns. Barbosa continues to remark on the state of the country thus: "After passing this mountain range, the country is almost entirely plain, very fertile and abundantly supplied in the inland districts, which belong to the kingdom of Narsinga in which there are many cities and villages and forts. . . .".² One of these last mentioned was Eragana-halli or Kōte Eragana-halli in the Koṅṅu-nāḍu, nine miles west of Tālavāḍi, in the forest country between the Satyamangala tāluka of the Coimbatore district and the Chāmarājanagar tāluka of the Mysore State. This was in the middle ages between the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries of the Christian era an important place, a military station, and a land of heroes, landlords, and religious institutions. The Jaṅgama choultry,—the landed property of which was, according to an inscription dated Śaka 1454 (A.D. 1532-3) of the times of Achyuta Rāya, apportioned between Bhōga Nañjayya, a trustee of a choultry and Dēvaṇṇayya of a Brahman feeding-house,—and the fact of its having possessed abundant share of land in the Eragana-halli village make us believe that that place must have enjoyed considerable repute as a centre of both Jaṅgama and Brahman influence. One of the *vīragals* found in the same village dated in A.D. 1386-7, during the days of Harihara Rāya II, commemorates the death of Chikkatamma, son of Killi Gauda of Eragana-halli, while fighting single-handed against thieves who had concealed themselves on the

¹ Elliot, *Hist. of India*, IV, pp. 104-5.

² Barbosa, Stanley, p. 85.

Tonḍanabettā hill. The death of this hero and the existence of many sculptured hero-stones in the neighbourhood suggest that the village of Eragana-haḷḷi of the modern days may have been a place of some consequence in Vijayanagara times.¹

Striking across the country we reach Penugoṇḍa, which, according to Nicolo dei Conti, was "a very noble city". "The very noble city of Pelagonda (i.e., Penugoṇḍa) is subject to the same king (i.e., of Vijayanagara); it is ten miles in circumference, and is distant eight days' journey from Bizenegalia (i.e., Vijayanagara)".²

An equally famous hill-fortress was Gingee or Seṇji. Its location is thus given in an inscription of Śaka 1545: Seṇji in Vēṇbar-nāḍu which was a sub-division of Karikā-lakaṇṇa-valanāḍu in Magada-maṇḍalaṁ.³ Even in Hoysala times it was reckoned to be a well known hill-fortress. In A.D. 1187 Vishṇuvardhana is said to have conquered a great many strongholds, among which the name "Chengiri" appears. That illustrious Hoysala ruler is said to have destroyed the serpent of Chengiri, which has been identified by Rice with Seṇji.⁴ It continued to be an important military station during and after the Vijayanagara times. In A.D. 1597 it was the seat of Kṛishṇa Nāyaka. It was here that Pimenta was taken into the presence of the Nāyaka by two hundred Brahmans who went "in a ranke to sprinkle the house with Holy water, and to prevent Sorcerie against the King which they use to doe every day that the King first entereth into any house".⁵

Reaching the south of the peninsula, we come to the ancient city of Madura. Since this powerful centre of Vijayanagara influence has left a deep mark on the history of the country, we may be permitted to record something about its origin as given in the *Pandyan Chronicle*. "In the times of *Kulasekara-Pandion* (Kulasēkhara Pāṇḍya), who ruled in *Manavur*, a merchant, named *Tanen-sheyan*, in the course of his journeys on commercial business was

¹ Ep. Report for 1911. p. 3. Here some interesting details are given to prove that Eragana-haḷḷi was an important centre in mediæval days.

² Major, *India*, p. 7.

³ 1 of 1913.

⁴ E.C., V.P. I, Intr., pp. xii, xiii, n. (1).

⁵ Pimenta, Purchas, *Pilgrims*, X, p. 208; Heras, *Aravidu*, p. 305. For further history of Gingee or Jinjee, called also Chandi, see Edwardes, *I.A.* LV, pp. 1-4.

benighted in a forest of *cadambu* trees; and being unable to proceed further took up his abode at the foot of one of them. He was surprised at the sight of an unusual splendour; and, going to look, was favoured by the god with the view, because he had been very virtuous in a former birth. As it was Monday, the gods were performing homage and anointing the image, as though it had been the night of *Siva*. The merchant bathed in the tank and worshipped: when the gods had disappeared, he saw the stone image only; and next day went and told the king aforesaid what he had seen. The god also appeared to the king the following night by a vision, in a form of a religious ascetic, and commanded him to build a temple in the aforesaid wilderness. The king finding the vision and the statement of the merchant accord, went to the place and had the forest cleared. Being uncertain how to build the temple and town, the god again appeared and gave instructions; in obedience to which workmen were employed, and a temple was built with seven enclosures, having a king's street, *Brahmins'* streets, and also streets for the other three castes and for the temple servants; also *choultries*, *mandabams*, tanks and the like. The whole being splendidly finished, with a palace also for the king, on the north-east quarter, an embarrassment arose as to how these numerous buildings could all be purified preparatory to residence at once, so as to ensure an entrance on a fortunate day; this difficulty the god *Siva* was pleased to remove by causing *Ganga*, abiding in the hair on his head, to pour forth copious streams on the whole place, and the god was pleased to give it the name of *Mathurai* (or pleasant,) and he then disappeared. The king placed guards at the four cardinal points of the city, which were all four of them deities".¹

What an important part this seat of the Vijayanagara viceroy in the south played² in the history of mediaeval times will be discussed at length in a subsequent connection. Ever since the days of Kumāra Kāmpaṇa, who liberated it from the Muslim yoke, it continued to be the great city it had been before Vijayanagara times. Even in A.D. 1662 it failed not to attract the attention of foreigners. In that year John Nieuhof wrote thus about it: "The Capital City and ordinary residence of the Nayk, is Madure, five Days

¹ Taylor, *O.H.MSS.*, I, pp. 57-8.

² *Ibid.*, II, p. 190, *seq.*

journey's to the North of Koylang; being adorned with many most magnificent Pagodes or Pagan Temples, which have very high Turrets Gilt on the top".¹

The Coromandel coast too was lined with towns. Faria y Sousa gives us a long list of some of the cities in A.D. 1506 from Cape Comorin to Orissa. "The first the Kingdom of *Bisnaga* contains 200 Leagues, and these Towns: *Tarancurii*, *Manapar*, *Vaipur*, *Trechendur*, *Caligrande*, *Charcacale*, *Tucucurii*, *Benbar*, *Calicare*, *Beadala*, *Manancort*, and *Cannameira*, whence takes the name that Cape that stretches out there in 10 degrees of North Latitude; then *Negapatan*, *Habor*, *Triminapatan*, *Tragambar*, *Trimenava*, *Colororam*, *Puduchiera*, *Calapate*, *Connumeira*, *Sadrapatam*, and *Meliapur*, now called *St. Thomas* because that Apostle's Body was found there. From *St. Thomas* to *Palicata* are nine Leagues, then go on *Chiricole*, *Aremogan*, *Coleturo*, *Calecirco*, *Pentipolii*, where ends the Kingdom of *Bisnagur*, and begins that of *Orixa*. . .".² Barbosa is more precise not only as regards the names of some of the most important of the Vijayanagara cities on the eastern coast but also as regards their general prosperity. "Twelve leagues further on the coast turns to the north, the country is called *Cholmender* (i.e., *Chōlamanḍala* or *Coromandel*), and it extends seventy or eighty leagues along the coast. In it there are many Gentile cities, towns and villages, and it belongs to the King of *Narsinga*; it is a land abounding in rice, meat, and wheat, and all sorts of vegetables, because it is a country which has very beautiful plains. And many ships of *Malabar* come here to load rice, and they bring goods from *Cambay* to this country, that is to say, copper, quicksilver, vermilion, pepper and other goods. And throughout all this *Cholmender* much spice and drugs, and goods of *Malaca*, *China*, and *Bengal* are to be met with, which the *Moorish* ships bring here from those parts, since they do not venture to pass to *Malabar* from dread of the *Portuguese*. And although this country is very abundantly provided, yet if it should happen any year not to rain, it falls into such a state of famine that many die of it, and some sell their children for a few provisions, or for two or

¹ Churchill, *Voyages*, II, p. 297, op. cit.; Visvanatha, *Nayaks*, p. 330 op. cit.

² Faria y Sousa, *Asia Portuguesa*, I, p. 97. It is regrettable that in the hands of this writer the names of the cities have suffered such a distortion as to elude all identification. B.A.S.

three fanoes, each of which will be worth thirty-six maravedis. And in these times the Malabars carry rice and cocoa nuts to them, and return with their ships laden with slaves, and all the chetis, Gentile merchants, who live throughout India, are natives of this country of Cholmender; as they are very sharp, great accountants, and dexterous merchants. And many country-born Moors, mercantile and sea-faring men, live in the seaports".¹

Pulicat was a town inhabited by great traders in the days of Barbosa. "Proceeding yet further and leaving the town of Mailapur there is on the coast another City belonging to the King of Narsyngua, inhabited by both Moors and Heathen, great traders".² Its government and trade are thus described by the same traveller. "In this city the King of Narsyngua maintains a Governor under his orders, and collects his duties. Here are made great abundance of printed cotton cloths, which are worth much money in Malaca, Peegu, Cumatra, and in the Kingdom of Guzarate and Malabar for clothing. Here also copper, quicksilver, and vermilion as well as other Cambaya wares, dyes in grain (Meca velvets) and especially rose-water".³

Negapatam was also a port of some significance. About it we have from the pen of Caesar Frederick: "From the Iland of Zeilan men are to goe with small ships of Negapatam, within the firme land, and seventie two miles off is a very great Citie, and very populous of Portuguals and Christians of the Countrey, and part Gentiles: it is a Countrey of small trade".⁴

No account of the cities of Vijayanagara on the eastern coast may be said to be adequate without mention being made of Mailāpūr. Its ancient name was Vāmanāthapura, and its history is thus described in tradition. "Anciently this town was wholly inhabited by *Jainas*, who had a fane with an image of *Nemi* or *Alli Tir'thacar* (*Ādi-Tirthaṅkara*). One of these sages had a dream in which he was informed that, within a few days, the town would be overwhelmed by the sea. The image was removed further inland; and, three days after, the old town was swallowed up by the sea. The *Jainas* appear afterwards to have had fanes, with many images in each, in a town which was called *Maila-*

¹ *Barbosa*, Stanley, p. 174; *Dames*, II, p. 125.

² *Ibid.*, *Dames*, II, pp. 129-30.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 132.

⁴ *Caesar Frederick*, *Purchas*, *Pilgrims*, X, p. 108; *Heras*, *Aravidu*, p. 175.

managara. Another night vision announced the submerging also of this town, within three days; connected with a command to remove the image further inland. This command was obeyed. At a later period *Brahmans* came from the western *Chola* country; and, by superior skill in astrological, and astronomical calculations, with their knowledge of the *A'tharvana vēda* (or arts of magic), they succeeded in turning the people from the *Jaina* credence. The image was taken away by some of its votaries, towards the west, as far as *Chitambūr*".¹

In the sixteenth century it was under the Vijayanagara authority, but it had already won for itself fame by its association with the memories and achievements of the great Apostle, St. Thomas. When Barbosa speaks of it, much of its ancient wealth had disappeared. "Further along this coast", says this traveller while dealing with Coromandel, "which makes a bend to the north-west, and then turns to the north-east, having left the Cholmendel country, at a distance of twelve leagues there is a city almost uninhabited and very ancient, which is called Mylepur; in former times it was a considerable place of the Kingdom of Narsinga".²

The good feeling that existed between the different communities in the times of Barbosa is very well illustrated in the following story told by him in connection with Mailāpūr and St. Thomas, the Apostle. "In this city is buried the body of the Apostle St. Thomas, in a small church near the sea. And the Christians of Coulam, who are of his doctrine, say that when St. Thomas left Coulam, on being persecuted by the Gentiles, he met with a few companions going to that country, and settled in this city of Maylepur, which at that period was twelve leagues distant from the sea, which later eat away the land, and came in upon it. And there he began to preach the faith of Christ, to which he converted some, whilst others persecuted and wished to kill him, and he separated himself from the people, and went about frequently among the mountains. And one day as he wandered about in that manner, a gentile hunter, with a bow, saw many peacocks together upon the ground in that mountain, and in the midst of them one very large and very handsome standing upon a stone slab; this hunter shot at it, and sent an arrow through

¹ Taylor, *Cat. Rais.*, III, p. 372.

² Barbosa, Stanley, p. 174; Dames, II, p. 126.

its body, and they rose up flying, and in the air it turned into the body of a man. And this hunter stood looking until he saw the body of the said apostle fall. And he went to the city where he related that miracle to the governors, who came to see it, and they found that it was indeed the body of St. Thomas, and then they went to see the place where he had been wounded, and they saw the impression of human feet marked on the slab, which he left impressed when he rose wounded. And when the governors of the country saw so great a miracle, they said that this man was holy, and we did not believe him; and they took him and buried him in the church where he now is, and they brought the stone upon which he left the said foot-marks, and they placed it close to his grave; and they say that on burying him they could never put his right arm in the tomb, and it always remained outside; and if they buried him entirely, next day they found the arm above the earth, and so they let it be. The Christians, his disciples and companions who built the said church, and the Gentiles already held him for a saint, and honoured him greatly. He remained thus with his arm outside of the grave for a long time, and they say that many people came there from many parts in pilgrimage, and that some Chinese came also, who wished to cut off his arm and carry it away as a relic, and that when they were about to strike at it with a sword, he withdrew his arm inside, and it was never seen again. So he remains still in that hermitage, very humbly, and lighted up by the grave of God, because the Moors and Gentiles light him up, each one saying that he is something belonging to them. And the house and church are ordered in our fashion, with crosses on the altar, and at the top of the vault a great wooden cross, and peacocks for a device. . . ”¹

On the eve of the Vijayanagara Empire this ancient city passed completely into the hands of the Portuguese, who converted it into one of the finest cities in the East. John Nieuhof in A.D. 1662 thus describes its beauty, and explains why it was called Mailāpūr. “Meliapor Signifies in their Language as much as a Peacock, intimating, that as this Bird is the most beautifull of all others, so, this city did in Beauty excell all the rest of the East. Some will have the City of St. Thomas, or Meliapor, to be the

¹ *Barbosa*, Stanley, pp. 175-6; *Dames*, II, p. 129.

same called Mapura by Ptolemy. The City was quite desolate, when the Portuguese first came there, who rebuilt it in 1545. Since which it has Encreased to that Degree, that not many Years after, she was Accounted one of the finest Cities in all the Indies: Both in respect of the Magnificance of its Buildings, and the Number of rich Inhabitants. It is Fortified with Stone-wall, strengthened by several Bastions, and has under its Jurisdiction above 300 Villages and Towns. It is one of the Richest Sea Ports of all the East Indies, its situation being in the midst of all the best Harbours of these Parts, which renders in the more Convenient for the East Indian trade".¹

CHAPTER III

THE CAPITALS OF THE EMPIRE

SECTION I. *Introduction*

THE fame of the Vijayanagara Empire rests, according to popular belief, on the grandeur of its capital, which foreign travellers have greatly extolled; but there is every reason to believe that something of its greatness originated from and ended in places other than the City of Victory. The common conception about this greatest capital of the Empire deserves to be modified to some extent in the light of contemporary history. The beginnings of the Empire were laid, as the reader must have guessed by the remarks about the origin of the kingdom of Harihara I, not in the famous city which has given the Empire its name, but in one or two centres about it which were hallowed by the memories of quasi-historical persons and of the Hoysalas themselves. It has already been pointed out that in the times of Ballāla III, his *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Hariappa, who was placed over the principality of Kukkala-nāḍu, was the most prominent figure amongst the provincial governors of that Hoysala monarch. Further it was also noted that the absence of any political upheaval, or even of a revolt, and the matrimonial alliance between the family of Harihara I and that of the Hoysalas suggest some sort of tacit understanding between the latter, whose influence as a ruling power was dying out, and the sons of Saṅgama, whose

¹ Churchill, *Voyages*, II, p. 245.

domain was now assuming definite shape, as regards the place from where Harihara and his brothers were to continue the rule and tradition of the kings of the Hosyala-vaṃsa. It is not unreasonable, therefore, to suppose that the newcomers in order to preserve a semblance of their respect for, and to justify their relationship with, the Hoysalas, would have ruled from the old capitals of the latter rather than from a new one till they had firmly established themselves on the Karṇāṭaka soil. The founders of the Vijayanagara Empire, we may once again note, had limited resources both as regards men and money; and what is worse, they were fully aware of the presence of the Muhammadans in the south. They rightly concentrated their attention more on the question of the southern danger than on the topic of creating a grand capital. This explains the fact that Hariappa Oḍeyar, who always styled himself, as was said a while ago, only a *Mahāhaṇḍalēśvara*, had no capital worth the name, although he wielded considerable influence through his governors Gautarasa, placed at Maṅgaḷūr, Gōpēsa at Kuppattūr in Nāgarakhaṇḍa, and Chāmeya Nāyaka at Bādāmi.¹ But about the principality of Kukkala-nāḍu, and about the centre from where Harihara exercised his jurisdiction, there is, unfortunately, no record in the inscriptions.² This conjecture of ours would take us to the year A.D. 1346 which may be said to be the date of the foundation of the Vijayanagara Empire. But such an assumption is challenged by the evidence of stone inscriptions and copper-plate grants which ascribe the building of the capital called Vijayanagara to the great sage Vidyāraṇya and Harihara I in A.D. 1336.

SECTION 2. *Stories about the Origin of the Capital*

The stories in connection with the origin of the city of Vijayanagara are to be found in tradition, in the accounts of foreign travellers and in the inscriptions. These have led almost all writers on Vijayanagara history to conclude that the city was built by Harihara I with the aid of Vidyāraṇya. The different versions of the construction of the capital which recall, however, the memory of the

¹ A.S.R. for 1907-8, p. 240.

² Saletore, *Indian Historical Quarterly*, VIII, pp. 294-301; 768-774; IX, pp. 521-566.

performance of a great event by the rishis of old,¹ deserve to be dealt with in detail before we examine them on the strength of contemporary evidence. Mr. Sewell enumerates them thus :

"One has it that two brothers named Bukka and Harihara, who had been in the service of the king of Warangal at the time of the destruction of that kingdom by the Muhammadans in 1323, escaped with a small body of horse to the hill country about Ānegundi, being accompanied in their flight by the Brahman Mādhava or Mādhavāchārya Vidyāraṇya, and by some means not stated became lords of that tract, afterwards founding the city of Vijayanagar.

"Another states that the two brothers were officers in the service of the Muhammadan governor of Warangal subsequent to its first capture in 1309. They were despatched against the Hoysala Ballāla sovereign in the expedition under the command of Malik Kāfur in 1310, which resulted in the capture of the Hindu capital, Dvārasamudra; but the portion of the force to which the brothers belonged suffered a defeat, and they fled to the mountainous tract near Ānegundi. Here they met the holy Mādhava, who was living the life of a recluse, and by his aid they established the kingdom and capital city.

"A variant of this relates that the two brothers for some reason fled direct from Warangal to Ānegundi. This account redounds more to their honour as Hindus. Though compelled first to accept service under their conquerors, their patriotism triumphed in the end, and they abandoned the flesh-pots of Egypt to throw in their luck with their co-religionists.

"A fourth story avers that the hermit Mādhava himself founded the city after the discovery of a hidden treasure, ruled over it himself, and left it after his death to a Kuruba family who established the first regular dynasty.

"A fifth mentioned by Couto,² who fixes the date as 1220, states that while Mādhava was living his ascetic life amongst the mountains he was supported by meals brought to him by a poor shepherd called Bukka, and one day the Brahman said to him, 'Thou shalt be king and emperor

¹ *J. Bom. R.A.S.* XVII, pp. 83-4, where Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar describes one such congress of rishis as given in the *Bṛihadāraṇyaka Upanishad* and the *Vāyu Purāṇa*.

² *Decada*, VI, l.v.c. 4; Sewell, *For. Emp.*, p. 22, n. (1).

of all Industan'. The other shepherds learned this, and began to treat this shepherd with veneration, and made him their head; and he acquired the name of 'king', and began to conquer his neighbours who were five in number, viz., Canara, Taligas, Canguivarao, Negapatao, and he of the Badagas, and he at last became lord of all and called himself 'Boca Rao'. He was attacked by the king of Delhi, but the latter was defeated and retired, whereupon Bukka established a city and called it Visaja Nagar, which we corruptly called Bisnaga; and we call all the kingdom by that name, but the natives amongst themselves always call it the 'kingdom of Canara'. Couto's narrative seems to be a mixture of several stories. His wrong date points to his having partly depended upon the original chronicle of Nuniz, or the summary of it published by Barros; while the rest of the tale savours more of Hindu romance than of historical accuracy. He retains, however, the tradition of an attack by the king of Delhi and the latter's subsequent retirement.

"Another authority suggests that Bukka and Harihara may have been feudatories of the Hoysala Ballālas".¹

There is another tradition which ascribes the foundation of the city to a certain Vijaya Rāyal in the year A.D. 1118.²

Some have based their remarks on the authority of the *Rājakālanirṇaya*. This MS. "though not of any historical value, (it) is nevertheless noteworthy, as it puts forth a new view concerning the foundation of the kingdom of Vijayanagara".³ "It relates that, when the 'Suratrāṇa' conquered the country of Vira Rudra and killed him, Harihara and Bukka, two brothers who were the keepers of the treasury of the vanquished Hindu king, fled away from the country and took shelter under another king named Rāmanātha. When Rāmanātha was also killed by the army of the 'Suratrāṇa', these brothers were taken prisoners. But the 'Suratrāṇa' finding them good and capable fellows, deputed them for the conquest of the king Ballāla. After one unsuccessful attempt they gained a complete victory over Ballāla and took possession of the Kaṇṇāṭaka kingdom. Then the incident of a hare chasing the dogs of Harihara

¹ Sewell, *For. Emp.*, pp. 20-2. For some other versions, see *Salem Manual*, I, p. 44, cited by Rangachari, *I.A.*, XLIII, p. 6.

² Fergusson, *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture* (being the III vol. of the *History of Arch.* 1876) p. 374, cited by Sewell, *Lists.*, I, p. 106.

³ Gopinatha Rao, *Ep. Ind.*, XV, p. 10, seq.

and the founding of the city of Vidyānagara with the assistance of the sage Vidyāraṇya is mentioned.

In the *Sivatattvaratnākara* compiled under the patronage of Basava Raja of Keladi, of the eighteenth century A.D., it is narrated that Harihara and Bukka, who were treasurers of king Vira Rudra, returning from Ujjaini, whither they had been on a pilgrimage after the destruction of Warangal by the Muhammadans, desired to go and see Virūpāksha of Hampi. Siva appeared to them in a dream and asked them to proceed to that holy place where a famous sage—Vidyāraṇya—would create a city for them, and place them as rulers with a view to establish peace in the land. On reaching Hampi they related their dream to the sage, who had also a like vision to that effect. They conferred together about the place of the city. Meanwhile a shepherd appeared and told them that on the southern bank of the river Tuṅgabhadra there was a hillock where the goddess of wealth lived, and that she would help their cause. The shepherd, however, begged them not to divulge his name. The three men then went to the place and worshipped her, whereupon the goddess, without showing herself, told them that she would bless them and fulfil their wishes, in case they gave her the shepherd as a sacrifice. Thereupon the shepherd was brought to the place. He agreed to sacrifice himself for the great cause on one condition, viz., that all the kings of that line would assume his name. Then he went near the goddess and disappeared. The goddess then asked Vidyāraṇya to create a town in the form of *Strīchakra*, where she would rain gold for 3½ *ghaṭis* (i.e. 1½ hours).²

¹ Gopinatha Rao, *Ep. Ind.*, XV, p. 10, *seq.*, Dr. Venkata Ramanayya in his *Kampili and Vijayanagara* gives the extract from the *Rājakālanirṇaya*. Appendix A, pp. 34-5.

² Basava Rāja of Keladi, *Siva-tattva-ratnākara*, Kallōla IV, 29-56. (Ed. by B. Rama Rao and Sundara Sastry). For another modern account of the foundation of the city see *Keladi-nṛpa-Vijaya* by Liṅgaṇṇa. (Ed. by Dr. R. Shama Sastry), pp. 15-17. (Uny. of Mysore, Oriental Library publication, No. 9). A palm-leaf version of the same work which is in the India Office Library, contains some very slight variations, but is substantially the same. It may be interesting to know that in the *kāvya* called *Keladi-nṛpa-Vijaya*, Harihara and Bukka are described to have come from the north. ಕೃಷ್ಣಯ ದಿವಸಃ ವರ್ತಿಸುತ್ತಮಿರಲಾಗಿ ಉತ್ತರದೇಶದಿಂ ಸಹೋದರರಾದ

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India Office copy. Cf. Liṅgaṇṇa's version, p. 15. Liṅgaṇṇa, who is supposed to have been the author of *Keladi-nṛpa-kāvya*, lived somewhere in the first or last quarter of the seventeenth century. Liṅgaṇṇa, *ibid.*, Intr., p. vi.

The story as given in the account of Nuniz is the following: "The King (Deorao) going one day a-hunting, as was often his wont, to a mountain on the other side of the river of Nagumdym (Ānegundi), where now is the city of Bisnaga,—which at that time was a desert place in which much hunting took place, and which the King had reserved for his own amusement,—being in it with his dogs and appurtenances of the chase, a hare rose up before him, which, instead of fleeing from the dogs, ran towards them and bit them all, so that none of them dared go near it for the harm that it did them.¹ And seeing this, the King, astonished at so feeble a thing biting dogs which had already caught for him a tiger and a lion, judged it to be not really a hare but (more likely) some prodigy; and he at once turned back to the city of Nagumdym.

"And arriving at the river, he met a hermit who was walking along the bank, a man holy among them, to whom he told what had happened concerning the hare. And the hermit, wondering at it, said to the King that he should turn back with him and shew him the place where so marvellous a thing had happened; and being there, the hermit said that the King ought in that place to erect houses in which he could dwell, and build a city, for the prodigy meant that this would be the strongest city in the world, and that it would never be captured by his enemies, and would be the chief city in the kingdom. And so the King did, and on that very day began work on his houses, and he enclosed the city round about; and that done he left Nagumdym and soon filled the new city with people. And he gave it the name Vydiajuna, for so the hermit called himself who had bidden him construct it; but in course of time the name has become corrupted, and it is now called Bisnaga".² Firishtah's narrative of the same has already been noted in an earlier connection.

Before we examine the epigraphical evidence in favour of the story of the Hare, the Hermit, and Harihara, it may not be out of place to recount the opinions of scholars who have almost unanimously adhered to this strange

¹ "This same tale is told of many kings and chiefs in southern India. The '*Tazkirat-ul-Mulūk*' (*Ind. Ant.*, May 1899 p. 129) also relates it of the Bāhmani Sultan Āhmad Shāh (1422-35), alleging that it was the behaviour of a hunted hare that induced him to make Bidar his capital". Sewell, *For. Emp.*, p. 299, n. (1).

² Sewell, *ibid.*, pp. 299-300.

fiction as an historical fact. Thus Wilson writes: "Tradition places also the foundation of *Vijayanagar* in A.D. 1336, a period not incompatible with the political events to which it probably owed its elevation, the capture of *Dwārasamudra* (the capital of the *Belāl* kings of *Mysore*) by the Mohamedans, and consequent decline of their power occurring in 1310-11, and the destruction of *Warankal* and the subversion of the *Andhra* or *Telinga* monarchy by the same enemies taking place about 1323".¹ Sir Walter Elliot remarks thus: "Assisted by his celebrated minister *Mādhava*, also called *Vidyāraṇya*, he (*Harihara*) fixed his capital near the ancient town of *Ānegundi*, giving to it first the name of *Hosapaṭṭana*, ('new city'), afterwards of *Hastināvati*, perhaps the Sanskrit equivalent of the Canarese *Ānegundi*, and, finally, as his power extended, that of *Vijayanagar*, 'the city of victory', which became its permanent designation, sometimes exchanged for *Vidyānagara*, 'the city of learning', in honour of his great minister".

Mr. Venkayya, commenting on an inscription (Bg. 70) which will be examined presently, writes: "Verses 1 to 28 of the first grant (Bg. 70) are nearly identical with verses 2 to 29 of the *Kāpalūr* grant and refer to the building of the city of *Vijayanagara* by king *Harihara* at the instance of the sage *Vidyāraṇya*. The two latter grants refer to the city as having been founded by *Vidyāraṇya*. The legend concerning the foundation of the city of *Vijayanagara* mentioned both in the *Kāpalūr* grant and in Mr. Rice's inscriptions was current also in the first half of the 16th century. The Portuguese chronicler *Fernão Nuniz* mentions the identical story in connection with the foundation of the city".² But Mr. Venkayya however has expressed a more accurate opinion in another connection.

Mr. Lewis Rice opines thus: "The *Vijayanagara* empire was founded in 1336, immediately on the disappearance of the *Hoysalas* from the stage of history. The founders were two princes named *Hakka* and *Bukka*, sons of *Sangama*. . . . They were probably subordinates of or connected with the *Hoysalas*, and were aided in their enterprise by the head of the *maṭha* at *Sringēri* (in the *Kaḍūr* district) founded by the reformer *Sankarāchārya* in the

¹ Wilson, *As. Res.*, XX, pp. 4, 6.

² Elliot, *Num. Or.*, p. 91.

³ Venkayya, *I.A.*, XXXVIII, p. 90. Read Krishnamacharlu, *I.A.*, LI, p. 233, for a similar opinion.

eighth century. The name of this guru was Mādhava and he is known as Vidyāranya. He became the first minister of the new state".¹ This later opinion of Mr. Rice runs counter to one of his earlier conclusions.

Mr. Sewell, whose work has become classical on the subject, says: "The city of Vijayanagar, thus founded about the year 1335, speedily grew in importance and became the refuge of the out-casts, refugees, and fighting men of the Hindus, beaten and driven out of their old strongholds by the advancing Muhammadans".² But strangely enough Mr. Sewell contradicts himself in these words wherein he criticizes Buchanan's version of the legend: "But this story entirely leaves out of account the most important point. How could two brothers, flying from a captured capital, and a conquered kingdom, suddenly establish in a new country a great city and a sovereignty?"³

Mr. Subramiah Pantulu, however, expressed his doubts as regards the stories in connection with the foundation of the capital.⁴ The earlier opinion of Mr. Rice was that was Bukka I who made Vijayanagara his permanent capital.⁵

Mr. Venkayya is more accurate when he asserts that "it is during the time of Bukka I that the capital of Vijayanagara first makes its appearance".⁶

Mr. T. A. Gopinatha Rao has brought forward another view in the following words: "It was more likely at the advice of Vidyāranya's guru Vidyātirtha that Harihara I built the city of Vijayanagara".⁷ Dr. S. Krishnaswamy Aiyangar thinks that "it was possibly about this period (ie., in about A.D. 1328-29) that he (Vīra Ballāla III) went farther afield from Dvārasamudra and laid the foundations of the city generally called Hosapaṭṭaṇa or Virūpāksha-paṭṭaṇa, which ultimately became Vijayanagara, to secure his northern frontier".⁸ The Rev. Father Heras agrees

¹ Rice, *Mysore and Coorg*, p. 100.

² Sewell, *For. Emp.*, pp. 25, 7, 19.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 21, n. (1); 300, n. (1), where Sewell says that the derivation of the name of the city from Vidyāranya is believed to be erroneous.

⁴ Subramiah Pantulu, *I.A.*, XXII, pp. 247-8. Mr. Pantulu (*ibid.* p. 248) asserts, however, that Vijayanagara had already 'reached a considerable degree of power' by A.D. 1336.

⁵ Rice, *Mys. Ins.*, pp. 55, 278.

⁶ Venkayya, *Ep. Ind.*, III, p. 115.

⁷ Gopinatha Rao, *Ep. Ind.*, XV, p. 11.

⁸ S. K. Aiyangar, *Q. J. M. S.* XI, 16, seq. pp. 21. Dr. Venkata Ramanyaya calls this "the most astounding myth" in the field of south Indian historical research. *Kampili and Vijayanagara*, p. 24; but sticks to the stupendous fiction of the hare and the hermit, *ibid.*, p. 33.

with this conclusion of Dr. Aiyangar,¹ although in the same work (*The Beginnings of Vijayanagara History*) he approaches nearest to the accurate date when he says: "Bukka I is the real founder (in 1368) of Vijayanagara south of the Tungabhadra".²

This opinion of Father Heras is different to that which he expressed in his earlier work, when he said that the glorious event of establishing the capital "may be placed about 1340".³ His later conclusions, as well as those of Mr. Gopinatha Rao, are correct in the main. But whereas the latter ignores the name of the real monarch who began the building of the capital, and does not enlighten us as to the exact date of its foundation, the former is not as conclusive as one would wish him to be, since in the opinion of Father Heras there was also a Vijayanagara on the northern bank of the river Tungabhadra. We admit that we could refer the name *Vijaya* to, for instance, Vijaya-samudra spoken of in the inscriptions as the capital of the Hoysalas,⁴ especially when we note that it agrees very well with the *Beejanuggur* which Firishtah describes as having been the city built by Ballāla III, and christened after his son *Beeja* (i.e., Vijaya—Vijaya Virūpāksha).

Epigraphical evidence is overwhelmingly in favour of the theory that Vijayanagara existed in A.D. 1336 or thereabouts, and that it was founded by Harihara with the advice of Vidyāranya. The controversy about the date of the foundation of the capital is so important that we may be permitted to discuss it at length in this chapter. Inscriptional evidence about the existence of the capital in A.D. 1336 centres round these following epigraphs, which deserve to be examined with the aid of contemporary records.

1. The story of Vidyāranya is given in an inscription dated A.D. 1336. ". . . Usual account of the descent of Yadu from the moon. In his line were many kings, among whom was Bukka, whose wife was Magāmbikā. From them (omitting laudations) was born Saṅgama, whose wife was Manāmbikā, and they had five sons—Harihara,

¹ Heras, *The Beginnings*, pp. 50, 56, and *passim*.

² Heras, *ibid.*, p. 130.

³ Heras, *Aravida*, p. 103.

⁴ Rice identified Vijayasamudra with Hujjavūru, the ancient capital of the Sindas, in the Rāpi-Bennūr taluka. E.C., XI, Intr., p. 15.

Kampa, Bukka, Māra and Mudda. The eldest of these became the ruler of the nine continents. Having conquered all the points of the compass, he was served by the kings of Aṅga, Kaliṅga, and other countries. And he ruled in Kuṅṇarakōṇapuri (Āneguṇḍi). On one occasion he crossed the Tuṅgabhadra with the intention of hunting, and coming forth with his army, saw the forests to the south. And in the forest, that moon to the ocean Saṅgamēśa was surprised to see a fierce dog with long teeth, only chewing what had been bitten, and a hare. And seeing the god Virūpāksha along with the goddess Paṁpā, he did obeisance to them; and drawing near paid respect to Vidyāraṇya, the yati in that temple, and informed him of the very curious circumstance. The yatīndra (his praise) smiled above and said: 'O King, this place is worth to be the residence of a family of great kings; and this is a specially strong site. Make here a city named Vidyā equal to Alaka (Kubēra's city) with nine gates, wherein you may reside, like Purandhara, in wealth acquired by victory in war on all sides, and hold the world in your serpent-like arms'. Thereupon Hariharēśvara, doing according to his direction, was seated on the throne, adorned with the white umbrella, and made the sixteen great gifts, resplendent in the *nagara* (or city) called Vidyā (or Vidyānagara) of vast dimensions. (On the date specified) during the *phālābhishēka* festival for Paṁpā-Virūpāksha-Mahēśvara, he formed certain *agrahāras*. And (with praises) to Arakare Bhāskara's son Paṁpāvirūpāksha, he gave Yāraguḍi in Tammadāmala, in the Koṇḍakāmala Vallūru Sīma. . . .(its boundaries). And he gave it the new name of Vidyāraṇyapura. And for the worship of the god Mahēśvara of Srīsaila he granted Chiravārapalli. By order of the king the Sāsana was engraved by the Sāsanāchārya Nāga-dēva. Boundaries in the language of the country (Telugu). Usual imprecatory verses. (Signed) Sri-Virūpāksha".¹

2. Three copper-plates from the Nellore district record that after the coronation which took place on the seventh *tithi* in the bright fortnight in the month of Vaisākha in the year Dhātri Śaka 1258 (=18th April, A.D. 1336), the Vijayanagara king Harihara Mahārāja founded an *agrahāra* in the village of Kāpalūr, situated in the kingdom of Chandragiri in Paḍanāḍu-śīmā, (its location), and gave it

¹ E.C., X, Bg. 70, p. 241.

to a Brāhmaṇa named Anaṇṭa Sūraya. (The division of the *agrahāra* into shares and the circumstances under which Harihara founded Vidyānagara are also given.)¹

3. An indistinct copper-plate from Hassan dated about A.D. 1335 gives the names of the five sons of Saṅgama; then verses praising the king whose name is obliterated, after which we have "His capital city was Vijaya. . . His chief queen was Gaurāmbikā . . . by her he had a son . . . in the form of Harihara".²

4. A set of copper-plates dated A.D. 1344 in which the following is stated: "(Obeisance to the gods. The descent of Yadu in whose family) was Bukka (his praise). Magāmbikā was his queen (her praise). There was in his family (with laudations) the king named Saṅgama. Mālāmbikā was the queen of that king (her praise). The sons of that king were (the five brothers). The middle one of the five, the king Bukka was famous (his laudations). Distinguished by the titles Rājādhirāja, Rājaparamēśvara, Garuḍa to the serpent kings who break their word, a royal rival of kings, terrifier of hostile kings, the Suratrāṇa of Hindu Rāyas, seated on the jewel throne in the city named Vidyā, distinguished as the abode of Vijaya (victory) made by Vidyāraṇya, (made great gifts etc.) by him (on the date specified) in Paṇṇipā in the Bhāskara-kshētra, in the presence of the god Virūpāksha, to Sōma, a moon (*sōma*) to the ocean Nāchana, versed in all the āgamas, understanding all the accepted meanings of the eighteen purāṇas, by the success of his poetry in eight languages, having acquired wealth,—was given in the Guttidurga kingdom in the Kōḍūr country, in the Pena-māgaṇi, on the bank of the Pinākinī, the village previously called Pañchakaladhinne, giving it another name of Bukkarāyapura (boundary villages named). And the illustrious Nāchana's (son), the great poet (*mahākavi*) Sōma, blessed the king to have a long life; (division of the village into shares and their distribution). (The boundaries of the *agrahāra* written in Telugu). The greatness of this *sāsana* of the king Bukka Rājendra (His praise.) Kōṭidēvārādhya's son, Mallanārādhya, composed the verses. The carpenter Sāsanāchārya's

¹ Sewell, *Lists*, II, No. 79, p. 11; C.P. No. 3 of 1906-7; Butterworth-Chetty, *Nellore Ins.* I, p. 109, *seq.*; S. R. Aiyangar, *Cat. of Copper-plate Grants in the Madras Museum*, No. 3, p. 43.

² Rice, *My. Ins.*, p. 278.

son, by order of the king, the sculptor Nāgadēva made (or inscribed) it. (Usual final verses.) Signed *Srī-Virūpāksha*".¹

5. Another copper-plate grant dated A.D. 1354 says : ". . . . (on the date specified) when the *rājādhirāja*, *raja-paramēśvara* *Vīra-pratāpa* *Bukkā-rāya-Dēva*, *Mahārāya*, seated on the jewel throne in *Vidyānagara*, was ruling the empire of the world. In the *Kundurupi* kingdom, along with the *grāma-gauḍike* of *Achchutabharampalle* belonging to *Kanyalakuriki*, were granted to *Kunchukāpu* *Liṅgaṇa-gauḍa* the following lands (specified with boundaries [in Telugu?]) in *Gollapōtanagaunipalle* and made over in front of the temple of *Sōmēśvara* at *Penugoṇḍa*. Imprecation (signed) *sri-Virūpāksha* (in Telugu?)".²

6. The story of *Vidyāraṇya* is also mentioned in an inscription dated A.D. 1652 : "Formerly, the (original) guru of our line, author of *Vēda-Bhāshya*, *Vidyāraṇya* *Srīpāda*, out of charity to the world, through the boon obtained by virtue of his penance from (the god) *Virūpāksha* dwelling on the banks of the *Paṁpā*, having founded *Vidyānagara*,—for the protection of the cows, gods, and *Brahmanas* performed the coronation anointing of *Harihara-mahārāya* to the throne".³

None of the above inscriptions can be given any credence for determining the date of the foundation of the great Hindu capital. We shall examine every one of these in turn.

1. *The Inscription styled "Bg. 70"*. This is defective because of the following reasons :

(a) Its genuineness has been questioned by Rice. "From its date this inscription would be of special interest, if authentic, but cannot be depended on, being printed from a hand-copy supplied by the people, no original being forthcoming".⁴

(b) Granting its authenticity, we cannot deduce from it that the capital was *Vijayanagara* in A.D. 1336. For it says that *Harihara* was in *Kuñjarakōṇa* ("Elephant-pit" = *Āne-guṇḍi*). He reigned from 1336 to A.D. 1353.⁵ Therefore, the city of *Vijayanagara* did not make its appearance till the end of his reign.

E.C., X. Mb. 158, p. 113.

E.C., XII, Pg. 74, p. 129, text, pp. 389-90.

E.C., VI, Sg. 11, p. 95.

E.C., X, Intr., pp. xxxiv, 241, n. (1).

Rice, *Mysore and Coorg*, p. 112.

(c) This inscription, on the other hand, gives us the more correct information of Bukka having built the capital. But there is one important detail which it mentions: the city had nine gates. This is historically inaccurate. According to the evidence of an eye-witness, who will presently figure in this chapter, the capital had only seven gates.¹ Therefore, the person who fabricated this detail about the city, was not aware of the true nature of the fortifications of the capital; and it follows that the capital mentioned herein could only have been imaginary.

(d) Finally, the boundaries of the village and the signature of the king at the end of the grant are in Telugu. Admitting that for practical purposes the founders may have used the Telugu language to denote the boundaries of the village, their inscriptions discovered so far do not give us any scope to believe that they subscribed themselves in the name of Sri-Virūpāksha in that language.

Hence the document fails to convince us that the capital Vijayanagara existed in A.D. 1336.

2. *The three copper-plate grants from Nellore* are next to be examined.

(a) Their genuineness has been questioned by the editors themselves.²

(b) These grants speak of Harihara Mahārāya and of Vidyāranya. As is well known, Harihara never assumed that title and Vidyāranya, as we shall see, came at a later stage.

3. *The copper-plate grant from Hassan.* The name of the capital *Vijaya* given in this grant may refer to Vijaya-samudra or Vijayanagara itself. The former was the capital of Vira Ballāja in about A.D. 1200. It is also said to have been on the bank of the Tuṅgabhadra.³ But in all likelihood the name *Vijaya* refers to the Vijayanagara. This we infer from the name of the queen Gaurāmbikā. In early Vijayanagara history the only queen who was called by that name was the wife of Bukka I. The king, therefore, whose name is effaced in the grant, could only have been Bukka I; and it is rightly said that his capital was Vijaya.

¹ It was the PALACE that had nine gates. Caesar Frederick, *Purchas, Pilgrims*, X, pp. 97-8; Heras, *Aravida*, p. 231.

² C.P. No. 3 of 1906-7.

³ E.C., V, Pt. I, Hn. 139, p. 39.

4. *The next copper-plate grant* is important in the sense that it has been the mainstay of all those who have advocated the theory of the existence of Vijayanagara in A.D. 1336 or thereabouts. This copper-plate record is styled "Mb.158". It must be confessed at the outset that one may be easily led to accept this document as authentic. Firstly, it is to all appearances, a royal grant. There is the royal signature Sri-Virūpāksha at the end. It is also engraved by the order of the king. Secondly, the details of the grant carry weight with them. Nevertheless this record gives us ample room to doubt its genuineness. It is a copper-plate grant, and appeals less to the student of history than a stone inscription. The following reasons invalidate its evidence:

(a) The statements made as regards the king are unconvincing. Bukka is stated to have been "seated in the jewel throne in the city named Vidyā, distinguished as the abode of Vijaya (victory) made by Vidyāraṇya".¹ This is historically incorrect, because in that year A.D. 1344 the kingdom of Vijayanagara was not founded. Secondly, when it was first established, it was ruled not by one man but by all the brothers conjointly. The joint-sovereignty of the sons of Saṅgama is commemorated in two ways: in their famous pilgrimage to the holy place of Śrīngēri in A.D. 1346;² and in an inscription also of the same date, which definitely informs us that the great city of Hastini (Āneguṇḍi) was "protected by Harihara together with his brothers".³ The other statement made about Bukka is that he had the title of *Rājādhirāja*, and the like. It is highly improbable that the founders ever assumed imperial titles when they were aware of their powerful enemies in the south.

(b) The Mūlbāgal record mentions Vidyāraṇya in A.D. 1344. The first family priest of the sons of Saṅgama was not a *guru* of the Śrīngēri Maṭha. It was Kriyāsakti Āchārya who was the first royal preceptor of the founders of Vijayanagara;⁴ and in this important office he was succeeded by

¹ E.C., X, Mb. 158, op. cit.

² E.C., VI, Sg. i, op. cit.

³ E.C., VIII, Sb. 375, p. 66. Cf. Saletore, *I.H.Q.*, IX, pp. 531-2. We infer that Āneguṇḍi was called Hastini from an inscription dated A.D. 1420, which speaks of Vidyānagari belonging to Āneguṇḍidurga, which is Harṃpe Hastināvati, E.C., VII, Sk. 288, p. 148.

⁴ *Infra*, pp. 108-9.

Vidyātirtha-svāmi of Śringēri. Vidyātirtha was the predecessor of Vidyāranya in the pontificate of Śringēri. Therefore, we cannot credit the statement that in A.D. 1344 Vidyāranya was the *rāja-guru* of the founders of the new Empire.

(c) The name of the engraver is next to be examined. The Mūl̥bāgal inscription says that the carpenter was Nāga Dēva, son of the carpenter Sāsanāchārya. The royal engraver in A.D. 1346 was Liṅgōja, son of Chinna Mallōja.¹ No carpenter is mentioned in a royal grant of A.D. 1354.² In about A.D. 1360 too the epigraph is silent about the engraver.³ Bukka assumed this year, perhaps on account of the impending danger in the south, only modest titles. It is only when we come to A.D. 1388 that we meet with the name of Nāga (or Nāgi) Dēva. He is called Sāsanāchārya Nāgi Dēva.⁴ This is confirmed by a grant of A.D. 1394,⁵ and again by that of A.D. 1397.⁶ If Nāga Dēva was the sculptor in A.D. 1397, he could not have held the same office in A.D. 1344. Firstly, there is no evidence to prove that Nāga Dēva lived to such a ripe age as to have been the royal sculptor from A.D. 1344 till 1397. Secondly, we have the fact of the existence of one royal engraver two years after the professed date of "Mb.158". If Nāga Dēva was the sculptor in A.D. 1344 we fail to see why he should have disappeared in A.D. 1346 and reappeared in A.D. 1388. Thirdly, in the Mūl̥bāgal inscription he is said to be the son of the Sāsanāchārya. It is doubtful if ever this was so. He himself is properly styled in A.D. 1388 Sāsanāchārya. In fact, we shall see while dealing with the Vijayanagara engravers that *sāsanāchārya* was the official designation of the royal sculptor. These considerations enable us to reject the name of Nāga Dēva in A.D. 1344.

(d) The reason why the name of Nāga Dēva appears in A.D. 1344 is to be found in the inscription styled "Gd. 46". Here under the date A.D. 1370 we have all the contents of

¹ E.C., VI, Sg. 1, op. cit.

² E.C., XI, Dg. 67, p. 63.

³ E.C., III, Sr. 87, p. 26.

⁴ E.C., XII, Tp. 9, p. 44.

⁵ E.C., VIII, Tl. 201, p. 208.

⁶ E.C., III, TN. 134, p. 93. For a detailed list of the Vijayanagara sculptors and engravers, see *infra*, Chapter V, Administration, Section on Minor Officials.

"Mb. 158" repeated—the same monarch makes a grant of the same village to the same donee.¹ The question that may be asked is—what was the necessity for a grant of A.D. 1344 to be repeated in A.D. 1370? We admit that there are instances of a grant having been repeated after a space of some years. Thus in A.D. 1531 Achyuta Rāya confirms along with the *sapta-sāgara-dāna*, to Śrīnivāsa, son of Subramanya, the village of Balekeṇe, "which King Narasiṃha had formerly presented, with enjoyment for one life, to his father Subramanya at Srīśaila".² Then, again, in Śaka 1448 (A.D. 1526-7) we have the confirmation of the grants of land originally made to the gods and the Brahmans of the five villages Malakatāla, Chintalacheru, Kōṭa-koṇḍa, Teligi, and Chitrachēḍu in the Guṭṭi-rājya in the time of Vira-pratāpa Kumāra Bukka Rāya, by the *Mahā-nāyakāchārya* Kāṭi Nāyaka, by his descendant Tammā Nāyaka.³ In the one instance we have a definite reason why the grant was renewed. Achyuta Rāya confirms a grant *for life*, because the previous one had only been an endowment for *one* life. About the second example we may presume that a reconfirmation was called for by some disturbed state of things the nature of which we do not know.

These instances are not analogous to the one of Sōma, because the latter fails to justify the repetition in almost identical terms of a grant in the space of twenty-six years. One may as well question the genuineness of the record "Mb. 158" after a study of this document with other grants that were engraved by Nāga Dēva. The first of these grants which lends support to the view that "Mb. 158" is a suspicious record is that already given "Gd. 46". In "Mb. 158" Nāga Dēva is called the illustrious Nāchana's (son), the great poet Sōma. In "Gd. 46" he is called Nāchana Sōma.⁴ Secondly, the village received as a gift in "Mb. 158" is divided into 110 shares, out of which the donee retained twenty-six for himself as manager, bestowing the others on Brahmans. In "Gd. 46" the same gift is divided by the same person into 110 shares, out of which

¹ E.C. X, Gd. 46, p. 219.

² E.C., IV, Kr. 11, p. 101.

³ 367 of 1920.

⁴ But the original texts of both "Mb. 158" and "Gd. 46" are identical. *Srīmān Nāchana Sōmakhyā Mahākavi-varōpy atha Rajānam āśishach chaiva chira-jīvi bhavatu iti*. E.C., X, P. II, text, p. 108.

he kept thirty-six for himself as manager, and gave away the remaining to Brahmans, the principal among whom received twenty-eight. Thirdly, in "Mb. 158" praise is lavished on Bukka at the end of the grant. "The greatness of the Sāsana of King Bukka Rājendra, whose praise sung by all the chief kings was like the hum of bees, and who resembled an only tree of paradise on earth". This unusual encomium is not repeated by the same engraver in the second version of the same fact ("Gd. 46"). Finally, as related above, Sāsanāchārya in "Mb. 158" is made the father of Nāga Dēva. But in "Gd. 46" Nāga Dēva himself is the Sāsanāchārya. These discrepancies in two identical versions of the same facts said to have been recorded by the same engraver, stamp them as spurious grants.

Our suspicions are heightened when we make a further examination of "Gd. 46" in the light of the evidence supplied by two more records in which the name of Nāga Dēva figures. Before we cite the evidence from these, we may note in passing that the date of "Gd. 46" has been questioned. Mr. Rice says: "This (i.e., the date) is given as the Saka year *rasa bhū-nayana indu* (=1216), the year Tāraṇa. But this does not fall within Bukka's reign, during which there was no Tāraṇa. Hence Sādhāraṇa, Saka 1292, expired, has been conjecturally taken".¹ In addition to this chronological difficulty, we have that of reconciling the evidence given both in "Mb. 158" and repeated in "Gd. 46" with that mentioned in "Tp. 9" and "Tl. 202"², about the important details in connection with the king and the composer. In the genealogy as given in "Mb. 158" and "Gd. 46" we have the name of Bukka, the progenitor of Saṅgama, who was the father of the five brothers. The name of Bukka is not corroborated by any of the authentic inscriptions of the founders of Vijayanagara who were always content to trace their lineage to Saṅgama. Admitting that these two inscriptions, "Mb. 158" and "Gd. 46", are unique in this respect, it is strange that Nāga Dēva, who engraved all the four copper-plate grants, "Mb. 158", "Gd. 46", "Tp. 9" and "Tl. 202", and who,—if it is true that he lived from A.D. 1344 till A.D. 1397,

¹ E.C., X, p. 219, n. (1).

² E.C., XII, Tp. 9, p. 44, text, p. 122.

³ E.C., VIII, Tl. 202, p. 208.

—must have been thoroughly acquainted with the pedigree of the monarchs, does not mention the name of Bukka, the progenitor of Saṅgama. Moreover, the details given about the composer, Mallanārādhya, in “Mb. 158” and “Gd. 46” on the one hand, and in “Tp. 9” on the other, do not agree. In the two former he is called Kōṭidēvārādhya’s son, Mallanārādhya. But in “Tp. 9” he is called Kōṭidēvārādhya’s *elder brother*, Mallanārādhya.

The internal evidence supplied by “Mb. 158” and “Gd. 46”, therefore, is not only conflicting in itself but is also irreconcilable with that given by other contemporary records. Therefore, one may safely assert that the statements, especially those relating to the foundation of the capital by Harihara with the aid of Vidyāraṇya in or about A.D. 1336 made in the suspicious grants called “Mb. 158” and “Gd. 46”, are not of any historical value.¹

The evidence from the next record “Pg. 74” may now be considered. The Rev. Heras commented on this inscription as follows: “This inscription also seems to be suspicious, as it grants imperial titles to Bukka I, who never assumed them. Moreover Bukka is said to be ‘seated on the jewel throne’ one year before Harihara I’s death”.² These reasons, we are afraid, are insufficient to prove that “Pg. 74” is a spurious grant. Other considerations may be levelled against this record. Firstly, it may be noted that “Pg. 74” is a copper-plate grant in which the usual invocation to the gods, so characteristic of all, especially royal, documents, is not given. Secondly, it belongs to a certain class of copper-plate grants which on a closer examination may be said to contain not only conflicting statements but unreliable data for any historical purpose. These copper-plate grants are the following: copper-plates styled Nos. 5, 6 and 9 of 1920-21, and No. 16 of 1925. The first of these (C.P. grant No. 5) is dated Śaka 1109 under Vīrapratāpa Bukka Rāya and registers the granting of several

¹ On Nāchana Sōma and “Mb. 156”, Mr. Venkayya wrote thus: “From the description (of the *sūtra*, *gōtra*, *śākhā* as given in “Mb. 158”) it seems as if the donee was the Telugu poet Nāchana Sōma, who according to Rao Bahadur Virēśalingam Pantulu must have lived about 20 or 30 years after Eggāpragaḍa. The latter was the *protégé* of the Koṇḍaviḍu Rēḍḍi chief Ana Vēma, whose earliest date is Śaka-Samvat 1267 (*An. Report for 1899-1900*, paragraphs 60-1). The *gōtra*, *sūtra*, *śākhā* of the poet cannot be verified as the first *āśvāsa* of his *Harivaṃśamu*, where all the details may be expected, has not yet been traced.” *E. Report for 1907*, p. 82. See also Virēśalingam Pantulu, *Āndhrakavula Charitramu*, I, p. 97.

² Heras, *The Beginnings*, pp. 29-30.

ayagars like the *reḍḍi*, *karaṇam*, and *purōhita* for the villages of *Koṭṭipāḍu* and *ṭavulūra* in the Gutti-durga. The second (C.P. grant No. 6) is dated Saka 1093, Vijaya, but deals with the reign of Vira-pratapa Harihara-deva Mahārāya, ruling at Vidyānagara, and the assignment of lands to several services attached to the village of Tarmela in the Guṭṭi-rājya. The third (C.P. grant No. 9) is dated Saka 1270, Sarvajit Vaisakha, Su. 15, and informs us that Vira-pratapa Harihara-dēva Mahārāya, ruling at Vidyānagara, granted the post of *reḍḍi* with lands attached to it, to a certain Koṭṭireḍḍi Narapareḍḍi in respect of the village of Devarapalle in the Guṭṭi-rājya known as Bhāskara-kshētra.¹ From the remarks of Mr. Venkoba Rao on this document, it appears as if we are to give some credit to it. Mr. Venkoba Rao in his *Annual Report on Epigraphy* says: "The early King Harihara I of this dynasty for whom records are not as numerous as for the later kings, is represented by the copper-plate grant No. 9 of Appendix A, dated in Saka 1270, Sarvajit. Herein he is said to be ruling from the capital town Vidyānagara. The main interest of this inscription lies in the earliest known *epigraphical* reference to the deity Ahōlbalēśvara".²

Whatever may be the importance of this record for other purposes, so far as the history of Vijayanagara is concerned, no reliance can be placed on it. It gives the *birudu* of *Mahārāya* to Harihara. We have seen that that monarch never assumed the title *Mahārāya*. Further the unreliability of this copper-plate grant is apparent when we compare it with the grant called C.P. No. 6 of Saka 1093 already cited, and with another grant called C.P. No. 16 of 1925. This last record is dated Saka 1273, and it relates that Vira-pratāpa Bukka-dēva Mahārāya, ruling from Vidyānagara, conferred the *gaudike* rights over the village Nasana in Guṭṭi-rājya to Peda Chōḍama Redḍi.³ The conclusion which can be drawn from an examination of all these grants is that these records, which stick to the *gaudike* rights in Guṭṭi-rājya, the donors whose *birudus* uniformly start with *Vira-pratāpa* and the donees who are all Telugu Redḍis, must have emanated from some common source

¹ E. Report for 1921, pp. 15-16.

² *Ibid.*, p. 101.

³ C.P. No. 16 of 1925-6. Cf. C.P. Nos. 13-15; E. Report for 1921, p. 101. All these deal with *gaudike* and *reḍḍigāram* rights.

which sought to secure certain hereditary rights by fabricating documents of doubtful authenticity.¹

6. The story of Harihara founding the city with the help of Vidyāraṇya as given in the epigraph of A.D. 1652 may be dispensed with as an invention of the later ages.

From the above examination of all the epigraphical records one may unequivocally assert that there was no city called Vijayanagara in A.D. 1336. Such an assertion is implied in the statements of scholars who, however, have given ample evidence of their indecision. Mr. Rice, as we shall see, attributed the transformation of the name of the capital to Vijayanagari to Bukka I. But it may be noted Mr. Rice identifies Vidyātīrtha with Vidyāraṇya in his list of the Śrīṅgēri *gurus*.² This, as Mr. Kṛishṇa Sāstri pointed out, is inadmissible.³

It is imperative that we should ascertain the year of the foundation of the capital, the name of the king, and of the ascetic who helped him in building it. Here it would be worth while to recount the facts we discussed in the previous pages about the political situation in southern India. The Hoysalas were powerful till A.D. 1342. In A.D. 1360 the Tondaimaṇḍala was conquered by the new rulers; and about ten years later, the southern Sultanate was brought to an end. The desperate situation which presented itself to the sons of Saṅgama in A.D. 1346 assumed a brighter hue in A.D. 1370. There is no evidence to prove that Harihara, who had won over to his side Vallappa Daṇṇāyaka, the most powerful representative of the Hoysala dynasty, ever desired to hasten the end of the Hoysala rule by founding a new capital in the Kārṇāṭaka. When the founders of the new principality had got the situation well-nigh under control, and when the Hoysalas as a ruling power had completely disappeared, acting under the advice of the head of the most powerful religious institution in the land, they thought of commemorating their victories over their enemies by the erection of a city called Vijayanagara.

The name of this great capital does not figure in any

¹ No. 6 of 1921 is written in characters too late for the grant given. *Ep. Report for 1921.*, p. 15. To this class belongs C.P. No. 8 of 1925 which informs us that Harihara Mahārāya was ruling from Kurukshētra-Vidyānagara in Saka 1275. *E. Report for 1926*, p. 11. In C.P. No. 16 of 1925 Bukka is said to be ruling at the same place in Saka 1273.

² R.C., I, *Intx.*, p. 24; *Mys. Gazetteer*, I, p. 473 (rev. ed.)

³ A.S.R. for 1907-8, p. 237, n. (1).

authentic record till A.D. 1368. In the earliest trustworthy epigraph of Harihara, which deals with the famous pilgrimage to Sringēri in A.D. 1346, no capital is mentioned. In the next year, as we have just remarked, he is said to have ruled from a place called Hastinī "which was protected by him along with his brothers".¹ We lose sight of the capital till the Śaka year 1274 (A.D. 1352-3) when Bukka was at Dōrasamudra.² No capital is mentioned in a grant dated A.D. 1354 where Bukka I gave to the illustrious astrologer Rāmaṇṇa-Jōyisha a village as a gift.³ Penugonḍa was probably the capital of Bukka Oḍeyar in the same year.⁴ Hosapaṭṭaṇa in A.D. 1355 was the capital of Bukka.⁵ This place, as we have already seen, was called the royal city of Nijagali Kaṭaka Rāya.⁶ As regards Hosapaṭṭaṇa Mr. Rice remarks thus: "There is no certainty as to this place. Sir Walter Elliot says (*Num. Or.* p. 91) that the first name of Vijayanagara was Hosapaṭṭaṇa, which is quite possible, as the word merely means New Town. But that would not be in the Hoysana country. Some other place must therefore be meant. No reference has been found to Nijagali Kaṭaka Rāya".⁷ In the next year A.D. 1356 Bukka was in the same capital.⁸ Although Bukka's name figures in an inscription dated A.D. 1358, yet the capital is not given.⁹ In A.D. 1359 the capital appears to have been Basapaṭṭaṇa,¹⁰ which may be an engraver's or copyist's mistake for Hosapaṭṭaṇa. About A.D. 1360 we have an inscription of Bukka without mention being made of the capital.¹¹ Likewise in A.D. 1363 the engraver is silent about the capital of Bukka.¹² It is unfortunate that in an inscription of about A.D. 1365, there should be a gap as regards the *nelevīḍu*.¹³ There is an effaced inscription of A.D. 1368 from which nothing can be gathered

¹ E.C., VIII, Sb. 375, p. 66, op. cit.

² A.S.R., 1907-8, p. 240.

³ E.C., XI, Dg. 67, p. 63, op. cit.

⁴ 339 of 1901; E. Report for 1920, p. 8. See also Ep. Ind., VI, p. 327, n. 2 and 3.

⁵ Rice, *My. Ins.*, p. 2.

⁶ E.C., XI, Cd. 2, p. 2.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Intr., p. 24.

⁸ Rice, *My. Ins.*, p. 4.

⁹ E.C., III, Ml. 22, p. 58.

¹⁰ E.C., IX, Nl. 23, p. 33.

¹¹ E.C., III, Sr. 87, p. 26.

¹² E.C., IV, Ch. 117, p. 16.

¹³ *Ibid.*, Ng. 61, p. 128.

about the capital.¹ Bukka in the same year is spoken of thus—"Champion over kings who break their word, lord of the Eastern and Western Oceans, Vīra Bukka-Rāya Oḍeya was ruling the kingdom of the world".²

Nevertheless this was the year A.D. 1368 which witnessed the glorious event of the foundation of the capital. It was the year when the very existence of the Hindu Empire seemed to have split on the rock of religious controversy; and when all the resources of the royal patron were put to the test by the appeals of two rival religious parties. It was the year when the Vijayanagara Emperor stood forth indeed as the champion of Hindu Dharma, and gave to the country the best example of religious toleration. The Srivaishṇavas were unjustly slaying the Jainas, and the adherents of these two religious sections placed the matter before Bukka I. He settled the question in such an admirable manner that his action seemed to stamp the deeds of his successors with the hall-mark of toleration. Partly as a sign of the success of the Hindus over their enemies in the south, and partly as an indication of the happy settlement of the great controversy between the Jainas and the Srivaishṇavas, Bukka I, we may assume, laid the foundation of the capital in the sacred region of the ancient Paṃpā-kshētra.

The information about the Jaina-Srivaishṇava dispute is given in the inscription called "Māgaḍi 18", which runs thus: "Dispute having arisen between the Jainas and the Bhaktas (or the faithful), the Jainas of all nāḍs within Āneyagondi, Hosapaṭṭaṇa, Penugonḍa and Kalyaha³ having made petition to Bukka-Rāya that the Bhaktas were unjustly killing them. . . ."⁴

This inscription is a copy of the famous original epigraph called the Rāmānujācharya inscription at Sravaṇa Belgoḷa which is styled in the collections "SB 136". Now, there is no mention made of the City of Vijayanagara in these two inscriptions. All the other capitals and an important city are spoken of—Āneguṇḍi, Hosapaṭṭaṇa, Penugonḍa, and Kalyaha, although, we confess, that there is no evidence till now of the last one having been a place of

¹ E.C., IV, Gu. 46, p. 44.

² *Ibid.*, Ch. 113, p. 15.

³ The place where this "Māgaḍi 18" inscription was found.

⁴ E.C., IX, Mg. 18, p. 53.

much consequence. If the capital called Vijayanagara had been founded by the time these two inscriptions were inscribed, nothing prevented the people from mentioning it amongst the other centres of the land. Even supposing it had been omitted in the original Rāmānujācharya inscription, the residents of Kalyaha—a place which, because of the fact of the inscription having been found there, we suppose must have been important both to the Jainas and the Srīvaishṇavas,—would have rectified the error by including the name of Vijayanagara in their inscription. For we cannot conceive of the Jainas existing only at the centres of Āneguṇḍi, Hosapattāṇa, Penugoṇḍa and Kalyaha and not at Vijayanagara. In fact, as we shall see later on, the Jainas in Vijayanagara itself, when that capital was constructed, were so numerous that temples were built for them both by a Vijayanagara monarch and by one of the great Jaina generals. Hence, the point to be noted is that when these two inscriptions ("SB 136" and "Mg. 18") were engraved, the city of Vijayanagara did not exist.

But in the same year A.D. 1368, however, we have the name of the capital—Vijayanagara. "The Mahārājādhirāja, rāja-paramēśvara, the master of the eastern, southern and western oceans, who, on mounting on the great throne of the new Vijayanagara, which like the principal jewel in the middle of the pearl necklace the Tuṅgabhadra, that encircled the Hēmakūṭa mountain as if it were the throat of the lady earth, caused all kings to prostrate themselves as his feudatories, was Vīra Bukka Rāya".¹ It is evident, therefore, that when this inscription ("Sk. 281") was engraved in A.D. 1368, the capital had made its appearance.

The problem of the date of its foundation is solved when we examine the dates of the inscriptions known as "Ch. 113", "Mg. 18" and "Sk. 281". The first one ("Ch. 113") is dated *Saka varusho* 1200 (*neya*) *Kīlaka Samvatsarada Vaisākha* Ba. 5. *Sō. Śravaṇa-nakshatra*,² which corresponds to Sunday, May 7th, A.D. 1368. The weekday, however, does not correspond.³ The second inscription, "Mg. 18" is dated *Saka-varusha* 1290 *neya Kīlaka samvatsarada Śravaṇa* Su. 2. *Sō. dalu*⁴ or Monday, July 17th

¹ E.C., VII, Sk. 281, p. 146.

² E.C., IV, Ch. 113, op. cit., text, p. 43.

³ Swamikannu Pillai, *Indian Ephemeris*, IV, p. 338.

⁴ E.C., IX, Mg. 18, op. cit., text, p. 106.

A.D. 1368.¹ Since the capital is not mentioned in this inscription, which is of a later date, we conclude that there was no Vijayanagara till July 17th A.D. 1368. The date of "Sk. 281" is thus given: "Then at a certain time reckoned by *kha*, *randhra*, *kara* and *kumuda bāndhava* (1290) the Sātavāhana Saka year Kīlaka being current, on the day governed by the moon, the crest jewel whose glory is cherished with affection on the head of Śiva (Monday), the 8th day of the dark fortnight of the autumn (month) Kārttika".² This agrees, but for the week day, which happens to be Friday, with November 3rd A.D. 1368.³ There is one particular statement in this inscription ("Sk. 281") which may be noted. Bukka is said to be "mounting the great throne of the New Vijayanagara". The date of this inscription and the significance which is implied in the above phrase enable us to conjecture that the great Hindu capital must have been built after July A.D. 1368 and before November A.D. 1368.

The splendour of the capital, its vast extent, and its huge battlements—about which we shall have something to say in the course of this chapter—make it impossible for us to believe that it could ever have been constructed within the course of a few months. There cannot be a doubt that it took a long time for the monarchs to complete the construction of the capital. We infer this from a copper-plate grant dated A.D. 1278 which describes the capital in the following terms: "Having conquered all the world, he (Bukka) built a splendid city called the City of Victory, (*vijatva viśvaṃ vijayābhīdhānaṃ viśvōttaraṃ vō naḡarīm vyadhatta*).⁴ Its fort walls were like arms stretched out to embrace Hēmakūta. The points of its battlements like its filaments, the suburbs like its blossom, the elephants like bees, the hills reflected in the water of the moat like stems,—the whole city resembled the lotus on which Lakṣmī is ever seated. There, with the Tuṅṇabhadrā as his foot-stool, and Hēmakūta as his throne, he (Bukka) was seated like Virūpākṣha for the protection of the people of the earth".⁵ This very capital in A.D. 1368 is called

Swamikannu, *Ind. Eph.*, IV, p. 339.

E.C., VIII, Sk. 281, p. 147, text, p. 333.

Swamikannu, *ibid.*, p. 339.

E.C., V, Cn. 256, p. 232, text, p. 521.

Ibid.

merely the *New Capital*; but in A.D. 1378 it is called the *Supreme City*. The engraver's astonishment at its beauty and size, barring its reference to the deities, is faithfully corroborated by foreign travellers, whose accounts may help us to understand why it was called the *Supreme City* in A.D. 1378. That our surmise about the completion of the capital in A.D. 1378 is correct is further borne out by an inscription of the times of Harihara Rāya II, dated A.D. 1380, which narrates that that monarch was ruling "amid the society of persons ever devoted to works of merit" from his "new capital and the chief cities *Vijayanagara*".¹ Even in about A.D. 1397 it was called "the new great royal city *Vijayanagara*".²

Therefore, the city of Vijayanagara was founded in A.D. 1368 by Bukka I some time after July and before November, and was completed in about A.D. 1378. This explains the association of the name of the city only with that of Bukka in a stone inscription of A.D. 1397. "The kings Harihara and Bukka protected the earth as if Bala Rāma and Kṛishṇa had again united for its preservation. Harihara, the elder brother of Bukka, having subdued by his might all the hostile kings, ruled over the earth. (His praise). Afterwards his younger brother Bukka Rāya (his praise) governed the city named Vijaya in the same manner as Kṛishṇa ruled the beautiful city *Dvārakā*".³ This is only a confirmation of the evidence of an earlier inscription dated A.D. 1379 which after praising the Yadu-vaṃśa and Saṅgama, continues thus: "His two celebrated sons were Harihara and Bukka, like *Rauhiṇeya* and *Kṛishṇa* were born again for the protection of the earth (Praise of Harihara). His younger brother Bukka Rāya dwelt at ease in the city named Vijaya, like *Mukunda* in *Dvārāvātī*, and protected the earth (*athānujas tasya jagatpratītaḥ Sri-Bukka-Rājō Vijayābhīdhānam*). (His praise). His son was Harihara, who dwelt in the same city that his father had maintained. . . ."⁴

Indian as well as foreign writers agree about this point—that it was only in the reign of Bukka I that the capital made its appearance, and that consequently there was no such city called Vijayanagara in the times of Harihara I.

¹ Rice, *My. Ins.*, p. 227.

² E.C., V, Bl. 3, p. 44.

³ Rice, *ibid.*, p. 55.

⁴ E.C., XI, Dv. 34, p. 42, text, p. 98.

Gaṅgādēvi in her poem, *Madhurāvijayam*, while describing the capital of Bukka I, writes :

तस्यासीद् विजया नाम विजयार्जितसंपदः राजधानी.....¹

The memory of the foundation of the capital by Bukka I survived till the days of Couto and Faria y Sousa. And even in the accounts of Nuniz one may find the truth of the statement given by the inscriptions and the talented Queen of Kampaṇa II. Couto, whose version of the story we have already recorded, thus writes about Bukka: "He was attacked by the king of Delhi, but the latter was defeated and retired, whereupon Bukka established a city 'and called it Visaja Nagar, which we corruptly call Bisnaga'."² The Portuguese historian Faria y Sousa thus writes about the origin of the Karnāṭaka kingdom of Vijayanagara: "This Kingdom of *Charnataca*, corruptly *Canara*, had no Sovereign Prince till the Year of Grace 1200. It began then in *Boca*, a Shepherd, who styled himself *Rao*, that is, *Emperour* a Title that continued in all his Successors. This King, as a Memorial of the Defeat given to the King of *Delij*, built the famous City of Visajanagar, corruptly also called *Bis-nagar*".³ Admitting that Nuniz has confounded the names of the founders of the Empire, yet from him we may glean something about the construction of the capital by Bukka. Nuniz says: "The King ('Deorao', according to Nuniz) going one day a-hunting as was often his wont, to a mountain on the other side of the river Nagumdym (i.e., Āneguṇḍi) where now is the city of Bisnaga—, which at that time was a desert place in which much hunting took place . . .".⁴ Nuniz makes this "Deorao" the first king of Vijayanagara, and the builder of the capital. This is contradicted by the evidence from inscriptions and from the writings of Gaṅgādēvi. Now, if, as Sewell assumes, we take "Deorao" (Dēva Rāya) to be the general appellation by which the Hindu kings were known⁵; and if we admit that Nuniz, in spite of many accurate details he has given us, has confounded the names of the founders, we may on the strength of the epigraphical evidence interpret

Madhurāvijayam, I, v. 43, p. 5.

Sewell, *For. Emp.*, p. 22, op. cit.

Faria y Sousa, *Asia Portuguesa*, II, p. 118.

Sewel, *ibid.*, p. 299, op. cit.

Ibid., p. 298, n. (2).

"Deorao" as "Bukka Dēva Rāya". Contemporary and later evidence, therefore, attributes the foundation of the capital to Bukka I.

Here we may incidentally note the connection between the founders of the Hindu Empire and the great pontificate of Śrīṅgērī. This brings us to the question whether one can accept the conclusions of Rice as valid. He writes on this point thus: "Though the establishment of the capital is attributed to Harihara, and his naming it Vidyānagarī after Vidyāraṇya Śrīpāda (Cd. 46), the building of the city and the transformation of its name to Vijayanagari, or city of victory, are said to have been the work of Bukka-Rāya (Cn. 256)".¹ It must be evident to the reader that the fact of Bukka I having *built* the city cannot be disputed, and that that monarch did not *transform* the name of the city from Vidyānagarī to Vijayanagarī. The idea of the transformation of the name presupposes the existence of the same capital under a different name. About this point one may emphatically deny that Vijayanagara existed under a more ancient name, especially when one realizes the fact that Āneguṇḍi, which must have been the last capital which the founders exchanged for the new city, has always been distinctly mentioned in inscriptions, as we shall see presently, to be near but not the same as Vijayanagara proper. The misconception about the existence of Vijayanagara under a different designation is due to the credence that is given to the legend of Harihara and Vidyāraṇya. The assertion of Rice that the city of Vijayanagara was built in A.D. 1336 by Harihara with the aid of Vidyāraṇya Śrīpāda is based on the later inscription of A.D. 1652.² Apart from this, the question of the royal preceptors of the founders demolishes the theory of Vidyāraṇya ever having helped Harihara in building the capital,³ although it cannot be maintained that they were not indebted to the munificence and guidance of the Śrīṅgērī *gurus*. Kriyāsakti Āchārya, as remarked in an earlier connection, was the first royal priest of the sons of Saṅgama. This is proved by epigraphical records and by the poetess Gaṅgādēvī. An

¹ Rice, *Mysore & Coorg*, p. 113; S. K. Aiyangar, *Q.J.M.S.*, XI, p. 22.

² E.C., VI, Intr., p. 23; Sg. 11, op. cit., Rice, *My. & Coorg*, pp. 168-a.

³ Cf. Heras, *The Beginnings*, pp. 11, seq., 19, seq.

inscription dated A.D. 1378 says: "Virūpākṣa himself as the supreme deity of his family, Kriyāsakti-āchārya as his family guru, and the minister able in protecting and punishing, did he (Harihara II) inherit, along with the same city".¹ Gaṅgādēvī substantiates this in the following words:

“असाधारणसावैश्यं विरुसत्सर्वमङ्गलम् ।

क्रियाशक्तिगुरुं वन्दे त्रिलोचनमिवापरम् ॥”²

The attempt made by some to identify Kriyāsakti Āchārya with Vidyāranya fails to carry any conviction with it.³

Nevertheless, from the very commencement of their career as conquerors, the sons of Saṅgama were deeply indebted to the wisdom, and perhaps wealth too, of the Śrīṅgērī Maṭha. It is true that we are unable with the materials before us to trace the circumstances under which the preceptorship of the *gurus* of the line of Kriyāsakti was exchanged for that of the priests of the Śrīṅgērī Maṭha. The obligation which Harihara and his brothers owed to the latter institution is expressed in the inscription already cited, which says: "Obeisance to Vidyātīrtha guru, with his form of celestial glory, whose friendship gained is never lost. . . The Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Hariapodeyar, Kampaṇodeyar, Bukkaṇodeyar, Mārappodeyar, Muddappodeyar, son-in-law Ballappa-dannāyaka, Kumāra Sōvaṇṇa Oḍeyar and others made to Bhārati-Tīrtha Śrīpāda, his disciples and others, and the forty Brahmans residing in that tīrtha of Śrīṅgērī, for the performance of rites and services", a gift of nine villages.⁴ This profound veneration to the head of the Śrīṅgērī pontificate in A.D. 1346 was given a concrete expression in A.D. 1376 when Vidyātīrtha assisted Bukka to become great. "He (Bukka) with the assistance of Vidyātīrtha muni, became very great, the earth being as his wife, and the four oceans his treasury".⁵ It is quite likely that on the nearing of the completion of the capital in A.D. 1378, the Vijayanagara monarch gave

¹ E.C., V. P. I, Cn. 256, op. cit. : *My. Arch. Report* for 1918, p. 51.

² *Madhurāvijayam*, Intr., pp. 15-6; Canto, I, v. 4; p. 1; Narasimhachar, I.A., XLV, p. 17, seq. See also Gopinatha Rao, *Ep. Ind.*, XV, p. 10, seq.

³ Dr. Venkatasubbiah, *Q.J.M.S.*, VIII, p. 118, seq.

⁴ E.C., VI, Sg. 1, op. cit.

⁵ E.C., IV, Yd. 46, p. 58.

further expression to his willingness to be guided this time by the *guru* of the Sringēri Maṭha. For, we believe that it was in this year A.D. 1378 that the services of Vidyāraṇya, who was then the minister to the son of Bukka, Yadugiri Virūpaṇṇa, the viceroy over Āraga, were transferred to the Emperor at Vijayanagara. Our assertion that in A.D. 1378 Vidyāraṇya was in Āraga is gathered from the following epigraph: "When (with the usual titles) Vīra Bukka Rāya's son Yadugiri Virūpaṇṇa-Rāya was governing the Āraga kingdom in peace and wisdom—a grant was made of land in the Mēlubhāgi-bayal of Sāntalige-nāḍ for the offerings of the god Prasanna-Visvēśvara on the western bank of the goddess Tuṅgabhadra. . . by order of Vidyāraṇya Śrīpāda, at the time of the moon's eclipse".¹ Preceptors alone in their capacity as prime ministers "ordered" the viceroys and even the Vijayanagara emperors to give grants of land. While the fact of Vidyāraṇya being the *guru* of Yadugiri Virūpaṇṇa is thus confirmed, we are again in the dark as to the precise events that made Vidyāraṇya go to Vijayanagara. As regards the legend of his having helped Harihara in the construction of the capital and of the dogs and the hare, we may dismiss it as an invention of a later age, realizing nevertheless that popular fancy may have attributed to Mādhava Vidyāraṇya, because of his vast learning and wide celebrity, much of the credit, at least so far as the early days of the kingdom were concerned, which historically falls to the share of his learned and illustrious predecessor Vidyātīrtha-svāmi.²

There is one point, however, which remains still to be

¹ E.C., VI, Kp. 30, p. 81.

² E.C., X, Mb. 11, p. 74. See also E.C., VI, Kp. 19, p. 78. For further remarks on the futility of maintaining that Vidyāraṇya helped the founders to build the Empire, read Gopinatha Rao, *Madhurāvijayam*, Intr., pp. 15-8. That the post of minister under Bukka in A.D. 1368, was held by a disciple of Kāśivilāsa Kriyāśakti Āchārya of the Śrīkaṇṭhāgama, is evident from a record of that date. E.C., VII, Sk. 281, p. 146. See also E.C. VIII. Sb. 375, p. 66, op. cit. In A.D. 1346 Mādhava was the minister of Mārāpa; in A.D. 1368 he was the minister of Bukka. As regards the name Kriyāśakti Āchārya, we may note that even in A.D. 1410 Dēva Kaya is said to worship the feet of the 'auspicious royal āchārya of the rāja-guru maṇḍala', the royal guru Kriyāśakti. *My. Ins.*, p. 27. On Sāyana, Vidyātīrtha, and Vidyāraṇya, see *infra*, Ch. V. For a history of the successive teachers of the Sringēri Maṭha, read Lakshmaṇa Sāstri, *Guruvāśīsamahākāvya*, prepared under the order of Sachidānanda Bhāratī, A.D. 1714-1739. *My. Arch. Report* for 1928, p. 15, seq.

solved : how and when did the story of Vidyāranya helping Harihara or of the latter's having built the capital with the aid of the former ever originate; and who is the Harihara who may be said to have had anything to do with that great man of learning? From the discussion of the question of the building of the capital as given above, it is clear that the city of Vijayanagara could only have made its appearance somewhere in the middle of the year A.D. 1368. If this is granted, then Harihara I had nothing to do either with the construction of the capital or with the name of Vidyāranya. Now the figure of Mādhava comes in another connection, and this time with the name Harihara too. We are told in an inscription of A.D. 1565 that Rāma Dēva Rāya Mahārāya was the "lord of the throne of Vidyānagari which Harihara Mahārāya built and consecrated in the name of Vidyāranya Śrīpāda". (*Harihara-dēva-mahārāyaru kaṭṭi pratishtēyāgi nīnta ā-Vidyānagariya simhāsana-ke-karttarāda* etc.).¹ Since the *birudu* of *mahārāya* was never assumed by Harihara I, and since during his life-time the state of the country was too unsettled to allow him the means of constructing a jewelled throne, we may reasonably infer that the Harihara referred to in the inscription of A.D. 1565 could

¹ *E.C.*, VII, Cī. 62, p. 189, text, p. 458. Here we may consider the evidence from Hindu literature. Virūpaksha-panḍita, the author of *Chenna-basava-purāṇa*, thus writes about the coronation of Harihara :

ಆಲಿಸೈ ಶಾಲಿವಾಹನ ಶಕದ ಸಾವಿರದ ಮೇಲದಿನ್ನೂರೈವತೆಂಟರಿಂದಂ
ಮುಂದೆ |

ಪೇಳಲೇಂ ಧಾತುಸಂವತ್ಸರದ ವೈಶಾಖಶುದ್ಧ ಸಪ್ತಮಿಸುದಿನದೆ ||

ಲೀಲೆಯಿಂ ಹರಿಹರಗೆ ಪಟ್ಟಮಂ ಕಟ್ಟಲವನಾಳುವಂ ಹದಿಮೂರುಪಟ್ಟ ಪಂ
ಯಂತರಂ |

ಪೇಳಲೇಂ ತನ್ನ ಸಂತತಿಗೂಡಿ ನೊರೈವತ್ಯೆದು ಸಂವತ್ಸರವನು ||

Chenna-basava-purāṇa, Sandhi, 63, v, 2, p. 525 (Litho., Mangalore, 1851). See also Karibasavaśāstri, *Chennabasavaśāstri-vijayam*, p. 431. S. 1258, Dhātri, Vaisākha Su. 7=Thursday the 18th April, A.D. 1336. Swamikannu, *Ind. Ep̄h.*, IV, p. 274. Virūpaksha's evidence may have been relied upon but for the fact that he lived in A.D. 1584, and his assertion savours too much of the common Virāṣaiva Kālajñāna. For his date see *Kavicharite*, II, p. 307; Rice, *Kan. Lit.*, p. 68. (2nd ed.).

only have been the second of that name. It was this ruler, therefore, who may have built the famous diamond throne of the Hindu monarchs; and the people confounded the fact of the construction of the throne by Harihara II "in the name of Vidyāraṇya", with the fact of Harihara I's having built the capital itself. Perhaps there is some justification for this confusion when we remember that about the year A.D. 1378 Vidyāraṇya seems to have come to the capital, which in that year under the aegis of Harihara II was nearing its completion.

SECTION 3. *The Names of the Capitals*

The kingdom of Vijayanagara has been known by various names. To the people of southern India it was the kingdom of Vijayanagara or Vidyānagara, (or merely Vidyā), Anegondi (Āneguṇḍi), Kuṇṇarakōṇa, Hosapaṭṭaṇa, or sometimes Virūpākshapaṭṭaṇa, Haṁpe-Hastināvati, or merely Hastināvati. Thus, as we saw in an unauthentic inscription, Bukka I was seated on the jewel throne in the city named Vidyā, distinguished as the abode of Vijaya.¹ In the inscriptions ranging from A.D. 1531 to A.D. 1563 the capital was called Vidyānagara. The attempt made by Rice to trace the derivation of the word *Vijayanagara* to *Vidyānagara* appears wholly untenable.² Sewell is, therefore, justified in asserting that the common derivation of the name of the city from that of the great sage is erroneous.³ The name Āneguṇḍi or Kuṇṇarakōṇa properly belongs to the parent city on the northern side of Tuṅga-bhadra. But in some suspicious documents it has been applied to Vijayanagara.⁴ In A.D. 1413 Āneguṇḍi is said to have been the capital of Vīra Vijaya.⁵ The Vijayanagara Empire is called in the popular parlance of the present times Ānegundi *saṁsthānam*. In A.D. 1347 the capital was called Hastinī.⁶ Hastināpura-Vijayanagara appears in A.D. 1395.⁷ In A.D. 1404 we have Vijayanagara

¹ E.C., X, Mb. 158, op. cit.

² Rice, *My. Ins.*, Intr., p. lxxxi, n.

³ Sewell, *For. Emp.*, pp. 10 n. (2). 300, n. (1).

⁴ Butterworth-Chetty. *Nellore Ins.*, I., p. 114.

⁵ *My. Arch. Report* for 1911-2, p. 49. This record is of doubtful authenticity.

⁶ E.C., VIII, Sb. 375, op. cit.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Sb. 103, p. 15.

Hastināvati.¹ Under Dēva Rāya the capital was styled Haṁpe-Hastināvati in A.D. 1436.² This name changed into Hastināvati Vidyānagari, is met with even in A.D. 1563.³ Hosapaṭṭana was the designation of the capital in A.D. 1354 and A.D. 1355⁴ when Vijayanagara had not yet been built.

With the foreigners, however, the name underwent a distortion. To the Muhammadans and to the Portuguese it was known as Bisnaga, Bijnagar, Beejanuggur, or Beejnuggur, Bidjanagar, and Bichenagar.⁵ It was further corrupted into Bizenegalia.⁶ Barbosa gives altogether a new name—the kingdom Narsinga (or Narsyngua),⁷ obviously called after the Emperor Nṛsiṃha (Sāluva).

But the name given to it in A.D. 1368—the City of Victory—survived the fatal shock of A.D. 1565, and the capital of the monarchs was always called Vijaya whether at Āneguṇḍi, Haṁpe, Chandragiri or Penugoṇḍa.⁸

SECTION 4. *The Past Glory of the Region where the Capital was built*

The region which thus served as the site for the new capital was celebrated in the history of southern India. Nurtured in the memories of ancient Kishkindhā, it was fed on the inspiration which flowed from Haṁpe (Paṁpā), and allowed to mature on the recollections of three historical centres of strife—Kurugōḍu, Kāmpili and Āneguṇḍi. To mediaeval minds the very atmosphere of the city and its surroundings seemed to animate them with a new life of vigour and renown, and to infuse into them the spirit of struggle which was so essential for the preservation of Hindu religion and culture at the hands of their inveterate enemies. It is no wonder, therefore, that then, as now, the

¹ E.C., VII, Cl. 28, p. 183.

² E.C., VIII, Sb. 490, p. 82.

³ E.C. V, Hn. 2, p. 2.

⁴ *My. Arch. Report* for 1925, p. 74; E.C., XI, Cd. 2, p. 2; Heras, *The Beginnings*, p. 19, seq.

⁵ Sewell, *For. Emp.*, p. 242, n. (1).

⁶ Major, *India*, p. lxii.

⁷ *Barbosa, Dames*, I, p. 201; II, p. 113.

⁸ Heras, *Aravidu*, p. 313. Vijayanagara originally was not the same as Hastināvati or Hosapaṭṭana. In the epigraph mentioning the religious settlement between the Jains and the Srivaishnavas, Āneguṇḍi and Hosapaṭṭana are mentioned separately. E.C., IX, Ma. 18, p. 53. Vijayanagara was not Hastināvati since in A.D. 1382, Vijayanagara is mentioned first and then Hastināvati. Rice, *My. Ins.*, p. 269. B.A.S.

whole region became a place of pilgrimage, and that even foreign travellers were constrained to probe into the past history of *Bisnaga*.

The earliest memories which rise up with the name Vijayanagara are those of Kishkindhā. According to the *Jaina Rāmāyaṇa* of the 12th century, "there existed (in ancient times) in the south three great empires or kingdoms. These were the Rākshasa kingdom, with its capital at Laṅka; the Vānara-dhvaja kingdom, or kingdom of the monkey-flag, with its capital at Kishkindhā; and the Vidyādhara kingdom, with its capital at Rathanūpura-chakravāla-pura. The first embraced Ceylon, in which Laṅka was situated, and the maritime districts of the south; the second, whose capital was on the Tuṅgabhadra at the site of the modern Vijayanagara and Āneguṇḍi. . . . the third kingdom was north from these, and its capital may possibly be the Raṭnapur in the Central Provinces".¹ It was at this place where Vijayanagara was built that, according to legend, Sugrīva could ascend the hill and Vāli could not. Perhaps it was one of these five hills which guarded the city—Mālyavaṇṭa, Hēmakūṭa, Basavaśrīṅga, Mataṅgaparvata, and Kishkindhā.² Some maintain that evidence of an earlier town can be seen at Haṁpe.³

The second name which has made the region famous is that of the god Virūpāksha, the patron deity of Haṁpe. The locality was known as Paṁpā-kshētra or Bhāskara-kshētra.⁴ But the former was the more popular name of the two. Sewell records a tradition that at Paṁpā there existed a town as early as A.D. 1100.⁵ There is every reason to believe that a town existed at Haṁpe anterior to that date. Paṁpā is mentioned in a grant of the Western Chālukya ruler Vinayāditya dated in Śaka 611 expired (A.D. 689-90).⁶ It has been suggested that the reference here is only to a *tīrtha* and not to a town.⁷ Since Vinayāditya Satyāśraya would not have pitched his "victorious camp" "located on the bank of the

¹ Rice, *My. Ins.*, Intr., pp. xxix-xxx; *Mys. Gaz.*, I, pp. 277-8. (Rev. ed.); *Bombay Gaz.*, I, P. II, p. 142; Longhurst, *Haṁpi Ruins*, pp. 6-7.

² Taylor, *Cat. Rais.*, III, p. 180.

³ Cf. Slater, *Q.J.M.S.*, II, p. 51. See below.

⁴ *My Arch. Report* for 1911-12, p. 47; *E.C.*, V. P. II, Hn. 133, p. 38.

⁵ Sewell, *Lists*, I, p. 106.

⁶ Fleet, *I.A.*, VI, p. 85; *Bombay Gaz.*, I, P. II, p. 369.

⁷ *Ep. Report* for 1923, p. 101.

Paṃpā'', if that region had not contained a temple in it, and since we cannot conceive of a Hindu temple in the early times without some sort of a town around it, we believe Paṃpā in A.D. 689-90 was perhaps a town of some celebrity. Indeed in the times of the Western Chālukya king Jagadēkamalla Jayasimha, Haṃpe was already a town. This we gather from an inscription dated Śaka 940 (A.D. 1018-9) which records a royal visit to Paṃpāpura.¹ In A.D. 1112 it figures as Svāmi-Paṃpā-sthala in a grant of the Western Chālukya general Mahādēva.²

According to the *Dharma-karta* of the temple of Virūpāksha, who gave the information to Sewell, inscriptions in the temple record that the great *gōpura* of the first *prākāra* of the temple was originally built in A.D. 1199, when a certain Bōdhayya Rāya gave the village of Haṃpe, as a charitable gift for the use of the temple.³ The only ruler of the name of Bōdhayya Rāya known to Karṇāṭaka history is he who governed from his seat at Drugga in A.D. 1371.⁴ How a person could have given the village of Haṃpe to the temple which existed centuries before he built it, is a difficult matter to understand, especially when we realize the fact that in A.D. 1346 the sons of Sangama, whose patron deity was the god Virūpāksha of Haṃpe, had already declared themselves masters not only of Haṃpe proper but of the whole of the Karṇāṭaka. That the temple of Virūpāksha existed in that same year (A.D. 1199) is clear from an inscription of Śaka 1121 which mentions a grant of land by the son of Immaḍi Rājamalla, the ruler of *Curagode-Chowdayah* for the daily ceremony of Virūpāksha of Haṃpe.⁵ In the same year Hāchale, the wife of the same ruler Chauḍeya of the Serpent-race (*Phaṇi-vamśa*), granted lands for the maintenance of the same temple.⁶ The Hoysalas also continued the same tradition of bestowing grants on the temple. In A.D. 1236-7 the Paṃpāpati or Virūpāksha temple received gifts from the king Sōmēśvara.⁷

¹ 87 of 1904.

² *Ep. Ind.*, XIII, p. 40.

³ Sewell, *Lists*, I, p. 106.

⁴ *E.C.*, VI, Mg. 87, p. 74.

⁵ Rangachari, *Top. List*, I, By. 332, p. 304.

⁶ *My. Arch. Report* for 1920, p. 14.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 14; A.S.R. for 1925-6, p. 140; A.S.R. for 1907-8, p. 236, n. (2); *Q.J.M.S.*, XI, p. 21.

The spirit of struggle which the sons of Saṅgama imbibed was mainly drawn from the history which surrounded the three principalities of Kurugōḍu, Kāmpili, and Ānenguṇḍi. The first of these was the capital from where the ancient *Phaṇi-vamśa* rulers governed. It figures in the early Western Chālukyan history.¹ In the eighth century A.D. Kurugodu (or Kurugode, or Kurumṅoḍu) was reckoned to be a capital renowned for its strength, its wealth, and its famous gardens.² It was the *neleviḍu* of the Hoysala king Sōmēśvara.

The second little state which cast its shadow over the rising kingdom of Vijayanagara was that of Kāmpili.³ A strenuous attempt has been made, as we remarked in connection with the origin of the monarchs,⁴ to link the lineage and history of the founders with the state of Kāmpili. Whatever may be the importance of the MSS. styled *Paradāra Sōdara Rāmana Kathe* and *Kumāra Rāmana Sāṅgatya* in the field of Hoysala history, they throw no light on the question of the origin of the Vijayanagara Empire.⁵ In addition to what we have said about these MSS., the following may also be noted. Kāmpili as a city was not created by the exertions of the chieftains of the thirteenth century. It existed in A.D. 1022 as the capital of the Nolāmbavāḍi rulers.⁶ The Western Chālukya king Viṣṇuvardhana Vijayāditya ruled over Nolāmbavāḍi with Kāmpili as his *neleviḍu*.⁷ The Chōlas considered its conquest a fact of sufficient importance to be recorded on a pillar of victory. This was done when the city was burnt by Rājārāja I.⁸ A king of Kāmpila was slain in A.D. 1325 in the war between the officers of Ballāla III, Baicheya

¹ 53, 61, and 68 of 1904; Rangachari, *Top. List.*, I, 111, p. 269.

² *As. Res.*, IX, p. 428. Ballāla II captured Kurugōḍu, *Bom. Gaz.*, XXII, p. 399; Sewell, *Lists*, I, p. 103.

³ The southern Kāmpili is not to be confounded with Kāmpilya in the N.-W. Provinces, (see *Ep. Ind.*, VI, p. 287), nor with a place of a similar name on the Ganges. (Firishtah, Briggs, *The Rise.*, I, p. 428 and note.)

⁴ *Supra*, Chapter I, pp. 32-33.

⁵ Cf. Saletore, *J.B.H.S.*, III, pp. 105-126.

⁶ *E.C.*, X, Mk. 10, p. 91. Here it is called Kapili, obviously an error for Kāmpili.

⁷ *Bom. Gaz.*, I, P. II, p. 454; *Ep. Ind.*, IV, p. 212; *E.C.*, XI, Mk. 29, p. 95.

⁸ *S.I.L.*, III, P. II, p. 194, n. (3); *E.C.*, IX, Dv. 75, p. 85, dated A.D. 1046.

Danṇāyaka together with Siṅgeya Danṇāyaka on the one hand and an unknown enemy on the other.¹

Āneguṇḍi was the third principality from which the Vijayanagara emperors drew their abiding vigour to rule over the southern peninsula. Its Sanskrit name was Kuṇṣarakōṇa.² It had the unique privilege of being the mother-city of Vijayanagara.³ This was the *Nāgumdym* and *Sēnagumdym* of the Portuguese chronicles. It is situated in 15° 21' N. and 76° 30' E. on the left bank of the Tuṅgabhadrā.⁴ That this was the first capital of the Vijayanagara kingdom can be made out from the account of Paes, who writes the following about it: "There is a city built there which they call *Senagumdym*, and they say that of old it was the capital of the kingdom". According to the same traveller, "A capital lives in the city for the king".⁵ It relapsed into the pre-Vijayanagara insignificance in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.⁶ That the memory of the ancient greatness of the whole region lived even till the days of Nuniz there can be no doubt. "These matters", writes he, "concerning (i.e., the power and greatness of) the kingdom of Bisnaga, though it may seem to you that I have exaggerated, yet the people of this country assert them to have been even more notable in times past, and greater than they now are".⁷

SECTION 5. *The Site of the Capital*

Amidst such stirring surroundings was laid the site of the great capital. As custodians of Hindu Dharma it may be expected that the Hindu monarchs strictly adhered to the principles of the classical and mediaeval writers on matters connected with the general well-being of the State and its people. Their puritanism however did not prevent them from being a materialistic people. It may be interesting to see how far the people and rulers of Vijayanagara

¹ E.C., XII, Tp. 24, p. 46.

² A.S.R. for 1907-8, p. 239; Butterworth-Chetty, *Nellore Ins.*, I, p. 114. For Fleet's remarks on the name Ānegundi, read *J. Bom. B.R.A.S.*, XII, p. 336.

³ Sewell, *For. Emp.*, p. 83. B See also p. 6.

⁴ Smith, *I.A.*, XLV, p. 140. *Senagumdym*, as Dr. Barnett suggests, may be a slip for *Henagumdym*. In careless writing *s* and *h* were often confused.

⁵ Sewell, *ibid.*, p. 259.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 234.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 390.

allowed ancient and mediaeval precept to over-ride their practical affairs. The capital, for example, according to the *Sukranīti* is to be built at a place that is bestirred by the movement of boats. Thus in the *Sukranīti*: "In a place that abounds in various trees, plants, and shrubs and is rich in cattle, birds and other animals, that is endowed with good sources of water and supplies and of grains, and is happily provided with resources in grasses and woods, that is bestirred by the movements of boats up to the seas, and is not far from the hills, and that is an even grounded, picturesque plain, the ruler should build his capital".¹ Excepting one or two conditions, especially that relating to the plain,—which the Vijayanagara monarchs ignored, for the capital,² judged by its ruins, can be said to have been a place that was anything but a plain,—the location of the city may be said to have been according to the rules of the Hindu theorists. Mention has already been made of the *ambigarū* or boatmen of the capital in an earlier connection. Here again it may be observed that while there was a brisk movement of boats near the city, it cannot be said that it "was up to the seas".

The Hindu writers on political matters, who understood the strategical importance of hills and mountains, said that the site of the capital was to be not far from the hills. "These are perhaps to be regarded as the store-house of mineral and other resources in normal times, as well as strong defences against foreign aggression in times of danger".³ To the mediaeval mind Vijayanagara admirably fulfilled this condition. We have mentioned the names of the five hills within the limits of ancient Kishkindhā. According to Paes, "the city is situated in the middle of these hills, and is entirely surrounded by them".⁴ "This range of hills surrounds the city with a circle of twentyfour leagues, and within this range there are others that encircle it closely. Wherever these ranges have any level ground they cross it with a very strong wall, in such a way that the hills remain all closed, except in the places where the roads come through from the gates in the first range, which are the entrance ways to the

¹ *Sukranīti*, I, N. 425-8, p. 28; Sarkar, *Pos. Back.*, I, p. 34.

² It is situated on the western bank of the Tungabhadra, in Lat. 15° 19' Long. 76° 32'. Varthema, Jones, p. 125.

³ Sarkar, *Pos. Back.*, I, p. 33.

⁴ Sewell, *For. Emp.*, p. 243.

city".¹ Other travellers as well are equally positive about the mountains in and near the capital. 'Abdur Razzāq tells us that "the fortress (of Vijayanagara) is in the form of a circle, situated on the summit of a hill . . ."² Varthema states that "It (i.e., the capital) is situated on the side of a mountain, and is seven miles in circumference. . . . It occupies the most beautiful site, and possesses the best air that were even seen".³ Nicolo dei Conti remarks that it was "situated near very steep mountains".⁴

We may now see whether the capital possessed another requisite—that relating to forests and shrubs, which is important in the secular life of the people. The impression that may have been created while reading the earlier pages about the dearth of a vigorous and natural growth of plant life in the capital, will be dispelled when we shall presently cite the evidence from travellers testifying to the successful endeavours made by the people to fill the city with large stores of grain and food. It is true that as regards birds and animals, the capital was less supplied with these than the other parts of the Empire, which teemed with them. But about the supply of grains and grasses in the city—in other words, about the general condition of pasturage, the following remarks from Paes, we may be permitted to repeat, may be recounted: "For the state of this city is not like that of other cities, which often fail of supplies and provisions, for in this one everything abounds; and also the quantity of butter and oil sold every day, that is a thing I cannot refrain from mentioning; and as for the rearing of cows and buffaloes which goes on in this city, there is so much that you will go very far before you have another like it".⁵ While Paes is not very explicit about the existence of forests in the immediate vicinity of the capital, another traveller, Nikitin, tells us briefly something about this trifling detail: "This vast city (which he calls Bichenegher) is surrounded by three *forts*, and intersected by a river, bordering on one side on a dreadful *jungel*, on the other on a dale; a wonderful place, and to any place convenient".⁶

Sewell, *For. Emp.* p. 242-3.

Elliot, *Hist. of India*, IV, p. 106.

Varthema, Jones, pp. 125-6.

Major, *India*, p. 6.

Sewell, *ibid.*, pp. 258-9, op. cit.

Major, *ibid.*, p. 29.

While the Vijayanagara monarchs partially realized the truth of the mediaeval precept that the capital was to be near the river with an access to the sea, they did their utmost to fulfil the main purpose which the mediaeval writers had in view when these latter dealt with the nearness of the capital to the sea, viz., that relating to the growth of the inland and foreign trade of the country. The selection of the site of the capital amidst a range of hills was indeed a violation of the principle enunciated in the *Sukranīti*. But this non-fulfilment on the part of the rulers was counterbalanced by persistent efforts to comply with another demand of the mediaeval theorists. The sea, according to Sukra, "is also an element of the sovereign's political importance and dignity. The ambition of swaying the destiny of an empire from sea to sea, or ruling the world encircled by the ocean has always fired the enthusiasm of the Hindu kings and statesmen. . .".¹ No southern monarchs have so conclusively proved the truth of these words as those of Vijayanagara, with whom the sovereignty of the seas as expressed in their great title "Master of the Eastern, Western, Southern and Northern Oceans"² was a necessary adjunct to their imperial grandeur. When we have thus understood some of the principles on which the Vijayanagara kings built their Empire and affixed titles to their names, we may modify the statement that they spoke in their grants in a style which was "purely conventional bombast", and which mentioned "fictitious conquests", "corresponding exactly with the ideal of a Hindu sovereign according to Alaṅkāra Śāstra and astrological imagination".³ We have it on the authority of foreign travellers, beginning with 'Abdur Razzāq, that the Empire of Vijayanagara was bounded on its three sides by the ocean; and, therefore, it is not difficult for us to imagine that the Vijayanagara rulers indeed followed the principles of the writers on Hindu polity even in the matter of appending laudatory titles to their names.

They had good reasons to be proud of the site of their capital. Its description as given in the Hindu accounts, which otherwise might be reasonably regarded as traditional

¹ *Sukranīti* I, ll. 425-8, n. 28, op. cit.,; Sarkar, *Post. Back.*, I, p. 36.

² The 'Northern Ocean' referred to the river Kṛishṇā, which during their palmy days marked the limits of their northern frontier. B.A.S.

³ Burnell, *Elem. of S. I. Palaeography*, p. 110, (1878 ed.).

pedantry, is fortunately corroborated to a great extent by many foreign witnesses who had no other motive in their mind than that of visiting personally the famous capital and describing its grandeur. Thus is the city sung in an inscription dated A.D. 1379: "In the same city (Vijaya) did Harihara dwell, as in former times Rāma dwelt in the midst of the city of Ayōdhyā. Its rampart was Hēma-kūṭa; its moat the auspicious Tuṅgabhadra; its guardian the world-protector Virūpāksha; its ruler the great King of Kings Harihara. The golden zone of the land Kañchi, the incomparable Sākhapura, words fail to give a description of these".¹ Varthema wrote thus: "The city is situated like Milan, but not in a plain". ". . . so that it appears to me to be a second paradise".² "The city of Bijānagar is such that eye has not seen nor ear heard of any place resembling it upon the whole earth".³ In this manner wrote 'Abdur Razzāq adding to the testimony of the Hindu and Christian eulogists.

The shape of the capital⁴ was in conformity with the mediaeval principles. The *Sukranīti* enjoins that the capital should "have the beautiful shape of a half moon or a circle, or a square . . .".⁵ 'Abdur Razzāq was careful enough to note the shape of the city. "The fortress is in the form of a circle, situated on the summit of a hill".⁶ To Caesar Frederick too it appeared that the capital was circular in shape.⁷

The capital which dazzled the eyes of foreigners was surrounded by admirable lines of defence. According to the Hindu belief everything that has some economic, religious, political or social significance is under the influence of a deity. Thus the points of the compass are presided

¹ Rice, *Mys. Ins.*, Intr., pp. lxxxi, 55.

² Varthema, *Temple*, pp. 51, 53.

³ Elliot, *Hist. of India*, IV, p. 106.

⁴ We have no evidence as regards the details of the plan of the capital. For a description of the plan of classical cities like Ayōdhyā, as given in the *Mānasāra* and other architectural treatises, see Dr. P. K. Acharya, *Indian Architecture according to the Mānasāra Śilpāśāstras*, pp. 17-18.

⁵ *Sukranīti*, II, ll. 429-30, p. 28; Sarkar, *Pos. Back.*, I, p. 40.

⁶ Elliot, *ibid.*, p. 106.

⁷ Purchas, *Pilgrims*, X, p. 97. This shape of the capital is identical with that styled Vesara by Dr. P. K. Acharya. "The Nagar style is distinguished by its quadrangular shape; the Vesara by its round shape; and the Drāvida by its octagonal or hexagonal shape", Acharya, *Dicty. of Hindu Architecture*, p. 300.

over by different deities.¹ Every *grāma* has its own *grāma-dēvatā*.² The capital, therefore, could not exist without its guardian deity. And over Vijayanagara there was Raṇamaṇḍala Bhairava, to whom a temple and a *maṇḍapa* were erected by Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya.³ But it must not be imagined that that great ruler or his predecessors or his subjects left the care of the city to the caprice of a god. Raṇamaṇḍala Bhairava was perhaps the name by which the people expressed the sense of security which they felt behind the great line of defence around the capital.

The first line of defence was a belt of forest. "The country", says Firishtah, "is full of fastnesses and woods, almost impenetrable to troops".⁴ The second line of defence was an enclosure about fifty yards deep, dotted with half-sunken rocks that made it impossible for the enemy to push forward their cavalry divisions. "It is so built that it has seven fortified walls, one within the other. Beyond the circuit of the outer wall there is an esplanade extending for about fifty yards, in which stones are fixed near one another to the height of a man; one half buried firmly in the earth, and the other half rises above it, so that neither foot nor horse however bold, can advance with facility near the outer wall".⁵ Behind these stones came the third line of defence mentioned by 'Abdur Razzāq—the massive walls of stone, range within range, with fortified bastions in every one of them. These were the seven walls which encircled the city that was throbbing with life. The first circle was naturally guarded with the most scrupulous care. Foreigners like 'Abdur Razzāq could not help remarking the activity of the officials. "It (i.e., the first fortress is a fortress", says 'Abdur Razzāq, "of a round shape, built on the summit of a mountain, and constructed of stones and lime. It has very solid gates, the guards of which are constantly at their post, and examining everything with a severe inspection".⁶

About the nature of the huge walls the following account from Paes will be found to confirm the remarks of

¹ *Infra.*, p. 124.

² Havell, *Ancient and Mediaeval Architecture of India*, p. 35.

³ A.S.R. for 1908-9, p. 181, n. (1).

⁴ Firishtah, Briggs, *The Rise*, II, p. 337.

⁵ Elliot, *Hist. of India*, IV, p. 106; Suryanarayana Rao, *The City of Vijayanagara*, p. 21.

⁶ Major, *India*, p. 23; Elliot, *ibid.*; Cf. Sewell, *For. Emp.*, p. 89.

'Abdur Razzāq. "Now turning to the gates of the first range, I say that at the entrance of the gate where those pass who come from Goa, which is the principal entrance on the western side, this king has made within it a very strong city fortified with walls and towers, and the gates at the entrances very strong, with towers at the gates; these walls are not like those of other cities, but are made of very strong masonry, such as would be found in few other parts, and inside very beautiful rows of buildings made after their manner with flat roofs".¹

The distance between the first and the last wall is thus given by 'Abdur Razzāq. "From the northern gate of the outer fortress to the southern is a distance of two statute *parsangas*, and the same with respect to the distance between the eastern and western gates".² Paes also noticed the solid walls. ". . . you must know", says he, "that before you arrive at the city gates there is a gate with a wall that encloses all the other enclosures of the city. . .".³ "Then going forward you have another gate with another line of wall. . .". Then again, "Going along the principal street, you have one of the chief gateways. . .".⁴ "Still going forward, passing to the other gate. . .".⁵ "At the end of it (i.e., another broad and beautiful street), you have another gate with its wall, which wall goes to meet the wall of the second gate of which I have spoken in such sort that this city has three fortresses, with another which is the king's palace".⁶ About the triple circle of walls Varthema and Paes agree.⁷

In the matter of creating these seven lines of defence, the Vijayanagara monarchs followed the classical model. It is well known that the number seven has attracted universal attention in the east. "For an explanation or 'philosophy' of this doctrine we may hazard a hypothesis. Perhaps it is to be sought in the Theory of Mystic Numbers like three, seven, nine, etc., which had its day in both eastern and western thought. So far as seven is concerned,

¹ Sewell, *For. Emp.*, p. 244.

² Elliot, *Hist. of India*, IV, pp. 106-7; Major, *India*, p. 24; Sewell, *J.*, p. 89. Two *Parsangas*=about 7 miles. Sewell, *ibid.*, p. 90, n. (1).

³ Sewell, *ibid.*, p. 253.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 254.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 254-5.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 255-6.

⁷ *Varthema*, Jones, p. 126; Temple, p. 51.

in India we have the seven Rishis, the seven mouths or tongues of Fire, the seven *Kulaparvatas* or mountains, the seven Rivers, the seven Planets or grahas, the seven Heavens, the seven Seas (salt, curd, milk, etc.), the constellation of seven Stars called *saptarṣimandala*. . . ."¹ From the political standpoint the number seven has received a classical sanction since the days of the *Mahābhārata*. The seven *prakṛitis* known to the people of the epics are explained by Nilakanṭha as referring to "the Commandant of the citadel (*Durga-adhyaksha*), Controller-general of the army (*Bala-adhyaksha*), Chief Justice (*Dharma-adhyaksha*), Commander of the army in the field (*Chamū-pati*), Chaplain, Physician and Astrologer".² Reverting to the topic of the gates of the capital, we may note the following in the *Arthasāstra*. "The fort shall contain twelve gates, provided with both a land and water way kept and a secret passage".³ Although we are unable to determine the exact number of gates which the capital had,⁴ and its secret land and water ways, yet we may observe that in limiting their lines of defence to seven, they were not ignorant of the significance which that number had in Hindu classical thought.

Encompassed thus by massive fortifications, the city appeared to be of enormous size. *Nicolo Conti* visited the capital early in the fifteenth century A.D. "He arrived at the great city of *Bizenegalia* (i.e., Vijayanagara) situated very near steep mountains. The circumference of the city is sixty miles; its walls are carried up to the mountains and enclose the valleys at their foot, so that its height is thereby increased".⁵ Admitting that we have to make some allowance for the exaggeration in the account of *Nicolo*, there cannot be a doubt that the capital was indeed a city of great magnitude. According to *Caesar Frederick* "the circuit of this Citie is four and twentie miles about,

¹ Sarkar, *Pos. Back.*, I, pp. 89-90.

² *Mahābhārata*, *Sabhā Parva*, v, 23; p. 13 (Roy); *Manu*, VII, 54, p. 224 (S.B.E. Series); *Ep. Ind.*, XV, p. 77, n. (6). See *infra* Chapter V on Administration.

³ Kautilya, *Arthasāstra*, Bk. II, Ch. IV, 55, p. 58 (1923).

⁴ We have however seen that 'Abdur Razzāq gives the number of gates as seven, and a suspicious grant, nine; and that *Caesar Frederick* speaks of the nine gates of the palace. *Supra*, pp. 121, 122.

⁵ *India*, p. 6.

and within the walls are certaine mountains".¹ There is no evidence, it must be admitted for the present, about the details of the exact position and number of the apartments in the royal palace; but it may not be wrong to assume that the Vijayanagara monarchs, who so scrupulously observed the principles of the *sāstras* in the regulation of public and private interests, and who were advised by physicians well versed in the ancient Hindu system of medicine, must have bestowed considerable attention on the question of sanitation, a true solution of which alone explains the existence of thousands of thriving citizens in and outside the capital of Vijayanagara.²

As Paes relates, the city could be approached only through the circles enclosed by the seven walls. He gives us some more details about the entrance to the city. "... and two leagues before you arrive at the city of Bisnaga you have a very lofty *serra* which has passes by which you enter the city. These are called 'gates' (*portals*). You must enter by these, for you will have no means of entrance except by them. This range of hills surrounds the city with a circle of twenty-four leagues, and within this range there are others that encircle it closely. Wherever these ranges have any level ground they cross it with a very strong wall, in such a way that the hills remain all closed, except in the places where the roads come through from the gates in the first range, which are the entrance ways to the city. In such places there are small pits (or caves?) which could be defended by a few people; these *serras* continue as far as the interior of the city".³

The space between the seven walls mentioned above, in the interior of the capital, presented a spectacle that threw much light upon the nature of the government and the habits of the people. To 'Abdur Razzāq it was a thickly populated place. "Between the first, second, and third walls, there are cultivated fields, gardens and houses. From the third to the seventh fortress, shops and bazars are closely crowded together. By the palace of the king there are four bazars, situated opposite to one another".⁴

¹ Caesar Frederick, Purchas, *Pilgrims*. X, p. 97. Sewall's estimate is 12 miles by 10. *For. Emp.*, p. 83.

² For details about the location of royal apartments in a palace, see Sarkar, *Pos. Back.*, I, p. 20.

³ Sewall, *ibid.*, pp. 242-3.

⁴ Elliot, *Hist. of India*, IV, p. 107; Major, *India*, p. 24.

Paes is equally eloquent about the prosperous condition in the interior of the city. "Between all these enclosures are plains and valleys where rice is grown, and there are gardens with many orange-trees, limes, citrons, and radishes (*rabãos*), and other kinds of garden produce as in Portugal, only not lettuces or cabbages".¹ Then again, "From this first circuit until you enter the city there is a great distance, in which are fields in which they sow rice and have many gardens and much water, which water comes from two lakes. The water passes through this first line of wall, and there is much water in the lakes because of springs; and here are orchards and a little grove of palms, and many houses".² The same traveller continues to give us interesting details about the city from the moment he arrived at the first gate of the capital. "Returning, then, to the first gate of the city, before you arrive at it you pass a little piece of water and then you arrive at the wall, which is very strong, all of stone-work, and it makes a bend before you arrive at the gate; and at the entrance of this gate are two towers, one on each side, which makes it very strong. It is large and beautiful. As soon as you pass inside there are two little temples; one of them has an enclosing wall with many trees, while the whole of the other consists of buildings; and this wall of the first gate encircles the whole city. Then going forward you have another gate with another line of wall, and it also encircles the city inside the first, and from here to the king's palace is all streets and rows of houses, very beautiful, and houses of captains and other rich and honourable men; you will see rows of houses with many figures and decorations pleasing to look at".³

Side by side with these eulogistic accounts of the foreigners, we may read the description of the capital by Gaṅgādēvī in her famous poem *Madhurāvijayam* :

तस्यासीद् विजया नाम विजयार्जितसंपदः ।

राजधानी बृधैः श्लाघ्या शक्रस्येवामरावती ॥

¹ Sewell, *For. Emp.*, p. 243.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 253-4.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 254.

सुरलोकान्तसंक्रान्तस्वर्णदीपमत्सरादिषु ।
 परिखाकारतां यान्त्या परोता तुङ्गभद्रया ॥
 लक्ष्मीलतालवालेन क्ष्मावधूनामिशोभिना ।
 चक्राचलम्कारेण प्राकारेण परिष्कृता ॥
 स्फुरन्मणि प्रभाहूत पुरुहूत शरासनैः ।
 सुमेरुशृङ्गसंकाशैः गोपुरैः उपशोभिता ॥
 उत्फुल्लचम्पकाशोकनागकेसरकेसरैः ।
 वसन्तवासभवनैः आरामैः अभितो वृता ॥
 कस्तूरीहरिणाक्रान्तकर्पूरकदलीतलैः ।
 मनोभवमहादुर्गैः महिता केलिपर्वतैः ॥
 कमलामोदमधुरैः कलहसकुलाकुलैः ।
 क्रीडासरोभिः सहिता मणिसोपानमञ्जुलैः ॥
 यशस्तोमैरिवाशेषनगरोविजयार्जितैः ।
 सौधैः प्रकाशितोत्सेधा शरदम्भोदपाण्डुरैः ॥
 बिकसद्बनितावह्नीविलासवनवाटिका ।
 दक्षिणाशसरोजाक्षीफाललीलालङ्कारिका ॥
 द्विजराजसमुल्लासनित्यराकानिशोधिनी ।
 गन्धर्वगणसान्निध्यनव्यदिव्यबन्धुनिनी ॥
 भुजङ्गसङ्घसंवासभूतेशमकुटस्थली ।
 सुमनस्तोम संचारसुवर्णगिरिमेखला ॥
 लीलेषु दिष्टिवृद्धीनां शालेव सकलश्रियाम् ।
 मालेषु सर्वरत्नानां वलेषु सुकृताम्बुधैः ॥
 यस्यां प्रासादशृङ्गेषु लग्नं माताण्डमण्डलम् ।
 संधत्ते वीक्षमाणानां सौवर्ण कलशधमम् ॥

यत्सोधचन्द्रशालासु विहरन्त्यो मृगेक्षणाः ।
 शशाङ्कमवलम्बन्ते मुक्ताकन्दुकशङ्कया ॥
 यत्र सोधेषु सङ्गीतमृदङ्गप्रतिनादिषु ।
 अकाण्डे ताण्डवारम्भं वितन्वन्ति शिखण्डिनः ॥
 पद्मरागोपलोत्कीर्णप्रासादप्रान्तवर्तिनः ।
 सन्ततं यत्र द्रश्यन्ते सान्ध्या इव बलाहकाः ॥
 सन्ध्यासु यत्र निर्यान्ति जालेभ्यो धूपराजयः ।
 अन्तः प्रदीपिकालोकचक्रितध्वान्तसन्निभाः ॥
 यद्दोर्बिकासु माणिक्यसोपानचारिमिः ।
 क्षणदास्वपि चक्राङ्गैः विरहो नानुभूयते ॥
 यदङ्गनामुखाम्भोजलावण्यालाभलजितः ।
 कलङ्कच्छब्दना चन्द्रो व्यनक्ति हृदयव्यथाम् ॥
 यत्र स्त्रीणां कटाक्षेषु यूनां हृदयहारिषु ।
 पुष्पास्त्रसंचये वाञ्छां मुञ्चते पञ्चसायकः ॥
 मरालैः मञ्जुमञ्जीरशिञ्जिताकृष्टमानसैः ।
 लोलागातिमिव प्राप्तुं सेव्यन्ते यत्र योषितः ॥
 यत्रावलम्बसाद्रश्यवाञ्छाविमतमम्बरम् ।
 प्रायः पयोधरोत्सेधैः निरुन्धन्ति पुरन्ध्रयः ॥
 यत्र वामभ्रुवामेव काटिन्यं स्तनमण्डले ।
 कोटिर्यं कबरोमारे काश्यं मध्ये च द्रश्यते ॥

Making some provision for the exercise of poetical fancy which must have inevitably crept into a description like this,¹ we may compare the account of the capital as given by Gaṅgādēvi with that recorded by a foreigner like

¹ Gaṅgādēvi, *Madhurāvijayam*, I, vv. 43-66, pp. 5-8.

Duarte Barbosa. This traveller writes: "Forty leagues from these mountains inland, there is a very large city called Bijanaguer, very populous and surrounded on one side by a very good wall, and on another by a river, and on the other by a mountain. This city is on level ground, and the King of Narsinga always resides in it. He is a Gentile and is called Raheni: he has in this place very large and handsome palaces with numerous courts in which are many mounds, pools of water with plenty of fish, gardens of shrubs, flowers, and sweet-smelling herbs".¹

It is hard to believe that the modern hamlet of Hampi with its rugged precipices² and scorching rocks could ever have harboured the designs of thousands of industrious people. For in the days of Varthema this very spot was throbbing with great life. "It is a place of great merchandise, is extremely fertile, and is endowed with all possible kinds of delicacies".³ Part of its wealth came from the tribute which the neighbouring kings paid to the Emperor at Vijayanagara; but much of it was due to the endeavours of the people who, if the accounts before us are true, spared no pains to have a most prosperous inland and foreign trade. It was not only in the palmy days of Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya the Great that the capital attracted foreigners by its splendour. Even so early as A.D. 1375 accounts of its magnificence reached the ears of the northern neighbours of the Hindu rulers. Sultan Mujāhid of Gulbarga desisted to see the capital in that year.⁴ The Sultans of the north were in a way also responsible for the grandeur of the capital, which was enriched by the huge subsidies they paid to the imperial treasury at Vijayanagara. Ibrāhīm 'Adil Shāh, for example, gave a subsidy of about two million sterling, besides many other valuable gifts.⁵

There was one other source which was also responsible for the immense wealth of the citizens and kings of Vijayanagara. The mines in the Empire gave them a plentiful supply of gold and precious stones. It is true that our knowledge at present of the exact location, number and

¹ *Barbosa*, Stanley, pp. 85-6; *Dames*, I., pp. 201-2.

² For Newbold's description of Vijayanagara in 1845 read *J.A.S.B.* XIV, P. II, p. 518; *Sewell*, *For. Emp.*, p. 83.

³ *Varthema*, Temple, p. 51.

⁴ *Sewell*, *ibid.*, p. 81. According to our computation the capital must have been nearing its completion about this time. *B.A.S.*

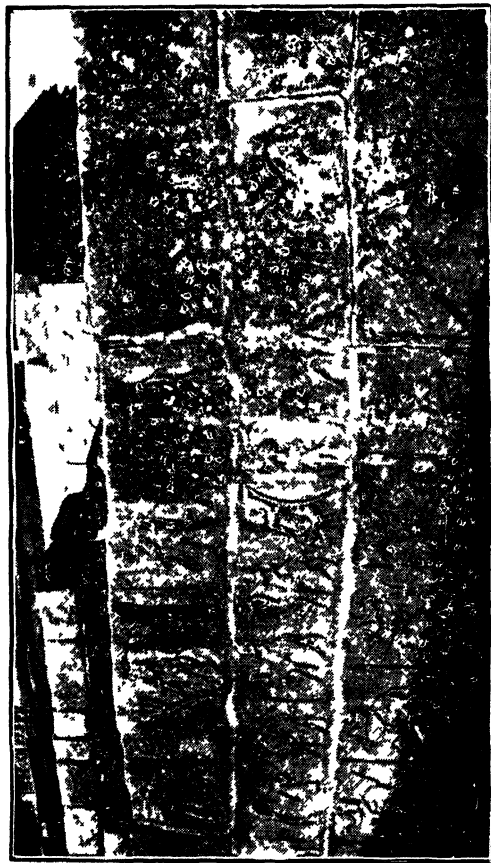
⁵ *Sewell*, *ibid.*, p. 171, *op. cit.*

yield of the gold mines in the Vijayanagara Empire is extremely meagre. But there is no denying the fact that the people of Vijayanagara were aware of mines of gold and precious stones and that they worked them. The fact that the capital was built amidst hills is to be noted in this connection. According to the Hindu writers, the mountains and hills are the repositories of gems; and the capital, as we have seen, as laid down in the *Sukranīti*, was to be near a mountain. But it is not the observance of this mediaeval principle which explains the wealth of the capital so much as the profit which the monarchs made by working the mines inside the limits of the Empire.¹ Even the wilful destruction of diamonds as narrated in the following sad story of Tirumala Rāya could not empty the city of its rich contents:

The Muhammadan ruler, Ibrāhim, 'Ādil Shāh, had scarcely crossed the Kṛishṇā, when Rāma Rāya, who had schemed to secure the throne against Tirumala Rāya, with his "confederates, who had bribed many of the troops in the city, broke their newly made vows, and hastened towards Beejanuggur, resolved to put the roy to death, on pretence of revenging the murder of his predecessor. Hoje Termul Roy, seeing he was betrayed, shut himself up in the palace, and becoming mad from despair, blinded all the royal elephants and horses, also cutting off their tails, that they might be of no use to his enemy. All the diamonds, rubies, emeralds, other precious stones, and pearls, which had been collected in a course of many ages, he crushed to powder between heavy millstones, and scattered them on the ground. He then fixed a sword-blade into a pillar of his apartment, and ran his breast upon it with such force that it pierced through and came out at the back, thus putting an end to his existence, just as the gates of the palace were opened to his enemies. Ramaraje now became roy of Beejanuggur without a rival".²

¹ Sewell, *For. Emp.*, Appendix A.—Diamonds, pp. 399-401. The subject of mines, together with other details connected with the purely economic life of the people, will be dealt with in a separate dissertation. According to Caesar Frederick. ". . . . Also six days journey from Bezenager, is the place where they get Diamants; I was not there, but it was told me that it is a great place, compassed with a wall, and that they sell the earth within the wall, for so much a squadron, and the limits are set how deepe or how low they shall digge" Purchas, *Pilgrims*, X, p. 97.

² Firishtah quoted by Sewell, *ibid.*, p. 171.



Sculptures on the Walls of the House of Victory.
[Vol. I, p 131.]

And, finally, there were the foreign traders, whose contribution to the material wealth of the capital was indeed great. According to Paes it seems as if the city of Vijayanagara was the meeting-place of the traders of the world. "In this city you will find men belonging to every nation and people, because of the great trade which it has, and the many precious stones there, principally diamonds".¹ Barbosa also bears witness to the cosmopolitan nature of the citizens of Vijayanagara: "They (i.e., the wide streets and squares) are constantly filled with an innumerable crowd of all nations and creeds; for, besides many Moorish merchants and traders, and the Gentile inhabitants of the country who are very rich, an infinite number of others flock there from all parts, who are able to come, dwell, trade, and live very freely and in security. . . ."²

Over such a magnificent city there blew a terrible storm.³ On the battlefield of Rākshasa-Taṅgaḍi, which by a strange idiosyncrasy of history has been termed Tālikōṭa, on the 25th of January A.D. 1565⁴ the combined forces of the followers of Islām met the gallant army of the Hindu monarch. Into the causes and course of this memorable battle, the most decisive so far as the history of southern India is concerned, we shall not enter.⁵ But there is one little point that deserves an explanation, especially in a treatise like this which deals with the life of the Hindu people under the Vijayanagara kings. The crushing defeat

¹ Sewell, *For. Emp.*, p. 256.

² Barbosa, Stanley, p. 85; Dames, I., p. 202.

³ For Sewell's conjecture about the state of the city in A.D. 1564, read *ibid.*, p. 200.

⁴ The date of the battle is disputed. Firishtah, Briggs, *The Rise*, III, pp. 126, 414; Hultzsch, I.A., XIII, p. 154; Sewell places it on Tuesday, January 23rd. *For Emp.*, p. 202; Francis, *Bellary Gaz.*, p. 42 follows him. (Ch. II of the *Bellary Gazetteer* was written by Francis with the help of Sewell, Preface). Burgess calculates it as January 25th. *Chronology*, p. 41. Heras, on the 25th January. *Aravidu*, p. 217. In the *Rāma Rāyana Bakhair*, we have the date 1st of May, A.D. 1564. *Rāma Rāyana Bakhair* Ed. by T. Tātāchāryasarma, pp. 4-5. See also R. S. Aiyar, *J. I. H.* VI., P. I., p. 67, *seq.* As regards the name, the Rev. Heras, who is the only writer, so far as I know, who has rejected the name Tālikōṭa for the more correct designation given above, writes consistently *Raksas-Tagdi*. This, I presume, is due to his having relied on the Maratha account of the battle as given in the Maratha copy of the MS. *Rāma Rāyana Bakhair*. The correct name is *Rākshasa-Taṅgaḍi*. The printed copy of *Rāma Rāyana Bakhair* and the MS. versions in the *Mack. Collection*, in the India Office Library which I have examined, confirm this. B.A.S.

⁵ See Heras, *Aravidu*, p. 202, *seq.*

which the Hindus sustained, the glowing description of the success of the enemy in the accounts of later Muhammadan chroniclers, and the misconception which exists in some quarters about the Vijayanagara Empire in A.D. 1565 and after—all these have been responsible for the charge of cowardice that has been levelled against the Hindu monarch and their soldiers on the battlefield of Rākshasa-Taṅgaḍi. Thus Francis wrote in the *Bellary Gazetteer*: "Deserted by their king and the commandant of their troops, the people of the capital made no effort to defend themselves and the very next day the city was looted by the hordes of wandering gipsy tribes of the country. On the third day the victorious Muhammadans arrived, and for the next five months they set themselves deliberately to destroy everything destructible within the walls of the capital".¹ How far this is an accurate estimate of the conduct of the Hindus and Muhammadans deserves now to be seen.

We shall take the first assertion about the desertion of the Hindu Emperor. Ali 'Ādil Shāh took over the command of the right wing to oppose Veṅkaṭādri, the left was entrusted to Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh and Ali Barid Shāh, in front of Tirumala's wing, while the centre was led by Husain Nizām Shāh.² The Hindu leader, "the so-called Emperor of Vijayanagara was then a very old man: according to Ferishta he was seventy; the *Burhān-i-Ma'āṣir* says he was eighty; but the Portuguese authors who seem more reliable on this point, on account of their frequent intercourse with the court of Vijayanagara, state that he was in the 96th year of his age".³ "Before the battle, Tirumala and Venkatadri tried to persuade their aged brother Rama Raya to leave the superintendence of the army to them. His advanced years made his position precarious in battle. But Rama Raya could not be induced to change his mind; and with the valour of a man of thirty, he despatched them back to their respective wings".⁴ The gallant Hindu leader

¹ Francis, *Bellary Gaz.*, p. 43. Sewell's remarks are too well known to be quoted here. *For. Emp.*, pp. 109; 207-8.

² Heras, *Aravidu*, p. 205. I follow for the present the account of the battle as given by Fr. Heras. In a subsequent treatise, because of the new information I have been able to secure on the subject, I hope to be able to discuss the causes and course of this battle in detail. B.A.S.

³ Heras, *ibid.*, p. 201.

⁴ Couto, VIII, p. 90; Heras, *ibid.*, p. 205.

with his brave body-guard, which was, according to Heras, composed of the Rachevāḍu soldiers,¹ "almost defeated his enemies",² when there "was a movement in the Hindu army that decided the fate of the day".³

It is this particular point in the history of Vijayanagara that has been ignored by most of the writers on south Indian history. The contemporary witness who supplies us with a most interesting detail about the great battle of Rākshasa-Taṅgaḍi is Caesar Frederick, who visited the capital in A.D. 1567. This shrewd traveller thus observes: "The Citie of Bezeneger was sacked in the yeere 1565 by foure Kings of the Moores, which were of great power and might. . . . And yet these foure Kings were not able to overcome this Citie and the King of Bezeneger, but by treason. This King of Bezeneger was a Gentile, and had, amongst all other of his Captaines, two which were notable, and they were Moores: and these two Captaines had either of them in charge three-score and ten or fourscore thousand men. These two Captaines being of one Religion with the foure Kings which were Moores, wrought meanes with them to betray their owne King into their hands. The King of Bezeneger esteemed not the force of the foure Kings his enemies, but went out of his Citie to wage battell with them in the fields; and when the Armies were joyned, the battell lasted but a while, not the space of foure houres, because the two traiterous Captaines, in the chiefest of the fight, with their companies turned their faces against their King, and made such disorder in his Armie, that as astonished they set themselves to flight".⁴ It was only when the tide of battle turned through the treachery of two Muhammadan captains, —one of whom 'Ain-ul-Mulk, according to Heras, "seems to have come from a family of traitors",⁵ —that "Rama Raya then attempted to make his escape on foot" only to be seized by an elephant before he was taken to the presence of Husain Nizam Shah.⁶ Husain Nizam Shah beheaded the venerable prisoner with his own hand, exclaiming: 'Now I am avenged on thee! Let God do what he will

¹ Heras, *Aravidu*, p. 204.

² Faria y Sousa, *Asia Port*, II, pp. 252-3; Heras, *ibid.*, p. 210.

³ Heras, *ibid.*, p. 211.

⁴ Caesar Frederick, Purchas, *Pilgrims*, X, p. 93.

⁵ Heras, *ibid.*, p. 212.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 213.

to me'.¹ This seemingly lengthy digression into the details of the action which shattered the magnificence of Vijayanagara explains the alleged desertion by the Hindu leader and the commandant of the troops.

There remains the third statement made in the *Bellary Gazetteer*—the looting of the capital on “the very next day”, the arrival of the Muhammadans on the “third” day, and, finally, the deliberate destruction by the victors of everything destructible within the walls of the capital for the next five months. The entry of the “hordes of wandering gipsies”, by which term we suppose the author of the *Bellary Gazetteer* refers to a particular class of forest tribes, is connected with the question of the reoccupation of the capital by the Hindus after the sad event. We shall say something about it presently. We shall examine the question of the stay of the Sultans in the Hindu capital. According to Firishtah the enemies halted for ten days on the battlefield, and for six months they made their stay in the great city.² The first statement of Firishtah is corroborated by the anonymous chronicler of the *Burhān-i-Ma’āsir* who says that the allied armies halted for ten days on the field of action.³ Couto however remarks that the Muhammadans halted only for three days.⁴ Caesar Frederick adds his testimony to that of Firishtah as regards the number of months the Sultans were in the capital. “. . . And the foure Kings of the Moores entred the Citie Bezeneger with great triumph, and there they remained sixe moneths, searching under houses and in all places for money and other things that were hidden, and then they departed to their owne Kingdomes, because they were not able to maintayne such a Kingdom as that was, so farre distant from their owne Countrie”.⁵ If the fact of the occupation of the capital by the enemy for a period of six months following the battle is proved beyond doubt by the evidence of two independent writers, it cannot be that the capital could ever have been looted during this time by a horde of wandering

¹ *Couto*, VIII, pp. 91-2; Heras, *Aravidu*, p. 213. n. (7). A stone representation of Rāma Rāya's head exists in the Bijapur Museum. Cousens, *Bijapur and its Architectural Remains*, p. 9 and n. (2).

² Firishtah, Briggs, *The Rise*, III., pp. 414-5.

³ Haig, *Burhān-i-Ma’āsir*, I.A. L., p. 194. See also Heras, *Aravidu*, p. 217.

⁴ *Couto*, VIII, p. 92; Heras, *ibid.*

⁵ Caesar Frederick, *Purchas, Pilgrims*, X, pp. 93-4.

gipsies, however strong these may have been in numbers, and whatever zeal they may have evinced to out-rival the Sultans in their greed for the hidden treasures of the Hindu capital. That the Muhammadans did not "destroy everything destructible within the walls of the capital", as is expressed in the *Bellary Gazetteer*, is clear from the remarks of Caesar Frederick: "And the Citie of Bezeneger is not altogether destroyed, yet the houses stand still, but emptie, and there is dwelling in them nothing, as is reported, but Tygres and other wild beasts".¹

This traveller also tells us that the Vijayanagara Emperor (Tirumala) was in the capital in A.D. 1567. "In the year of our Lord 1567, I went from Goa", writes Frederick, "to Bezeneger the chief Citie of the kingdom of Narsinga eight dayes journey from Goa, within the Land, in the companie of two other Merchants which carried with them three hundred Arabian Horses to that King".² Indeed, it must be said to the credit of the Hindus that they tried to reoccupy the capital after the disaster. "'Tirumala returned to Vijayanagara after the departure of the Dekanese' says Anquetil du Perron".³ The return of the Regent Tirumala, in the opinion of the Rev. Heras, "is one of the outstanding events of those days. It signifies that after the battle of Raksas-Tagdi (Rākhasa-Taṅgaḍi) the ruler of Vijayanagara did not despair of restoring the Empire to its ancient grandeur; to maintain the capital next to the boundaries of their enemies showed the indomitable courage that could still challenge the Deccani Muhammadans, with the sure hope of crushing them as in former days, for Vijayanagara was the city of Victory!"⁴ In this bold venture of Tirumala we have an insight into the Hindu character under the Vijayanagara kings: it was the desire to do daring deeds in spite of overwhelming disaster. If the Muhammadan Sultans were in the capital immediately after the war, and if they were followed by the Hindu Regent, who was at least for two years in the city, then, it could not have been that the wandering hordes of gipsies looted the capital on the next day of the battle.

¹ Caesar Frederick, Purchas, *Pilgrims*, X, p. 97. Heras, *Aravidu* pp. 225-226. Here we have an estimate of the destruction of the capital by the Muhammadans.

² Caesar Frederick, *ibid.*, p. 92.

³ Heras, *ibid.*, p. 229.

⁴ *Ibid.*

When they entered the capital can be made out by ascertaining when the Hindus determined to evacuate it for ever. Tirumala in spite of his ambitious designs, was ill-fitted to carry out the great project. From the following story of the sad plight which befell the poor merchants, it is evident that Tirumala was sacrificing the principles of honesty for reasons of State. "When the kings (i.e., the Sultans) were departed from Bezeneger", writes Caesar Frederick, "this Termiragio (Tirumala) returned to the Citie, and then beganne for to repopulate it, and sent word to Goa to the Merchants, if they had any Horses, to bring them to him, and he would pay well for them; and for this cause the aforesaid two Merchants that I went in companie withall, carried those Horses that they had to Bezeneger. Also this Tyrant made an order or law, that if any Merchant had any of the Horses that were taken in the aforesaid battell (of Rākshasa-Taṅgaḍi) or warres, although they were of his owne marke, that he would give as much for them as they would: and beside he gave generall safe conduct to all that should bring them. When by this meanes hee saw that there were great store of Horses brought thither unto him, he gave the Merchants fair words, until such time as he saw they could bring no more. Then hee licenced the Merchants to depart, without giving them any thing for their Horses, which when the poore men saw, they were desperate, and as it were mad with sorrow and griefe".¹

Tirumala evidently was gathering strength for another conflict with the enemy. But the City of Victory could not rejuvenate Hindu life after the fatal disaster of Rākshasa-Taṅgaḍi. Arrangements were made to evacuate it. "... the Natives in three days' time", writes Faria y Sousa, "had carried One Thousand Five Hundred and Fifty Elephants loaded with Money and Jewels, worth above One Hundred Millions of Gold and the Royal Chair (i.e., the famous Diamond-throne) for great Days that could not be valued".² This was the time

¹ Caesar Frederick, *Pilgrims*, X, p. 94. See also Heras, *Aravida*, p. 230.

² Faria y Sousa, II, pp. 252-3. It must be noted here that Faria y Sousa, who wrote at a later age, connects the story of the evacuation of the capital with that which mentions the discovery of a huge diamond of the size of an egg by 'Adil Shāh. Cf. S. K. Aiyangar, *Q.J.M.S.* XIII, p. 625.

when "after the departure of the Empire and the nobility from the capital", when there was "no garrison" "within its walls to defend it against any attack", that the "Bedues", who, according to Couto, "are jungle people", "pounced down on the helpless city, and in six different attacks looted all its houses, carrying away numberless precious things left by the nobles in their hasty flight".¹ These *Bedues* could only have been the *Bēḍars* whom Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya had tried to win over and conciliate by his generous policy. And it is these same *Bedues* to whom Caesar Frederick evidently refers in the following words: "For it was necessarie to rest there (i.e., in the City) untill all the wayes were cleere of Theeves, which that time arranged up and downe".²

Having dispensed with the erroneous assumptions made by some writers as regards the character of the Hindu leaders and of the Hindu commanders, and the sack of the capital by the *Bēḍars*, we may now gauge the effect of the battle of Rākshasa-Taṅgaḍi on the administration, and, therefore, on the life of the Empire. Here one may tentatively agree with the Rev. Heras, who answers the question: "What was the interior state of the Empire in the meanwhile? Both Couto and Faria y Sousa relate that after the battle of Raksas-Tagdi the whole territory of Vijayanagara was divided among the sons and nephews of Rama Raya; and several modern authors have blindly followed their statements. But we know from epigraphical records that there was at that time no such break-up of the Empire: the members of the Aravidu family remained as united as ever. That explains why the anonymous author of the life of St. Xavier, who wrote his book a little later, writes to this effect, after narrating the battle of Raksas-Tagdi: 'Nevertheless the king of this country was not so much knocked down, for he is still very rich and powerful; and he possesses a large state, and has quite a good number of elephants and great cavalry and Infantry'.³

But there were some who deserted the Hindu cause. "It seems, indeed, that several petty chiefs and governors of the North of the Empire, either through fear of the

¹ Heras, *Aravidu*, p. 223, and n. (3).

² Caesar Frederick, Purchas, *Pilgrims*, X, p. 94.

³ Heras, *ibid.*, p. 242, seq. See also R.S. Aiyar *J.I.H.* VI: P:I, pp. 67-79, op. cit.

Muhammadans, or on account of their own ambition, proclaimed themselves independent in their cities or fortresses".¹ These were the chieftains of Adōni Bāṅkāpur, Dhārwar, and Tirukal. And in the south, "perhaps the only one who withdrew his allegiance" was the chief of Kalāṣa-Kārkaṣa, in South Kanara.² With the loss of the northern provinces the Vijayanagara monarchs were not much concerned: their attention was now concentrated on the great problem of reconstructing and preserving the Hindu Empire, which they did from three capitals—Penugōḍa, Chandragiri and Vellore.

SECTION 6. *The Later Capitals*

The great capital, which had not its rival as regards fortifications and wealth, was abandoned by the Hindus. They were cowed by the cruel fate that overtook Rāma Rāya. The invasion of the Bēḍars, who must have swept over the capital in greater numbers than we can gather, must have made matters worse. But the motive which drove Tirumala finally out of Vijayanagara was the insecurity which he felt against the enemy. "Frederick seems to attribute it to another war with the Muhammadans; and the *Chikkadevaraya Vamsavali* says clearly that he changed his capital 'on account of the constant attacks of the Muhammadans' which naturally baffled all attempts on the part of the Regent to repopulate the city".³

The seat of the Empire, which immediately after the battle of Rākshasa-Taṅgaḍi, took shelter at Tirupati,⁴ was finally fixed by Tirumala at Penugōḍa. This is confirmed by Anquetil du Perron, the *Chikkadēvarāya Vamsāvalī*, and Caesar Frederick. "Anquetil du Perron states that 'not long after he (Tirumala) transferred his court to Panegorde' (Penugonda), and the *Chikkadevaraya Vamsavali* records that after a short time he changed his capital from Vijayanagara to Penukonda".⁵ But Frederick gives us the date of this event: "In the yeere of our Lord God, 1567, for

¹ Heras, *Aravida*, p. 243.

² *Ibid.*, and n. (5).

³ *Chikkadēvarāya Vamsāvalī*, *The Sources*, p. 303; Heras, *ibid.*, p. 236.

⁴ Heras, *ibid.*, pp. 228, 233.

⁵ Anquetil du Perron, *Des Recherches Historiques et Géographiques sur l'Inde*, p. 166; S. K. Aiyangar, *The Sources*, p. 302; Heras, *ibid.* p. 235.

the ill successe that the people of Bezeneger had, in that their Citie was sacked by the foure Kings, the King with his court went to dwell in a Castle eight dayes journey up in the land from Bezeneger, called Penugonda".¹

Penugonda was a hill-fort, 3,000 feet high, in the south of the modern Anantapur district. "Kriyasakti Wadeyar, an ancestor of the Rajas of Bellur, is said to be the founder of the fort at Penugonda".² During the reign of Bukka I, Anantarasa Odeyar, who was the great minister (*mahā-pradhāna*) of Bukka's son Vīra Virūpaṇṇa, enlarged and fortified this centre of defence.³ This was the place where, according to Nuniz, "Tymarsaa" was imprisoned and murdered.⁴ An inscription praises it as a god-built city, the fortifications of which no man could possibly take.⁵ Chennappa Nāyudu, an officer of Tirumala Dēva, in Śaka 1499 (A.D. 1587-8), repaired its fortifications in the reign of Śrīraṅga Rāya.⁶ Nothing more conclusively proves the vitality of the Hindu power than the fact that twelve years after the great battle of Rākshasa-Taṅgaḍi, the Hindus were able to defend successfully the new capital against the Muhammadans. In A.D. 1577 Jagadēva Rāya, the chief of Chennappaṭṭana, and son-in-law of Śrīraṅga Rāya, bravely defended Penugonda against the enemy.⁷ It is not surprising, therefore, that Penugonda should be christened by the name of the old city—Vijayanagara Penugonda. Thus we are told in the *History of the Carnataca Governors*

¹ Caesar Frederick, Purchas, *Pilgrims*, X, p. 97. See also Heras, *Aravidu*, p. 235, n. (7); *E.C.*, III., *Intr.*, p. 26; Nj: 198, p; 115; *Ep. Ind.*, III, pp. 238-9; *Ep. Ind.*, XII, p. 341, n. (2).

² Wilson, *Mack. Coll.*, p. 345; (1882 ed.); II. p. 69 (1828 ed.); Heras, *ibid.*, p. 237.

³ 339 of 1901; *Ep. Ind.*, VI, p. 327; Heras, *ibid.*, p. 237.

⁴ Sewell, *For. Emp.*, pp. 309-11.

⁵ 341 of 1911.

⁶ 336 of 1901. Heras writes the following in connection with the same inscription: "The Muhammadans were not likely to shake again the throne of the Telugu Empire as long as it was lodged within such a fortress, especially after the Regent himself had repaired its fortifications, under the direction of Chennappa Nāyudu". *Aravidu*, p. 238. The epigraph does not warrant such a statement; on the other hand, it merely says that Chennappa Nāyudu, who, as related above, was an officer of Tirumala Dēva, repaired and extended the fort (of Penugonda) and defeated several Muhammadan chiefs. How the Rev. Heras came to relegate the Regent to the position of a subordinate of Chennappa Nāyudu cannot be understood! B.A.S.

⁷ *E.C.* III. *Intr.*, p. 28.

that "... *Vizianagaram-Penu-Kondaipatnam* was, for many years, the capital of the *Rayer*".¹

The first Hindu monarch to be crowned at Penugonḍa in the orthodox fashion was Raṅga Rāya II, the second son of Tirumala.² The lawful Emperor, Sadāsiva Rāya, was first imprisoned and then murdered by one of the sons of Tirumala.³ The construction of the lofty eastern *gōṇṇam* of the ancient temple of Virūpāksha by Tirumala, a nephew of Raṅga Rāya II, seemed to atone for the treason committed by the members of the new dynasty.⁴ Tirumala "did many acts of charity and maintained the worship of Virūpāksha. . . . He made an extensive and cool garden by the side of the Tuṅgabhadra in Kishkindhā (Vijayanagar), and there built the temple of Śrīraṅganātha resembling Śrīraṅgam on the banks of the Kāvērī".⁵ The new rulers acknowledged their deep love for the old capital by constructing works of merit within its precincts; but they showed that they could suit themselves to the changing times by fixing their government at the new centre of Penugonḍa. Thus the very same fortress which had welcomed the Hoysalas, when they fled before the onrush of the Muhammadans, now received with equal warmth their rightful heirs, the Emperors of Vijayanagara, who also fled before the onslaught of the same enemy.

Burgess, while dealing with the change of the capital, wrote: "Tirumala Rāja, brother of Rāma Rāja of Vijayanagar, retires to Penugonḍa, his brother Venkatādri establishing himself at Chandragiri".⁶ The assumption implied here is that in the year A.D. 1567 there was divided sovereignty; and that the Vijayanagara Empire was broken up into two kingdoms. This is not borne out by historical facts.⁷ The transference of the capital from Penugonḍa in the Anantapur district, to Chandragiri in the North Arcot district, was made, according to some, in the year A.D. 1585, by Veṅkaṭpati Dēva Rāya, known also as Veṅkaṭa II.⁸ But there is every reason to believe that

Taylor, *O.H.M.S.S.*, II, p. 3; Heras, *Aravidu*, p. 238.

A.S.R. for 1911-12, p. 182.

Read Heras, *ibid.*, pp. 245-6 for a discussion of this question.

Rāmarājīyam, *The Sources*, p. 311; Heras, *ibid.*, p. 239.

Rāmarājīyam, *ibid.*

Burgess, *Chronology*, p. 42.

Heras, *ibid.*, p. 244.

* Rice, *E.C.*, III, *Intr.*, p. 28.

Chandragiri became the capital under Veṅkaṭapati Dēva II in A.D. 1592.¹

Reputed to have been founded by the Yādava king Immaḍi Narasiṃha, about A.D. 1000,² Chandragiri strove to attain some prominence under the Yādavas³ till the vicissitudes of the mediaeval rulers placed it finally under the charge of the Vijayangara Emperor Sāluva Narasiṃha. This ruler made it the store-house of his treasures⁴; and it may reasonably be supposed that Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya occasionally made it one of his provincial seats.⁵ With the advent of the Āraṇḍu dynasty, it became the seat of Veṅkaṭa, the third brother of Rama Rāya.⁶ It was transformed now into the capital of the Vijayanagara Empire.⁷

About the middle A.D. 1606, however, the fading fortunes of a royal capital were shared by Chandragiri with the fortress of Vellore which, after the subjugation of the rebel chief Lingama Nāyaka, was graced by the presence of the Emperor Veṅkaṭapati Dēva Rāya and his court.⁸ This new centre was a product of mediaeval times. One Bommi Reḍḍi, a native of Bhadrāchalam, was its founder.⁹ Like Chandragiri it had received the patronage of the Vijayanagara Emperor Narasiṃha.¹⁰ A magnificent fortress, it had become the growing centre of the Nāyakas of Vellore, who, especially during and after the times of Chinna Bomma, managed to rise to the rank of rebels. But the old flame Vijayanagara still clung to the new place even in the minds of foreign travellers. Mandelslo, a traveller from Holstein, who visited the coast of Coromandel in A.D. 1639, informs us that the king "resides sometimes at *Bisnaga*, sometimes at *Narasinga*".¹¹ The

¹ Heras, *Aravidu*, p. 310-11; *Q.J.M.S.*, XIV, pp. 131-2, n. (9). Read Chisholm, *I.A.* XII, p. 295, *seq.*

² Sewell, *Lists*, I, p. 150.

³ Taylor, *O.H.M.S.S.*, II, p. 85.

⁴ Wilks, *Sketches*, I, p. 15 (1810); I, p. 10 (1869); Garstin, *South Arcot Manual*, p. 3; Caldwell, *History of Tinnevely*, p. 48.

⁵ Sewell, *ibid.*

⁶ Chikkadēvarāya Vamśāvali, *The Sources*, p. 302.

⁷ For further remarks, see Heras, *ibid.*, p. 311.

⁸ Rāmarājiyamu, *The Sources*, pp. 243, 251; Heras, *ibid.*, p. 320.

⁹ Cox, *North Arcot Manual*, II, p. 418.

¹⁰ Wilks, *Sketches*, I, p. 15 (1810); I, p. 10 (1869); Garstin, *South Arcot Manual*, p. 3; Caldwell, *History of Tinnevely*, p. 48.

¹¹ Mandelslo, *Voyages and Travels*, Lib., II, p. 94; (Davis, 2nd ed. 1699): Heras, *ibid.*, p. 313.

former referred to Chandragiri, the latter to Vellore. In A.D. 1646, three centuries after the foundation of the City of Victory by Bukka, his last representative fled to Bednore.¹

The grim irony of nature is nowhere better illustrated than in the case of the great city of Vijayanagara which, rising out of comparative insignificance, sank back into it after the mild memories of Srīraṅga Rāya. At Āneguṇḍi is his legitimate successor,² struggling against the pretensions of the descendant³ of those very potentates who had failed single-handed in every attempt of theirs to break the strength of the monarchs of Vijayanagara for two centuries and a half of memorable history.

CHAPTER IV

THE REVENUE ADMINISTRATION

SECTION 1. *Preliminary Remarks*

THE success which crowned the efforts of the Hindus in mediaeval times may be attributed, among other factors, partly to the unflinching support which the people gave them, and partly to the immense revenue which they could command. Behind the story of Vidyāraṇya and the shower of gold which he is said to have brought down for 3½ *ghaṭīs* (i.e. 1½ hours), there lies the fact from the earliest stages of their political supremacy, the sons of Saṅgama had at their disposal resources as regards money which brought upon them the envy of the contemporaries. In this chapter we shall be concerned with the general mode of the fiscal administration of the Vijayanagara monarchs, which to a large extent enables us to appreciate their attempts to preserve what they thought to be the best in Hindu thought and culture. We shall, therefore, restrict ourselves to those facts that give us a comprehensive view of the method of their revenue administration, as recorded in inscriptions and in the writings of foreign travellers, leaving out of account the minuter details of land tenure

¹ Wilks, *Sketches*, I, p. 57 (1810); I, p. 36 (1869); Satyanātha, *Nayaks*, p. 132. For the last date of Srīraṅga, read Dr. Aiyangar's remarks, *ibid.*, p. 133 n.

² Sri-Kṛishṇa Rāyulu, son of Sri-Raṅga Rāyulu.

³ The Nizām of Haidarabad.

and other allied subjects, which, because of a paucity of materials, may be treated in a later dissertation. And in this important matter of revenue, too, we may acquaint ourselves with the classical and mediaeval Hindu ideas which, while they governed the actions of the earlier monarchs of Vijayanagara in many matters, failed to leave a lasting impression, at least as regards one or two vital questions, on the minds of the later rulers whose influence showed signs of steady decline towards the first quarter of the seventeenth century. Since ancient constitutional usage played an important part in moulding the action and thought of the Vijayanagara kings and people, we shall not omit to mention, wherever possible, some facts connected with the revenue administration in the ages preceding the advent of the rulers of Vijayanagara.

The fundamental principles of the Hindu lawgivers as regards the question of revenue may be summed up in the statement of the *Mahābhārata* that the State is maintained by finance.¹ This explains why Hindu canonists from Kāuṭilya down to Śukrāchārya have laid emphasis on the fact of finance being the basis of all the activities of the State.² The importance of revenue is further seen in the relationship between the King and his people. But since we shall revert to this particular topic in the course of this chapter, we may say for the present that the lawgivers have been as careful in advocating the right of the King to levy taxes from his people as they have been discreet in vindicating the right of the people to receive protection from the hands of their rulers. We may note incidentally in this connection that the State, according to the Hindu conception, when threatened with a great danger, may have recourse to the strictest measures of raising revenue. This is perhaps what is meant by Bhīṣma when he says that a King whose friends have diminished, and foes have increased, should seize the wealth of all persons other than the ascetics and Brahmans. Such oppression of the

¹ "From the treasury springs his (i.e., king's) religious merit, O son of Kuntī, and it is in consequence of the treasury that the roots of his kingdom extended". *Sānti Parva*, CXXXIII, p. 425. (Roy's ed. 1890). Cf. *I.H.Q.*, I, p. 696; Ghosal, *Hindu Political Theories*, p. 204 (1st. ed.); Dikshitar, *Hindu Administrative Institutions*, p. 213.

² *Arthśāstra*, Bk. II, Ch. viii, 66, p. 71; *Sukraniti*, Ch. IV, ii, ll. 3-8, p. 138.

subjects for the purpose of safe-guarding the interests of the State is no sin.¹

The inviolability of the Brahmans which is expressed here and elsewhere,² was, however, not so strictly adhered to by the Vijayanagara monarchs, who, as we shall see presently, while they allowed the Brahmans many privileges and granted them great gifts of land and money, subjected them to the ordinary financial rules of the State. For to these Hindu rulers the fundamental items of State consumption were the Army, the *Rāshtra* or the Land, and the preservation of the Hindu Dharma—the threefold items almost identical with those enumerated in the treatise of Sukra.³ Vijayanagara came into being, as we have already remarked, in the throes of the Muhammadan invasions, and it could only be maintained against foreign aggression by the strength of its arms. The Vijayanagara army, among other things, rested on the economic and social prosperity of the country. The preservation of Hindu Dharma, in its theoretical aspect of stimulating Hindu thought and literature, and in its practical shape of protecting the interests of the different classes of people, was impossible without the security which seemed naturally to follow in the wake of the Hindu soldiers, and without the immense wealth which the rulers could in most instances command in a country that was economically prosperous.

That the Vijayanagara monarchs had indeed before them the precepts of the ancient and mediaeval Hindu writers in the matter of State expenditure, is evident from the writings and actions of the greatest emperor of the land, Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya, who in his *Āmuktamālyada* has defined expenditure in the following terms: "The expenditure of money which is utilised in buying elephants and horses, in feeding them, in maintaining soldiers, in the worship of gods and Brahmans and in one's own enjoyment can never be called an expenditure".⁴ We may compare this Vijayanagara conception of expenditure with that given by Kauṭilya. "The chanting of auspicious hymns during the worship of the gods and ancestors, and on the occasion of

¹ *Sānti Parva*, CXXX, p. 417; CXXXII, p. 423; Ghosal, *Hind. Pol. Theor.*, p. 200.

² *Gautama*, VIII, 12-13, p. 216, Mādhava, *Dāyabhāga*, p. 33.

³ *Sukraniti*, IV, ii, ll. 3-6, p. 138, op. cit.; Sarkar, *Pos. Back.*, II, P. 1, p. 113.

⁴ *Āmuktamālyada*, Canto IV, v. 262; *J.I.H.*, IV, P. III, p. 73.

giving gifts, the harem, the kitchen, the establishment of messengers, the store-house, the armoury, the ware-house, the store-house of raw materials, manufactories. . . . free labourers, . . . , maintenance of infantry, cavalry, chariots, and elephants, herds of cows, the museum of beasts, deer, birds, and snakes, and storage of fire-wood and fodder constitute the body of expenditure. . . ."¹ Kṛiṣṇa Dēva Rāya also seemed to have had in his mind the principles of Śukra, who mentions the army as the root of the prosperity of the *kōṣa* and *rāshṭra*,² and who maintains that the expenditure on the army is productive in every sense.³

The same ruler has given us some more ideas of the division of State expenditure. "A king should divide his income into four parts, use one part for extensive bene-⁴ factions and for enjoyment, two parts for the maintenance of a strong army, and one part to be added to the treasury".⁴ The idea of improving the economic resources of the country, which is implied in the statement that the king should spend one part for enjoyment and benefaction, leads us to the history of the economic activities of the monarchs, which, for reasons already stated, is outside our province. We may, however, note that the Hindu writers have not only recognized the importance of finance for the material prosperity of the State,⁵ but have allowed the rulers a certain amount of latitude as regards raising revenue from their subjects. Having observed the conformity of Vijayanagara theory⁶ as regards State expenditure to that enunciated by the ancient and mediaeval writers, we may now turn our attention to the interesting question of the sources of revenue as given by them and as found in the country in the ages immediately preceding the Vijayanagara times. Finally we shall enumerate in some detail the system of Vijayanagara finance.

SECTION 2. *Theory as Regards Sources of Revenue*

Manu has specified the rate of taxation and customs duties thus: "A fiftieth part of the (increments on) cattle

¹ *Arthaśāstra*, Book. II, Ch. iv, 60, p. 64.

² *Sukraniti*, IV, ii, ll. 28-9, p. 139.

³ *Ibid.*, IV, vii, ll. 7-16. pp. 216-7; Sarkar, *Pos. Back*, II, P. i, p. 115.

⁴ *Amuktamāyada*, Canto IV, v. 238, *J.I.H.*, IV, P. iii, p. 60.

⁵ "Without wealth a king may (by penances and the like) acquire religious merit. Life, however, is much more important than religious merit". *Sānti Parva*, CXXX, pp. 146-7.

and gold may be taken by the king, and the eighth, sixth, or twelfth part of the crops. He may also take the sixth part of trees, meat, honey, clarified butter, perfumes, (medical) herbs, substances used for flavouring food, flowers, roots, and fruits; of leaves, pot herbs, grass, (objects) made of cane, skins, of earthen vessels, and all (articles) made of stone".¹ "Let the king make the common inhabitants of his realm who live by traffic, pay annually some trifle which is called a tax. Mechanics and artisans, as well as Sūdras who subsist by manual labour, he may cause to work (for himself) one (day) in each month. Let him not cut up his own root (by levying no taxes) nor the root of other (men) by excessive greed; for by cutting up his own root (or theirs) he makes himself or them wretched".²

The Collector-General, according to Kauṭilya, shall "attend to (the collection of revenue from) forts. . . country parts. . . mines. . . buildings, and gardens. . . forests. . . herds of cattle. . . and roads of traffic. . . Tolls, fines, weights and measures, the town-clerk. . . the superintendent of coinage. . . the superintendent of seals and passports, liquor, slaughter of animals, threads, oils, ghee, sugar. . . the state goldsmith. . . the warehouse of merchandise, the prostitute, gambling, building sites. . . the corporation of artisans and handicraftsmen . . . the superintendent of gods, and taxes collected at the gates and from the people (known as) Bāhirikas come under the heads of forts. Produce from crown lands. . . portion of produce payable to the government. . . religious taxes. . . taxes paid in money. . . merchants, the superintendent of rivers, ferries, boats and ships, towns, pasture grounds, road-cess. . . ropes. . . and ropes to bind thieves. . . come under the head of country parts. Gold, silver, diamonds, gems, pearls, corals, conch shells, metals. . . salt and other minerals extracted from plains and mountain slopes come under the head of mines. Flower gardens, fruit gardens, vegetable gardens, wet fields and fields where crops are grown by sowing roots for seeds. . . come under sētu. Game forests, timber forests, and elephant forests are forests. Cows, buffaloes, goats, sheep, asses, camels, horses, and mules come under the head of herds. Land

¹ *Manu*, VII, 130-2, pp. 236-7.

² *Ibid.*, VII, 137-8, pp. 237-8.

and waterways are the roads of traffic. All these form the body of income. . . Capital. . . share. . . premia. . . parigha (?) fixed taxes. . . premia on coins. . . and fixed fines . . are several forms of revenue . . ."¹

In the *Sukranīti* the following nine sources of revenue are enumerated :

- (a) *Bhāga* or rent or tax on land;
- (b) *Sulka* or duties on commerce;
- (c) *Danḍa* or fines realized by the State through its penal authority;
- (d) *Akṛistapāchya* or what is received without cultivation or effort, e.g., nature's contribution;
- (e) *Āraṇya* or forest produce;
- (f) *Ākara* or mineral wealth;
- (g) *Nidhi* or that which is deposited with the State bank by the citizens;
- (h) *Asvāmika* or unowned property which is escheat to State, and
- (i) *Taksharāhita* or that which is gotten from thieves.²

In another connection we have the following list of items that provide the State with revenue: *sulka* or duty, both customs and excise, land revenue, royalty on mining, grasses, timber and forest produce in general, animal husbandry or cattle rearing, working and compulsory labour, money lender or employer of loan capital, taxes on houses and dwellings, on the site for stalls used by the shopkeepers, and road cess to be paid for the preservation and repair of streets.³ "By these ten heads of income, the state is in a position to tap every resource of the people. No species of property is left untaxed. Land in every form, including forests, and mines, houses and stalls for residence or for business, labor, sales and purchase, as well as capital,—no conceivable source of the citizen's income is to get scot-free. To these we should probably have to add an eleventh item, viz., fines inflicted by the courts of Justice. . . In addition to the normal sources of income, we have some sort of an emergency collection in Sukra's thought. For war purposes, or for other extraordinary contingencies, we are told, the usual rates may be

¹ *Arthaśāstra*, Bk. II, Ch. VI, 60, pp. 63-4. The technical names, e.g., *durga*, *rāshṭra*, *vraja*, are omitted in this quotation. B.A.S.

² *Sukranīti*, II, ll. 209-14, pp. 73-4; Sarkar, *Pos. Back.*, II, P. 1, p. 112.

³ *Sukranīti*, IV, ii, 212-58, pp. 147-9; Sarkar, *ibid.*, p. 116, *seq.*

enhanced all along the line. Even holy places and properties consecrated to the gods, which are untouchable in peace times, may be conscripted under the war budget. . Possibly, in order to make assurance doubly sure, state-hoarding is regarded by philosophers¹ who, like German and Japanese statesmen, are obsessed by the notion of self-defence against foreign aggression, as a second string to the bow of sound war-finance".²

These principles of the Hindu lawgivers make it clear that the State is entitled not only to levy taxes from the people, on condition that it assures them protection, but is also permitted to strengthen its financial stability in times of need by having recourse to extraordinary courses of action. The multifarious items which, according to Kautilya and Śukrāchārya, are to be taxed, and the sanction which they have given for a monarch to encroach on the property of the Brahmans when beset with danger, may enable us to understand the system of taxation under ³ Vijayanagara which left almost no article untaxed in the Empire.

SECTION 3. *Taxation in Pre-Vijayanagara Times*

The latitude which is thus sanctioned by the lawgivers in matters of taxation was perhaps as much responsible in the shaping of the "financial policy" of Vijayanagara as the precedent set by the kings who ruled over the Kārṇāṭaka and Tamil lands. Here it would be worth while to remember that the Vijayanagara monarchs were essentially heirs to the Hoysala traditions, although they judiciously followed, wherever they could, the custom which prevailed under the rule of the Tamil kings. Taxation in the Hoysala times, for example, rested on the main heads of land revenue, customs and excise duties, and taxes on articles and persons.³ All kinds of goods, even firewood and straw, were taxed, excepting glass rings, brass pots and soap balls.⁴ The traders paid *mane-bāb*; *aṅgaḍi guttu* was

¹ *Sukraniti*, IV, ii, ll. 19-20, p. 138.

² Sarkar, *Pos. Back.*, II, P. 1, p. 121.

³ Rice, *My. Gaz.*, I, p. 476. (1st ed); p. 584 (Rev. ed.)

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 477. (1st. ed.); I, p. 583, *seq.* (Rev. ed.).

paid by the shop-keepers; the *āyagāṇa* and other officers accounted for one-third or one-eighth of the produce to the government; those who sold spirituous liquor paid *kallali*; the butchers were liable to the half-yearly tax called *kasāyi-gutta*; the washermen paid *ubbe-gutta*; those who smelted iron, *homla-gutta*, annually; the weavers and manufacturers of cotton cloth paid *jakāyati*; *gāṇige-gutta* was the name given to the tax on oil-makers; *samayā-chāram*, that on the headman of each caste; *jāti-mānyam*,¹ that paid by the Mādigas or chucklers; the salt-makers had to pay *uppinamalla*; the cowherds, *hullu-banni* for feeding their flocks in the public pastures; *kāvali-gutta* was the name given to the tax which the government got by letting out jungles; and those who were convicted of murder (?) (homicide?) and executors were liable to the *jāyiri-gutta*.²

Since these general designations do not exhaust the entire list of articles taxed both in the Karnāṭaka and Tamil lands, and since the precedent of the ancient rulers both in the south and in the west of the Vijayanagara Empire had a great deal to do with the fiscal arrangement

¹ *Mānya* seems to have been used in more than one sense. According to Fleet, *mānya* means "lands either altogether exempt from taxation or liable to only a trifling quit-rent". *I.A.*, IV, p. 332, n. *Mānya* may be compared with *sēse-mānya* mentioned in A.D. 1190 together with *ōvata-kārunya* and fixed rent. *E.C.*, V, P. 1. Cn 179, p. 203. Among the Holeyas of Kanara, the leaders of the tribe or clan are *jam-mānya* or *jam-maṇe*. These Holeyas belong to the Pariar class which also includes in it the Mādigas. Cf. *mānya* with *manneya*. In a stone inscription dated in A.D. 1180 and A.D. 1186 we are informed that the *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvaras* Tailapa Dēva and Yeghṛasa presented the *manneya kirukūla*, *āya*, and *dāya* of Kiru Balligāve, for the services of the god Kēdarēśvara Dēva. Rice interprets *manneya* as Seigniorage. *Mys. Ins.*, p. 77, n. *Manneya* is also the designation of an office. Under the Western Chālukya king Sōmēśvara Dēva in A.D. 1070, the thousand Brahmans of the great Kuppaṭūr *agrahāra* together with the local officials and the *manneyar* gave some lands for the local temple. The same inscription contains under the date A.D. 1180 the name of Boppa Dēvarasa, *manneya* of Sattalige-nād, *E.C.*, VIII, Sb. 276, p. 47. In A.D. 1173 the Kaḷachuriya ruler Sōyi Dēva granted the *manneya* of the 12 chieftains to Kirukūla Nāyaka. *E.C.*, VIII, Sb. 139, p. 19. In A.D. 1472 the *Mahāprabhu* Bhairappa Nāyaka is called "the sun to kill tigers, champion over the *manneyas* of the Idiga eight *dandige*". *E.C.*, VIII, Sa. 60, p. 103. In about A.D. 1178 Boppa Dēva is called the *manneya* of the Nāgarakhaṇḍa Kampana. *E.C.*, VII, Sb. 325, p. 56. See also, *ibid.*, Sb. 327 and 328. p. 57.

² Rice *My. Gaz.*, 1, p. 479. (1st. ed.): 1, p. 582, *seq.* (Rev. ed.) These details, it may be noted, are taken from the *Mack. MSS. My. Gaz.*, *ibid.*, p. 578. (Rev. ed.). The *gutta* mentioned herein is not to be confounded with the *dere* or *teṛige* (tax) which often figures in inscriptions. B.A.S.

of the mediaeval rulers, we may be permitted to enumerate in greater detail the names of some of the articles taxed by the Kārṇāṭaka and Tamil kings. Some idea of the conditions under the latter may be obtained from an inscription of the times of Parakēsarivarman *alias* Adhirājendra-dēva which mentions the following:—*ūr-kalañju, kumāra-kachchanam*,¹ the fishing rent, the rent of the goldsmith, and other minor taxes and rents, the cloth on the loom, *velikkam*, the tax on collecting rents (*tandal*),² the sonship(?) of the right-hand and the left-hand, and the other internal revenue which was being collected at the rate of twenty-five *kāṣu* for them and *kalam* (of paddy). These were the taxes which were entered in the revenue register of the villages of Tiruvallam-Uḍaiyar.³ In the tenth century A.D. areca-land (*kamugu*) was also taxed.⁴ Some of the money-payments current in the Tamil land in the twelfth century were the following:

Kaḍamai, antarāyam, kāryavāraṭchi, vettipāṭṭam, pañju-pili, sandhi-vigrahappēru, uludāñkuḍi, arisittuṇḍam, danappēru, poṇvaṛi maṇairai, tariṛai, sekk iṛai, taṭṭōlippāṭṭam, and others.⁵

Judged by the number of taxes and imports, the Kārṇāṭaka people must also have groaned under their burden. The contributions from the shop-keepers, merchants, *daṇḍanāyakas*, nobles and goldsmiths of several *nāḍus* in A.D. 1054, in Balagāmi were these:

The shops of the *nagaras* ten *viṣa* each a year; the gold merchants ten *viṣa* each a year; the *sthala gavaregalu* one *paṇa* a year per sack; the *gavare* of other countries one *hāga* a year per sack; for camphor, musk, *kumkuma*, sandal, pearls, and all such articles sold by weight, two *kāṇi* per *ponnu*; cloth merchants of the place and foreign cloth merchants, two *kāṇi* per *ponnu*; for black pepper, cummin seed, mustard, *sada* flower, bishop's weed and coriander one *viṣa* per *pon*; for sugar, assafoetida, dry ginger, long pepper, cardamoms, green ginger, turmeric, and all fibres and roots sold by weight, one *viṣa* per *pon*.

Cf. *Kumāra-gaḍiṇaka*, Ep. Ind. IV, p. 99.

Cf. *Taṇḍalil-akkai*, S.I.I., II, p. 115, text, l. 10 seq.

S.I.I., III, P. 1, p. 117.

Ibid., P. III, p. 337.

507 of 1916; Ep. Report for 1917, p. 110, n.

The worthies (*manneya*) of the Jiddūlige Seventy (i.e., the Chief, the Nāḍ Prabhus, the Gavuḍas, and the Prabhu Gavuḍas), gave five *paṇa* a year for each village.¹ The taxes in about A.D. 1077, in the reign of Vinayāditya II, were the following :

House-tax, marriage-tax, *ūr-uttige*, *taude*, *surandu*, *kavarte*, *sēse*, *osage*, *manakare*, *kūṭa*, *kakandi*, soldier's tax (*bira-vāṇa*), hammer-tax (*koḍati-vāṇa*), scissors tax (*kat-tari-vāṇa*), anvil tax (*aḍekalu-vāṇa*), *haḍavaleyā*, *hadiyaṇṇiya*, potter's tax (*kumbaṇa-vṛitti*), and blacksmith's tax (*kamma-ra-vṛitti*).²

We have some more names of the duties and imposts in Śaka 1058 and Śaka 1066 (A.D. 1163 and 1144 respectively). Areca-nuts, fifty on a load, twenty on a half-load, five on a *hāsara*; betel leaves, one hundred on a load, fifty on a head-load, twenty-five on a *hasara*; clarified butter and oil, a *sollage* (= $\frac{1}{4}$ of a *kuḍava* or *baḷla*) on each *kōḍa*, half a maund on each *siddige*,³ one maund on each *saṅgadi* (=double of *siddige*?). On each cloth merchant's shop and goldsmith's shop, a *paṇam* on every gold piece. Cotton, five *palas* on each *maḷave*; two *bīsige* on each *maḷave* of *karuse* (sold) from carts, ten *palas* on each half-load. On each house of *laṅkas* (carpenters?) there shall be every six months (*a due of*) stools, tripods, and *maravi*, one of each; every year there shall be (*a due of*) one bedstead. On goods sold by weight such as green ginger, turmeric, dry ginger, garlic, *baje* (*acorus calamus*) and *bhadramushṭe* (*cyperus hexastachys*) there shall be (*a due of*) five *palas* on each load, two *palas* on a half-load, one *pala* on a *hasara*; cummin, black pepper, and mustard, one maund on each load, a half-maund on each half-load, a *sollage* on each *hasara*; on salt and the other eighteen kinds of grain, one *koḷaga* on each cart-load, two maunds on each load, one maund on each head-load; dry and fresh fruits, ten on each cart-load, four on each head-load; on each cart-load one *daṇḍige*, five myrabolans; on each pair

¹ Rice, *My. Ins.*, pp. 125-6. These duties and imports, it may be remembered, were assigned to the worship and procession of the god Gavareśvara-dēva as a gift. B.A.S.

² *My. Arch. Report* for 1916, p. 52.

³ A *siddige*=a dry measure for 36 *tōlas* in Kumṭa, Honnāvūru, and Siddhāpur, and 28 *tōlas* in Bhaṭkal, and a fluid measure of 33 *tōlas* in Ankolā. *Ep. Ind.*, XIX, p. 35, n. (2).

of *hūtes* one *dandige*, two myrabolans; on each basket of flowers one garland, for the potters, one pot on each shop.¹

Under Vishṇuvardhana Hoysala there was a tax on oil-mills.² Payment in gold, export dues, import dues, tax on oil mills, tax on potters, tax on washermen, tax on prostitutes, tax on carts, tax on masons, tax on basket-makers, tax on shepherds, tax on 500 ploughs of *pannāya*, and tax on barbers (*mane chinna*, *volavāṛu hoṛavāṛu gāṇa-deṛe kumbāra-deṛe asaga (agasa?)-deṛe tottu-deṛe bhaṇḍi-deṛe oḍḍa-deṛe mēda-deṛe sāda-deṛe uduvalu-deṛe aynūru guliya pannāya deṛe nāvīda-deṛe*): these were the taxes in A.D. 1162.³

In A.D. 1189 they had *huduke-deṛe* (partisanship tax?), *bīra-vaṇa*, *herjjuṇka koḍavīsa*, *handara haṇa*.⁴ We are told in about A.D. 1206 that "for house-tax at Gommaṭa-pura . . . residents shall pay eight *haṇas* (once for all) as the capital on which one *haṇa* can be raised (as interest) and live in peace".⁵ We meet with two names *alipu* and *anyāya* in A.D. 1251.⁶ In A.D. 1296 they had *khāṇa*, *abhyāgati*, *kaṭakasēse*, *basadi*, and *manakshata*.⁷ It seems that there were some kinds of fines which were called *taṭṭu* and *tavudi* in 1297.⁸ *Hodike*, *hadike*, *haraṇe* and *mala-braya* were the dues in A.D. 1300. They were called *āya*.⁹ Those who bought and sold horses in some villages in the Nigrili-Sōḷa-maṇḍalam, in the kingdom of the Hoysalas, in A.D. 1334, had to pay one *paṇam* for each animal.¹⁰ By A.D. 1334, therefore, the Hindus of the south had already violated one of the principles mentioned in the mediaeval Hindu treatise on polity, viz., that which prohibited traffic in wool and in animals with two rows of teeth (horses, mules, etc). Such traffic was supposed to be common only among peoples of western and north-western India.¹¹

Barnett, *Ep. Ind.*, XIX, pp. 35, 40.

My. Arch. Report for 1914-15, p. 50.

E.C., IV, Hn. 137, p. 97, text, p. 272.

E.C., VII, Hl. 46, p. 168.

E.C., II, No. 333, p. 140.

My. Arch. Report for 1911-12, p. 44. *Alipu* may refer to waste or and *anyāya* to injustice. See *infra*. B.A.S.

E.C., II, No. 347, p. 150.

My. Arch. Report for 1920, p. 34.

E.C., III, P. 1, TN. 98, p. 87.

⁹ *E.C.*, IX, Ht. 96, p. 99.

¹¹ Sarkar, *Pos. Back.*, I, p. 262.

SECTION 4. *Taxes in the Vijayanagara Empire*

The age in which the Vijayanagara monarchs lived needed a modification of some of the principles, especially those relating to revenue, laid down in the Hindu classical books, although it may be remembered that they were governed to a large extent by what they called "the ancient constitution usage". This "constitutional usage" was not only taken into account when people had to pay taxes to the State but also when the latter made remission to their subjects. Herein the Vijayanagara rulers were but following the Hoysala precedent. The Brahmans of Prasanna-sōmanāthapura, for example, in A.D. 1281, were permitted to receive 5,300 *salage* of rice produced at the time when the paddy fields were under cultivation. Then it was agreed that "according to the custom of the *nāḍu* whatever former dues (*pūrbhāya*) became payable for that Hādaravāgilu those priests will *deḥray*".¹ The Hoysala example of remitting taxes according to the former custom of the land is thus given in an inscription dated A.D. 1300 already cited above. "According to the custom of the country the palace will touch and remit to the Brahmans of Sōmanāthapura the former dues whatever they may be".² This ancient method of calling to the royal presence the dues from the people and remitting them subsequently had, perhaps, the effect of lessening the burden of taxation which otherwise would have been indeed too heavy for the people.

Some definiteness about the rate of taxation seems to have been common since the earliest times of Vijayanagara history. We are told, for example, that the persons who constituted the Tōṭṭigan caste in Pulliyūr-nāḍu in about A.D. 1369 had to pay one *paṇam* for every village situated in the 18 *nāḍus*.³ In addition to this tax on caste mentioned above, we have numerous other taxes which can be gathered mostly from inscriptions. The tax on shoe-makers is mentioned in A.D. 1375.⁴ Camels were taxed in A.D. 1382.⁵ Two years later they had *ṣūṅka* (customs), *kāruka*, *hodake*,

E.C., III., TN. 100, p. 87.

E.C., III., TN. 98, p. 87, op. cit.

E.C., IX, Ht. 103 (a), p. 101.

E.C., X, Ct. 94, p. 262.

Rice, *My. Ins.*, p. 270.

hombali, magame, valṭa, and kaṭṭige.¹ Some of the taxes granted in A.D. 1388 by Bhaṭṭa Bāchiyappa's son Bukkaṇṇa were the following—tax on the threshing floor, on houses, *kiṟukūla, bēḍa, binugu, grāma-gadyāṇa, mēḍi-dere, daḷavaḷi*, tax on carts, *hādara, hombali, daṇṇayaka-svāmya, meṇapu nōṭa, maḷa-braya*, the good ox, *nalleṇḍige, kūlu, koṭṭige, sollage*, and *mallige*.² In A.D. 1396 the artisan tax, the loom tax, sale of branded cattle, marriage tax, oil mill tax, the *hudike* tax, the furnace tax, the *sāvanti* are mentioned." Mallana Oḍeyar in the next year issued an order (*nirūpa*) that the Setṭis, Kaikkōlars, Vāṇigas, Oil-Vāṇigas included in the eighteen *paṭṭaḍai* (castes) in the village of Pāḍi-Tiruvallidāyam must make over the taxes payable by them, viz., *paṭṭaḍai-āyam, paṭṭaḍai-nūlāyam, māḍaviratti, sammādam, sekku*, etc., for the benefit of the temple of their village.⁴ Bukka II in Śaka 1326 (A.D. 1404-5) fixed the taxes payable by the Setṭis, Kaikkōlars, and the Vāṇiyas living in the premises of the temple at Pulipparakōvil, at two *paṇam* a year on each individual, and two *paṇam* on each loom.⁵ From an inscription of about the same date (? A.D. 1402), we gather that they had the local dues, the sugar-cane mill tax, the goat tax, the egg dues, the baking tax and the cooking tax in the villages of Pura and Māramanaḥalli.⁶

In the reign of Vijaya Bhūpati Rāya Oḍeyar, son of Dēva Rāya I, the *stānattars* (i.e., managers of the temple) of Pulippagavarkōvil, Chingleput district, are stated to have granted, after consulting with the revenue authorities of Chandragiri-sālā, a remission of six *paṇam* which they used to take in excess from the Kaikkōlars as *vāśal paṇam* but collected, as before, three *paṇam* from each family of Kachchavaḍa-vāṇiyar, three *paṇam* from each family of Sivanpadavar (Sembaḍavar), forty (*paṇam*) on cloths, and four towards *kāṭṭigai-kāṇikkai*.⁷ Still another tax which the Paḷlis of Pāḍi had to pay to the temple of Tiruvallidāyam, Chingleput district, was the *Iḍaṅgaivari*. The

¹ *My. Arch. Report* for 1916, p. 58.

² *Ibid.*, for 1920, p. 35. These taxes were granted to Kaṭṭapaṇa Chavudappa and others on condition that an annual rental of 40 *varāha* was paid by by them.

³ E.C., VII, Hl. 71, p. 173.

⁴ 221 of 1910; *Ep. Report* for 1911, p. 83.

⁵ 293 of 1910; *Ep. Report* for 1911, p. 83.

⁶ E.C., IV, Kp. 21-2. p. 103.

⁷ 294 of 1910; *Ep. Report* for 1911, p. 83.

Iḍangai residents of the villages round Chandragiri together with the Vaṇṇiyars, who had perhaps a claim to collect this tax for their communal benefit, consented to a portion of the collection at Tiruvallidāyam being paid to the temple (in Plavaṅga, Śaka 1350=A.D. 1428-9) in the reign of Dēva Rāya II.¹ One of the Telugu Rāhuttars named Malla Rāhuttar, in Śaka 1362 (A.D. 1440-41), living in the Muḷvāyi-chāvaḍi country, assigned to the Muḍigoṇḍa Chōlīśvara temple at Kaḍaikattūr (modern Koḍagattūr, Salem district), the taxes called *nāḍu-tala-vārikkai* (i.e., the police rate), *Setṭiyar-magamai* (i.e., voluntary fee paid by the Setṭis) collected on either side (*ubhaya mārga*) of the village, and an *allāyamānyam* and *aḍikāśu* on each shop opened in the markets at Varagūr.² An inscription of Virūpaṇṇa Oḍeyar, son of Harihara II, dated only in the cyclic year Rudhirōdgārin, informs us that the weavers of Vāyalūr *alias* Jananāthanallūr in Paṭṭina-nāḍu, in Jayaṅgoṇḍa-chōlamanḍalam, were taxed three *paṇam* on each loom.³ Besides, they had to set apart three looms which were perhaps to be exclusively used for the benefit of the temple.⁴ In about A.D. 1402 certain Setṭis and heads of the Vaiśya community agreed to pay to the ruler Vīra-Saiva Pratāpa Chōla Mahārāya, one *haṇa* per house per annum, and for marriage, two *haṇa*. This decision of theirs was applicable to the following places—Beṅgaḷūru, and all the hamlets within its boundaries, Hosakōṭe, Kōlala, Tyākalu, Būdiguṭṭa, Kanggōdidurgga, Veṅkaṭagirikōṭe, Mēkanāyakanapālya, Māsti, Bāgaḷūru, Hōsūru, Anekallu, Denkaṇikōṭe, Ratnagiri, Kāvēripaṭṭaṇa, Aṇḍūru, Peraṇḍūru, Pennāgara, Sālya, Dharmapuri, Ajjīpura, Kurubarabatti, Śrīraṅgappaṭṭaṇa, and all the hamlets within its boundaries.⁵

A great number of taxes is mentioned in an inscription dated Śaka 1349 (A.D. 1437-8) of the times of Dēva Rāya. They are the following: taxes on the *naṇṣey* (wet land), *puṇṣey* (dry land), *vāśal*, *maṇai-ppēru-kaḍamai*, *taṇi-kaḍamāi*, *māvaḍai*, *maravaḍai*, *kuḷavaḍai*, *kalāyam*, *tirigai-āyam*, *pēr-kaḍamai*, (*taṇi-kaḍamai*), *ālukkunīr-pāṭṭam*, *magamai*,

¹ 215 of 1910; *Ep. Report* for 1911, pp. 83-4.

² 196 of 1910; *Ep. Report* for 1911, p. 84.

³ 364 of 1908.

⁴ *Ep. Report*, for 1909, p. 115.

⁵ E.C., IX, Bn. 96, p. 19, text, p. 35.

kattigai-avasaram, *paṭai-kāṇikkai*, *Ādikārttigai-pachchai*, and all old and new taxes. "Several of these have remained unexplained till now. It is easy to understand the nature of the first four : they are levied on wet and dry cultivation, on inferior crops, on houses and compounds, and on looms ; *māvaḍai*, *maravaḍai*, and *kuḷavaḍai* are taxes on animals, trees, and tanks ; that is, perhaps, when animals are sold in markets, on fruit-bearing trees and for fishing in tanks. *Kalāyam* literally means tax on stone ; it is very likely a tax payable for quarrying stones from hills ; what tax is meant by *tirigai-āyam* is not known. *Pēr-kaḍamai* means tax on persons, a sort of poll-tax evidently. *Ālukku-nīr-pāṭṭam* is a tax for maintaining the person appointed for making regular supply of water to the fields ; this appears to be the same as *nīrāṇikkam*. *Magamai* is a corrupt form of *maganmai*, the nature of being a son to another ; this levy is still in force among certain merchants in the Tanjore and Trichinopoly districts. On all sales and purchases the merchants collect a small, but fixed, sum and utilise the money thus collected for some public purpose. . . . *Kattigai-avasaram* appears to be some sort of tax on fire-wood ; and *paṭai (paḍai)-kāṇikkai* is the contribution to be made for the maintenance of the army. *Pachchai* means a *kāṇikkai*, a *nazar*, a present on important occasions. . . . Such *kāṇikkais* seem to be given in the month of *Āḍi* and *Kārttigai*".¹

Some more names are given in an inscription of Śaka 1356 (A.D. 1434-5) in addition to those mentioned above. *Kamaku* (areca-grove), *karṇṇu vaiṭṭu* (margosa), *tenna maram* (cocoanut tree), *koḷundu*, *vālai* (plantain trees), *karambu* (sugar-cane), *mañjal* (turmeric), *iñji* (ginger) *śeṇ-kaḷunīr* (flower) and other *vān-payir* (minor cultivation), *vāśal-vari*, *pēr-kaḍamai*, *tari-kkaḍamai* (tax on looms), *mara-kaḍamai* (tax on trees), *śekku-kaḍamai* (tax on oil-mills), *idaitorai*, *pulavari*, *maṇḍai-kaṇḍēṇṇam*, *oḷugu-nīr-pāṭṭam*, *ullāyam*, *vil-paṇam*, *maghamai*, *mallāyi-maghamai*, *ina-vari*, *nāṭṭu-kāṇikkai*, *kaḍḍāyam*, *kirakula-visēṣham*, *araśu-pēru*, *nallerudu* (good bull), *naḷ-kiḍā* (good sheep), *naḷ-paśu*, (good cow), *palatali*, *araśikānam*, *talaiyārikkam*, *mādarikkai*, *rāyasavarattanai*, *avasavarattanai*, *kottigevarttanai*, *ka-*

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, XVII, p. 112.

raṇike, *jōḍi*, *nīraṇivarai* (water-tax), *nāṭṭukaṇakkuvarai*, *akkaśālevai*, *ālamaṇji*, and *ūḷigam* (service).¹

There seems to have been the custom of levying what were called *nāḍ* duties or imposts in a district. In A.D. 1431 the *nāḍ* duties were the following :—

Tax on artisans, village-*gadyāṇa*, the five kinds of workmen, tax on oil-mills, tax on tortoises (?), stamp on looms, inward and outward dues, tax on marriages, together with the customs dues, food for watchman, loading of sweepings and Gauḍa's claim.²

Then again we have in the same reign *nāṭṭukkāṇikkai*, *nāṭṭu-viniyōgam*, *paṭṭirai*, *pāḍagavari*, *paḷavari*, *puduvai*, *puḷugupāḍu*, *poṇpāḍu*, *kaṣupāḍu*, *pudavaipāḍu*, *nelpāḍu*, *mulaikkūli* on the tenants, their cows, horses and goats.³

In A.D. 1433-4 under orders from the *Dalavāyi* Dēvarajaya Vaḍayulavāru, Manūri Dēvala granted the following taxes for the merit of Dēva Rāya Mahāraya, for the divine service of the god Narasiṁha-dēva: tax on marriage, on carts, slaves, horses, bullocks, cows, buffaloes, and other live stock, on all kinds of grains, oil, women's clothes and other beautiful articles, on temples, watcher's fees (? *sunka-kama-taḷāri-kaṭṭam*) and palace tax.⁴

Sekkāyam and *magamai* are again mentioned under Sāḷuva Narasinga Dēva in a record dated only in the cyclic year Chītrabhānu.⁵

About A.D. 1495 *herjjunka*, (dues on) terraced land (*nela-melḷu-sthaḷa-sunṅka*), local dues, tolls, marriage tax, loom tax, goat tax (?), and other taxes, besides the plough tax, licence for export, advance tribute, tribute in person and "all other rights and dues whatever they may be" are mentioned.⁶

Even salt pans were taxed as appears from the grant of dues by Chikka Rāya to a learned Brahmana called Raṅganātha Bhaṭṭa, in A.D. 1505. The dues included fines, tribute, alms gold, *hoṁbaḷi*, corn, grain, tax on Jaṅgamas, on marriage, fees on betel leaves, tax on Mādi-gas, fees on salt-pans, tax on Jiyars, customs dues, and

Ep. Ind., XVIII, p. 139.

E.C., VII, Sh. 71, p. 28, text, p. 74.

Ep. Report for 1916, p. 140.

Butterworth-Chetty, *Nellore Ins.*, III, pp. 1121-22.

244 of 1912.

E.C., V, P. 1, Cn. 259, p. 234, P. II, p. 699.

all other taxes and burdens (*suṅka-modalāda samasta teṭige hoṟage ellavanu kulava-kaḍidubiṭṭu*).¹

Taxes were imposed on *maṭhas* and on gold. This is evident from the grant made by Chikka Rāya of Ummattūr, in the reign of Sāḷuva Narasimha, to Alikoṇḍa Nāga Bhatta of the village of Moṇamuṭṭahaḷḷi in A.D. 1506. The gift included customs, inland duties, export duties, the goat tax, the potter's tax, glass tax, caste tax, the *samaya* tax, the duty on sugar cane mills, the duty on large baskets of eggs, other fixed duties, with all the changeable dues, the tax on horse-grams, Bengal gram, offerings, fines, the tax on *maṭhas*, and all other customs dues, with the duty on gold.²

There were taxes on mendicants and fees for grazing cattle on the hills. Thus we are told in A.D. 1522—the fees for grazing cattle on the hills, the tax on braziers, the tax on Jaṅgamas, the tax on artificers, the tax on mendicants, the tax on smiths (?), the tax on washermen, the tax on barbers, the tax on potters, the tax on oil-mills, the customs (?) on Kumba's grazing land(?), the customs on looms, the tax on Mādigas (?), the toils of Saliyūr (?), and all other taxes.³

The tax on salt-pans was sometimes granted along with a village. Thus a hamlet separated from Araiyaṅsēri in Seṅgaḷunirpaṭṭu together with the proceeds on ten salt-pans was given for worship and repair to the temple of Seṅgaṇmālisuram-uḍaiya-Nāyinār at Rājakēśarinallūr *alias* Taiyūr, Chingleput district, in Śaka 1442 (A.D. 1520-1), by Sellappar Vira Narsimha Rāya, in the reign of Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya.⁴

The taxes in grain and kind current in the reign of that monarch can be made out from an inscription from Dēvakāpuram, North Arcot district, which registers the right of cultivation in general to certain Kaṇṇadiya (i.e., Kanarese) Nāyakas who had settled down at a place called Marudaraśar-Paḍaiviḍu. Such rights of cultivation, which have been noticed elsewhere in this treatise, were usually granted by the treasurer of the temple. In this particular instance it was granted by the treasurer who was one of the presid-

¹ E.C., IV, Gu. 67, p. 47, text, p. 118.

² E.C., III, Ml. 95, p. 66, text, p. 197.

³ E.C., IV, Gu. 1, p. 35, text, p. 87.

⁴ 225 of 1916.

ing priests of the Bhikshāvṛitti-maṭha at Dēvakkāpuram, the trustees (*tānattār*), the *māhēśvaras*, and the *Kaikkōḷa-mudaliyārs*, attached to the temple, and consisted of a permanent lease of an uncultivated waste land which the lessee was authorized to reclaim and to settle, to grow crops that suited him, wet and dry, including plantain, sugar-cane, turmeric, ginger, areca and cocoanut; and after doing this, to pay the taxes in gold and in grain, such as *vāśal-kaḍamai*, *pēṛkaḍamai*, *taṛi-kkaḍamai*, *sekkōṭṭu*, *eruttusammādam*, *mādārikkam*, *talaiyārikkam*, *āśuvakkaḍamai*, *paṭṭaḍaimūlāyam*, *idaittuṛai*, *veṭṭivari*, *palavari*, *puduvvari* (that may be enforced by the palace), *nallerudu* (good bull), *naṛpaśu* (good cow), *nallerumai* (good buffalo), *naṛkidā* (good ewe), *kōṇigai*, *virimuttu*, *eḍakkattāyam*, *viruttupṭāḍu*, *uḍugarai*, and *mugampārvai*. To this list, the other inscriptions add *palatali*, *kāṇikai*, *sandai*, *ērimīnvilai*, *malai-amañji*, *madil-amañji*, *eḍuttaḷavu*, *viruttumāḍu*, *sāttu-kaḍamai*, and *vīrarai*.¹

The *mūle-vīsa* tax is mentioned in about A.D. 1525 when under Sadāśiva Rāya in right-hand man (*dakṣiṇa-bhujadanḍanāda*) Kṛishṇappa Nāyaka was ruling over Dummināḍu. For the offerings of the god Vīrabhadra of Dummi, Keñcha Vīraṇṇodeyar of the Nirāśraya-maṭha of Dummi, granted one half of the *mūle-vīsa* (i.e., an allowance of 1/16th) which the *Gauḍas Paṭṭaṇa-svami*, and subjects of Dummi had permitted him to levy.²

We gather that there was a tax called *sōmaśūlavari*, in Śaka 1452 (A.D. 1530-1), from the fact that the lands of the temple of Jambunātha of Jambai were exempted from it on the representation of Vaiyappa Nāyaka Aiyyan, during the rule of Vēlūru Bommu Nāyaka.³ Under Achyuta Rāya there was a tax called *durga-danāyani-vartana*. This is made out from the remission of 235 *varāhas* in Śaka 1452 (A.D. 1530) by Rāyasam Ayyaparusugāru, son of Rāyasam Koṇḍamarusayya, from seven villages belonging to the Bhairavēśvara temple at Mompūru, when he was in charge of the fortress of Ghaṇḍikōṭa.⁴ Carpenters in A.D. 1544 had to pay a tax.⁵ *Jōḍi* and *bēḍige* are mentioned in A.D. 1545 as

¹ of 1912; *Ep. Report* for 1913, p. 122.

², XI, Hk. 15, p. 118.

³ of 1906.

⁴ 499 or 1906; *A.S.R.* for 1908-9, p. 191, n. (9).

E.C., X, Bg. 30, p. 235.

having been current in the various parts of Male-nāḍu.¹ The Tammalas and others of Muḍiyyam gave as a gift in Śaka 1473 (A.D. 1551-2) the tax called *vīra-mushti-pannu* to the Sōmēśvara temple of Ranāṭasīman, in Ghaṇḍikōṭa-rājya.² It seems that there was no tax on shepherds in certain parts of the Vijayanagara Empire. Thus a *sāsana* granted by Kṛishṇappa Nāyaka's Agent Dammappa Nāyaka to the Bili *Kurubaru* in A.D. 1554 affirms: "In our Biliehēd country, for the *kurubaru* (shepherds) in the Benasāyar villages there is no sheep tax".³ Some of the items which came under taxes and dues in A.D. 1563, under Sadāśiva Rāya, were the following: tribute, quit rent, alms, watchman's dues, loss, injustice, miscellaneous tolls for the council and account, remission and such other imposts.⁴ The dues mentioned in A.D. 1565-6 were the *aḍḍagaḍa-suṅkam* (the tax levied on the sellers of sheep and similar things?), *kaṭnālu*, (presents?), *suṅkam* from the *bharitas* (residents?) of the *sthaḷa*, and the *mūle-viśālbāḍi* (i.e., the original tax levied proportionately upon the profits of traders).⁵

Under Rāma Rāya Viṭṭhala Rāya these were some of the items of revenue: *mēlvāram*, *upādhi*, *vinīyōgam*, with the dues to the king (சேனாபதி பட்டணம்) viz., *īrvaikkāṇam*, *lakkābōgam*, including the fee for the maintenance of the hill forts of Jayatuṅga-nāḍu, and *Śīraivāy*, *tirigaikaḍamai*, *taṟikkaḍamai* (tax on looms), *ūttaiṭāṭṭam*, *pāśivilai* (fishery), and taxes on the *Idaṅgai* and *Valaṅgai* classes. Chennadēva Chōḷa-mahā-arasu made for the merit of Rāma Rājayya a grant of the taxes *bēḍige* and *birāḍa* of Kikkēri to the *mahājanas* of various *gōtras*, *sākhās*, and *sūtras*.⁷ This latter tax together with *jōdi* is also mentioned in Śaka 1505 (A.D. 1583-4) in the days of Śrīraṅga Rāya Dēva.⁸ The five classes of artificers include in the Pañchāḷas of Būdhīāl-sīme had to pay till A.D. 1573 a tax on avail or bench called *aḍe-vaṇ* which in that year was cancelled by the governor Śrīpati Rāja Vallabha Rājayya Dēva Mahā-arasu.⁹ Taxes were levied

¹ E.C., IX, Nl. 81, p. 48.

² 349 of 1905.

³ E.C., XI, Jl. 2, p. 84.

⁴ E.C., V, P. I, Hn. 2, p. 2; text, P. II, p. 2.

⁵ Butterworth-Chetty, *Nellore Ins.*, II, p. 947, n. (1); III, p. 1498.

⁶ *Ep. Report* for 1917, p. 131.

⁷ *My. Arch. Report* for 1914-15, p. 61.

⁸ 266 of 1916.

⁹ E.C., XII, Ck. 8, p. 71.

on looms, eggs, the 2nd day of an extra month, and on oil-mills in about A.D. 1581.¹ The names of the taxes *nagari-birāḍa*, *asavechālu*, and *birudulu* are also included in an inscription of the same year.² The taxes in Dēvapura (in Sugutūr?) in about the same year were the following: *crugaṇike*, *kāṇike*, *bēḍige*, *bitāḍa*, *ulupe*, and *varṭane*.³ In Saka 1525 (A.D. 1603-4), weavers had to pay tax to the Tintriṇiśvara temple in the Tindivanam tāluk, South Arcot district.⁴ The washermen who resided in the fifty-six countries of Belūr-sime were required to pay, in A.D. 1650, a tax at the rate of one *varāha* for a girl or a woman, four *varāha* for a widow.⁵ An inscription dated only in the cyclic year Dhātu but falling in the Saka year 1558 (A.D. 1636-7) records the remission of the cannon tax (*bīraṅgi-vāri*) to a private individual belonging to the Añjujāḍi Pañchālattār of Kuḷiyēṭṭa-sīrmai by Akkappa Nāyaka, the *dalaṇṇai* of Āneguṇḍi Veṅkaṭapati Rāya.⁶

SECTION 5. Land Revenue Settlement

A. Theory and Practice in Pre-Vijayanagara Days

The outstanding item in the fiscal administration of Vijayanagara which brought in the greatest amount of revenue was, it may be presumed, that concerning land. We may note a few general observations on this important question of land revenue, especially as it was understood by the earlier monarchs, before we dwell at some length on the fiscal arrangement of the Vijayanagara times. Land revenue questions have been minutely dealt with by the Hindu writers on polity.⁷ The careful attention which, for instance, the authors of the *Sukranīti* have bestowed on it shows that it was a matter of deep concern to the rulers and statesmen of mediaeval times. In the system of Sukra it seems to have been thoroughly centralized. He suggests two modes of realizing revenue—it may be farmed out to one rich man in the village, who is to advance the entire sum in periodical instalments to the government, or revenue

E.C., IV, Hg. 91, p. 78.

178 of 1913; Rangachari, *Top. List.*, I., Ap. 143, p. 23.

E.C., IX, Ht. 4, p. 88, text, p. 195.

31 of 1905; Rangachari, *Top. List.*, I, SA. 467, p. 185.

Rice, *My. Ins.*, p. 221.

129 of 1921; *Ep. Report for 1921*, p. 107.

Sarkar, *Pos. Back.* II. P. I., pp. 112-3.

collectors may be appointed by the State, who are to be officers of the central government for the purpose of realizing the dues from the cultivators. They are to receive salary at certain specified rates which we shall enumerate in detail in a later connection. Each cultivator is to have for himself a deed of rent or tax bearing the government seal.¹ Some of these general principles mentioned in Śukra's *Nītisāra* governed the action of the Vijayanagara monarchs who, as will be seen presently, over and above appointing officers to collect revenue, leased out estates according to what was called the *guttige* (or *gutta*) system. We are not certain whether the salary of the revenue officials under Vijayanagara was according to the injunctions of Śukra. Neither are we in a position to determine with certainty whether the bifurcation of the revenue administration advocated by Śukra into the departments under two ministers called *amātya* and *sumantra*², was followed by the Hindu monarchs of Vijayanagara, although there are reasons to assume that the officials who were entrusted with the responsibilities of revenue administration under them have exercised the powers which in the *Sukranīti* are attributed to the Finance Minister (or *sumantra*) and the Minister of Realization (or *amātya*).³

A glimpse into the revenue settlement in southern India prior to the rise of the sons of Saṅgama may be of some importance in tracing the method which these latter and their successors followed in the solution of this vital question of administration. The perfection to which the system of revenue administration attained in the Tamil land, which formed the bulk of the dominions of the Vijayanagara emperors in the south and east, is fully borne out by numerous epigraphical records from the earliest times till the thirteenth century of the Christian era. We may not be far wrong in affirming that the Vijayanagara rulers must have secured the tradition of revenue administration from the Tamil kings, although in the Kārṇāṭaka proper they undoubtedly profited by the system which had prevailed in the governments of the Hoysala and Chālukya monarchs. In the Tamil land the revenue administration was thoroughly centralized. An inscription dated in the 124th

¹ *Sukranīti*, IV, ii, l. 247, p. 149.

² *Ibid.*, II, ll. 204-6, p. 73.

³ Sarkar, *Pos. Back.*, II, P. 1, p. 112.

day of the 24th year of the reign of Rājārāja (A.D. 1008) gives us the following interesting details :

"The land of those land-holders in villages of Brāhmaṇas, in villages of Vaikhānasas, and in villages of Śramaṇas (i.e., the Jains) in Sōla-nāḍu, in the adjacent districts included in the Sōlanāḍu, in Toṇḍai-nāḍu, and in Paṇḍi-nāḍu *alias* Rājārāja-vaḷa-nāḍu who have not paid, on the lands owned by them, the taxes due from villages, along with the other inhabitants of these villages, for three years, of which two are completed, between the 16th and 23rd years of our reign, shall become the property of the village, and shall be liable to be sold by the inhabitants of those villages to the exclusion of the defaulting land-holders. Also, the land of those who have not paid the taxes due from villages for three years, of which two are completed, from the 24th year of our reign, shall be liable to be sold by inhabitants of those villages to the exclusion of the defaulting land-holders". This order "accordingly, having been written by the royal secretary, Rājakēsari-nallūru Kiḷavaṇ, and having been approved by the chief Secretary, Mummuḍi Sōla-Brahma-Mārāyaṇ and by Mummuḍi Sōla Pōsan, (this order) was engrossed from dictation on the 143rd day of the 24th year of the reign".¹

The detailed land-survey, the existence of royal registers, of royal officers, and the strictness with which the monarchs dealt with the defaulters even after the lapse of some years,—all these are implied in the above order given in the reign of Rājārāja. That this was not only a feature of that monarch's reign but was also common throughout Tamil history is evident from the inscriptions of other Tamil kings. Thus the land survey conducted in the sixteenth year of the reign of Kulōttuṅga Choḷa I and the remission of the customs duties brought to him the well known title of *Suṅgandavirta Chōla*.² In the reign of that monarch, however, it appears that assessments were not regularly paid to the royal treasury, and that dues from tenants consequently got accumulated. The king's order (*śrimukha*) which declared that the holdings of such of the tenants as had not cleared their dues by the forty-seventh year of the reign must be sold to any purchaser that would buy them and the money remitted to the

¹ *Ep. Report* for 1897 (10th August), p. 1.

² 98 of 1910; *Ep. Report* for 1910, pp. 91-2.

treasury, was received by the assembly of Vāṇavaṇmādēvi-chaturvēdimaṅgalam in that year. Accordingly the lands owned by some Brahman tenants who, being unable to pay the taxes, had resigned their land and left the villages, were sold to the temple of Tiruchcheṇṇeri-Uḍaiyār at Tiruchchirai.¹ In the forty-ninth year of the king's reign a similar measure was passed as regards lands forfeited to the village assembly of Kōṇērīrājapuram by tenants who had deserted the village being unable to pay the taxes.² The revenue survey conducted in the sixteenth year of Kulōttunga is confirmed by another inscription found at Tirumayāṇam in the Tanjore district.³

To the Tamils even the minutest details of land measurement were known. Thus in the times of Rājarāja I land as small in extent as $\frac{1}{52,428,800,000}$ of a *vēli* was measured and assessed to revenue.⁴ The revenue survey made in the sixteenth and fortieth years of Kulōttunga I was called *alavu*,⁵ while that conducted in the seventh year of Rāja-Kēsarivarman *alias* Chakravarti Vikrama Chōla Dēva was named *ulagalavu*.⁶ The details of land survey, as remarked above, were entered in royal registers. About revenue account-books and officials we have also ample evidence.⁷ In A.D. 1067 the revenue order of king Vīra Rājendra Dēva was communicated by six officers of the *uḍankūṭṭam* and two-and-thirty officers of the *viḍaiyil* in the presence of ten officers of the *puravuvāri-tiṇaikkalam*.⁸ In the sixteenth year of Jaṭāvaraman *alias* Tribhuvanachakravartin Vīra Pāṇḍya a gift of land was made under the orders of the assembly of Servaṇmahādēvi-chaturvēdimaṅgalam, Tinnevely district, and the taxes on this land were deducted in the account registers.⁹

As regards the title-deeds of land we have some details in the history of the reign of Kulōttunga III. The order of the king written by his royal secretary (*tirumandirōlai*) was generally addressed to the executive members of the

¹ 98 of 1910; *Ep. Report* for 1910, pp. 91-2.

² 647 of 1909; *Ep. Report* for 1910, p. 92.

³ 55 of 1906.

⁴ *S.I.I.*, II, p. 62; *Ep. Report* for 1907, p. 76.

⁵ 440 of 1912.

⁶ 455 of 1905.

⁷ *S.I.I.*, III, P. II, p. 213.

⁸ 181 of 1915; *Ep. Report* for 1916, pp. 118-9. See also *S.I.I.*, III, P. I, pp. 38-9.

⁹ 544 of 1911.

temple assembly, temple priests, managing committee, and the supervisors of the temple. The names of the royal officers, and especially of four royal secretaries entrusted with the work of drafting the royal order, are mentioned. The original title-deeds of the lands granted and other connected documents such as the resolution of the village assembly to make the land rent-free from the donor or to distribute the due tax on the other assessed lands of the village, had to be deposited in the safe custody in a room or office of the temple called *tirukkaiotti-paṇḍāram* together with the sale-deeds, if any. It is gathered also that there was a committee in each village called நில அளவுப் பட பெருமக்கள் which was solely entrusted with the duty of classifying lands according to their yielding capacity and measuring them.¹

When we come to the times of the Pāṇḍya rulers, Jātavarman Kulaśēkara I and Māṇavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I, in the latter half of the 12th century A.D., we meet with an elaborate system of revenue administration. The inscriptions of these rulers include a number of documents repeating one and the same transaction three, and sometimes four, times, but with a different purpose each time. The king in his royal camp at some place is approached by a minister or by a private person or body of persons and requested to make a gift of a particular land to a temple, or oftener to make a land which had been already granted, tax-free. "The submission of the request (*vijñapti*) was perhaps a customary procedure . . . There appears to have been in the South Indian courts a regular officer called Vijñapti whose business it was to communicate such requests. The king promises to do so . . . solemnly and orders that the necessary *ōlai* and the *ulavari* from the Revenue Department may be duly issued. This forms the first document of the triple series and was called evidently *śrīmukha* or *tirumugam*, being signed by one or two of the king's officers. The executive order (*ōlai* or *kēlvi*) which is issued sometime after,—often some years²—is addressed to the authorities at (*sic*) the spot where the land-gift is made, with instructions to make the land tax-free in favour of the specified temple, and generally begins with the title

¹ *Ep. Report* for 1914, p. 89. We may observe here that the extent, ownership, assessment, classification, etc., of land had to be noted in village and temple registers by clerks especially appointed for the purpose.

² 682 of 1916.

'Kōnērīnmaikkondān' of the king and not with his proper name. A demi-official note called *kaittāḍi*, *ōlai* or *kaḍai-yiḍu* is sometimes also sent direct to the temple committee or the village assembly, one or more ministers intimating to them the issue of the order. The officers of the Revenue Department (*variylār* or *puravariyār*) now issue the document called *ulavari*, enter the same in the Revenue register thereby effecting a decrease in the total revenue to Government but an increase to the temple emoluments. The items of taxation under different heads¹ are mentioned evidently for being collected and transferred to the temple. The document is signed by a very large number of revenue officers and ministers.² The village assembly meets together,³ receives the tirumugam and other documents and proclaims the particular land to be tax-free by an executive order (*ōlai*) and sometimes fixes the boundaries".⁴

Mention was made above of the minute fraction of a *vēli* of land measured in the reign of Rājarāja I. This system of measuring land was common both to the Tamil and Kārṇāṭaka countries with this difference, however, that whereas the measuring rod in the south was fixed according to and named after the royal foot, that in the Kārṇāṭaka was called after one of the titles of the king. The rod of the south was "equal to the royal foot which measures the (whole) world".⁵ The land survey in the sixteenth year of Kulōttuṅga I, already referred to above, was according to the *śrīpāda* or royal foot of that monarch which was evidently taken as the unit.⁶ Such detailed surveys, however, are not met with in the history of the Kārṇāṭaka, although we are aware of measurements of pieces of land. Thus in A.D. 1138 four *khaṇḍuga* of wet land and one *khaṇḍuga* of dry land,⁷ and in A.D. 1195 six *solage* of wet land and ten *koḷaga* of dry land were measured.⁸ About A.D. 1100 land was measured by poles of eighteen spans.⁹ The measuring rod in the fifth year of the Gaṅga-Pallava king Aparājita-

¹ 507 of 1916, op. cit.

² 502 to 505 of 1916.

³ 511 of 1911.

⁴ For these triple documents, see, 664-666 of 1916; *Ep. Report* for 1917, pp. 109-10.

⁵ 87 of 1900.

⁶ *Ep. Report* for 1900, p. 10.

⁷ E. C. II, No. 402, p. 170.

⁸ *Ibid.*, No. 335, p. 144.

⁹ E.C., IV., Yd. 28, p. 56.

varman was called *viḍēlviḍugu*,¹ and that under the Western Chālukya king Sōmēśvara in A.D. 1048-9, *bhēruṇḍa-gaḷc*.² The rod which was used in the reign of the Hoysala king, Ballāḷa II, in Saka 1100 (A.D. 1178-9), was known as *drōhara-malla*.³ We are uncertain, however, about the uniformity of these measuring rods.

B. Land Revenue under Vijayanagara

The Vijayanagara monarchs followed the Karṇāṭaka method of naming the measuring rod after one of the titles of the king. This accounts for the *rājāribhāḍan-kōl* and the *gaṇḍara-gaṇḍān-kōl*, which for the sake of publicity were cut on stone.⁴ The former appears in Saka 1360 (A.D. 1438-39) under Dēva Rāya II.⁵ The standard rod was thirty-four feet in length.⁶ The existence of a standard rod presupposes that there was uniformity in the measurement of land.⁷ Land was divided into two or three kinds. In the Karṇāṭaka dry and wet lands were called *gadde* and *beddalu*.⁸ But the more universal classification of land was after the Tamilian method of dividing it into *nansey*, or wet land, *puṇsey* or dry land, and *toppa* or groves, orchards and woods. This threefold division has survived to our days.⁹ When land was thus classified into different kinds, and the fields demarcated, the boundaries were shown generally by means of stones bearing the sign of a dwarf, (*Vāmana*), and sometimes by what were called *Lōkēśvara* stones.¹⁰ A newly formed plot of ground thus marked was divided into shares which were generally bestowed on persons of conspicuous merit. Thus Śrīgiribhūpāla, or Śrīgirindra, the brother of Dēva Rāya II, in A.D. 1424, while ruling from his provincial capital of Marāṭakapuri, gave the village of Nīpataṭāka *alias* Vijayarāyapuram (mod.

¹ 32 of 1912.

² Fleet, I. A., IV, p. 181.

³ 83 of 1912. The grain-measure under Ballāḷa III is mentioned in connection with the gift of land to the temple of Tiruvulagaḷanda-Perumāḷ by the assembly of Veḷḷavūr in Pēṇūr-nāḍu, under the name of *tiruvānaikkāl*. 141 of 1910.

⁴ 212 of 1916.

⁵ 193 of 1916.

⁶ Ep. Report for 1916, p. 141.

⁷ See E.C., X, Mb. 173, p. 117.

⁸ E.C., II, No. 335, p. 144.

⁹ Ellis, *Mirasi Right*, p. 47. (1818 ed).

¹⁰ E.C., IV, Gu. 67, p. 47; E.C., III; Ml. 95, p. 65; TN. 41, p. 75.

Kadappēri, North Arcot district) to a Brahman named Sampat Kumāra Paṇḍita, who was well versed in the science of Āyurvēda. This learned man divided the village into fifty-six shares, gave two to the temple, one for feeding Brahmans, retaining twenty-two for his own use and bestowed the rest on his brothers, relatives and learned men.¹

Lands brought under cultivation, and sometimes entire hamlets and villages, were sold. In A.D. 1403 six villages together with their five hamlets rated at 150 *honnu* were sold at 150 *varāha* "the price of the day".² These transactions relating to the sale of land were often conducted in the presence of all the people concerned. In A.D. 1407 Tipanna-ayya, with the consent of all the *nāḍ* people of the Āraga Eighteen Kaṁpaṇa and all the cultivators of the three cities, sold to Bommaṇṇa-ayya land (specified) in the Mayise village rated at 60 *hon*, wherein to make an *agrahāra*, and other land (specified) at the rate of three *ga* (*dyāṇa*) for land yielding one *ga* (*dyāṇa*) receiving the price of 200 *ga* (*dyāṇa*).³ Thirdly *solage* of land in Arunavalli were sold for eighty *varāha*, in A.D. 1427.⁴ The people were careful enough to pay a reasonable price of land. Certain Gaudas in A.D. 1475 bought from Gōvinda Dēva, son of Kañchi Sambu Dēva, land at the proper price, which was forty-five *gadyāṇa*.⁵ Nobles as well as ordinary citizens had to buy or sell land on payment of money. When Channarāya Oḍeyar of Dānavīsa and Sāmantabhadra Dēva of Gērusoppe wanted to provide for the offering in the temple of Sāntisvara, they paid a tribute to the palace and acquired thirty *khaṇḍis* of land costing 120 *gadyāṇa*.⁶

The price of land varied according to the nature of soil. This explains why in A.D. 1588 they paid for seventy-two *khaṇḍuga* of rice land at Nāgalāpura sixty *varāha*, for 150 *khaṇḍuga* in Āraḍikoppa, 100 *varāha*, and for thirty *khaṇḍuga* in Kāgalagōḍu, twenty *varāha*.⁷ This system

¹ S. R. Aiyangar, *Cat. of Copper-plates in the Madras Museum*, N. 9, pp. 45-6.

² E.C., VI, Kp. 52, p. 87.

³ E.C., VIII, Tl. 190, p. 203. See *infra*, Volume II, Chapter VIII. Corporate Life in Social Matters.

⁴ E.C., VI, Kp. 27, p. 80.

⁵ E.C., VIII, Sb. 527, p. 87, text, p. 233.

⁶ E.C., VI, Kp. 21, p. 79.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Kp. 57, p. 89.

of purchasing or selling landed property was extended to plantations as well; and even the highest officials were constrained to give a sale-deed to the party to whom they sold land. Chikkaṇṇa Oḍeyar of Musure gave to Appāji Sēnabōva of Koppa, in A.D. 1578, and again in A.D. 1601, a sale-deed in which he wrote that he had sold a garden of 500 areca-trees, which he had purchased from a man called Dēvappa, through middle-men (*madhyasta-parakalpitavāgi*) for thirty *varāha*, to Appaji Sēnabōva for thirty *varāha*, "the price of the time".¹

These agents who are called *madhyastas*, and who effected such transactions, generally fixed the price of land. When Jakkanna Heggade of Honnohole and others (named) in order to meet the expenses of a marriage in their family, were compelled to sell certain land to Nimbarasa, son of Vīrappa, of the Viśvāmitra-*gōtra*, in A.D. 1406, the price which mediators fixed was thirty-five *gadyāṇa*.² It was not only the *nāḍ* people who were present on such transactions, as related above; the presence of temple officials and the relations of the parties concerned was also necessary for confirming the legal deed. And sometimes the whole transaction was conducted in the presence of the god of a temple. Chikka Bommaṇa Heggade of Heddase in Keḷa-nāḍu and a number of others (named), sold certain land to meet the expenses of an auspicious ceremony (marriage), to Viśṇu Bhaṭṭa, with the consent of those born with them, their sons-in-law, children, heirs and dependents, for thirty-three *varāha*, the price settled by mediators.³ And arranging

¹ E.C., VI, Kp. 59, p. 90. This sale-deed seems to have been confirmed in A.D. 1601. The inscription bears the two dates. B.A.S.

² *Ibid.*, Sg. 26, p. 99.

³ These mediators were also common to the Tamil land in the earlier ages. See *Ep. Report* for 1916, p. 116. As regards the official status of the *nāḍ* people and the *madhyastas*, the following may be suggested: Inscriptional evidence does not positively define the status of these functionaries. The idea of comparing the *nāḍ* people with the Tamil *nāṭṭār* is not altogether improbable. But in most of the Vijayanagara inscriptions found in the Karṇāṭaka, the term *nāḍ* people is used for all the people of the *nāḍ*. Thus in A.D. 1377 all the *gauḍas*, and subjects (*ā-Aragada . . . gauda-prajegaḷu tammoḷu sarvākamatyavāgi*) of the Āraga province gave the village of Huttadahallī to Virūpanṇa Oḍeyar, the Viceroy, as a gift. E.C., VIII, Tl. 125, p. 187. In A.D. 1379 the *nāḍ* people of the two Mandu-nāḍ Thirty (*Mandu-nāḍu-Mūvattarolagaḷa gauḍu-prajegaḷu*) (many of whom are named) granted lands in Niṭṭūr to Mallappa of the Treasury. E.C., VIII, Tl. 114, p. 185. According to the inscription already cited elsewhere, all the *nāḍ* people of the Āraga Eighteen Karṇaṇa (*Aragada-vēṇṭeyada hadineṇṭu*

that the fixed rent of three *honnu* three *hana* should be paid by Jakkanna Heggade to the Sṛi-maṭha (of Sringēri) from the wet cultivation, the people of the *nāḍ* made over the lands to Viṣṇu Bhaṭṭa (with all the usual ceremonies) in the presence of the god Mallikārjuna on the bank of the Tuṅgabhadrā. The compact was signed by Dēvaru Sēna-bōva with the (approval of) both parties.¹ Singanna Ayyaṅgār (of Sringēri Maṭha?) sold in about A.D. 1521 to the people of Kigga 36 Nāḍ his *agrahāra-makki* (or high level rice land) together with a tank for thirteen *honnu* with all the rights in the presence of the god Sringēśvara.² Such rights which figure in the transactions of the ancient and mediaeval times were called the *aṣṭa-bhōga-tējas-svāmya*, or the eight rights of full possession: *akṣhṇī* (present profit), *āgāmi* (future profit), *nidhi* (hidden treasure), *nikshēpa* (underground stones), *jala* (springs), *pāshāṇa* (stones or minerals), *siddha* (actualities), and *sādhyā* (possibilities).³

These instances show us that the revenue regulations of Vijayanagara were of such a nature as not to allow even transactions pertaining to the buying and selling of land to be left unrecorded, since such a procedure, if permitted by the State, would have affected the revenue of the government to a considerable extent. The vigour with which they maintained revenue regulations is seen in the

kampanada samasta-nāḍu-paṭṭanada halaru kūḍṣ tammoḷu sarvvāskamatya-vāgi sarvvānumatadim) and all the people of the three cities, united and agreeing together, sold the Baudavali village to Viṭṭhappa. *E. C.*, VIII, Tl. 133, p. 190. This same person Viṭṭhappa, who had thus bought the village of Kaudavalli on Sunday, 2nd March A.D. 1404, sold it on Sunday, 5th October, of the same year, to Bēlūr Narasiva-dēva's son Suṅgaṇṇa, for 300 *hon*, the price fixed by arbitrators. *E.C.*, *ibid.*, P. 11. Tl. 133, 134, pp. 597-600; Swamikannu, *Ind. Eph.*, V, p. 10. This enables us to conjecture that *madhyastas* were persons of some consequence, since a private individual who had bought a village from "all the *nāḍ* people", thought it worth while to sell it at a price fixed by the arbitrators. How far this could be maintained in all cases is a knotty point. The assumption is that in those days when corporate activities in social matters were common, the *madhyastas* may have been what may be called honorary judges, especially in disputed issues, and that they may have had the informal sanction of the State. We shall have something to say in detail about this while describing the corporate life led by the people of Vijayanagara in social matters. For the present we may remark that the term *nāḍ* people stands for the people of the district, and that they do not seem to have been regular functionaries. See also *E.C.*, VIII, Tl. 122, dated A.D. 1407, p. 187. B.A.S.

¹ *E.C.*, VI, Sg. 25, p. 99.

² *Ibid.*, 15, p. 97.

³ Rice, *My. Ins.*, p. 3, n. For Fleet's note on *aṣṭa-bhōga*, read *I.A.*, IV, p. 278, n.

fate which befell the Maṇavas of Velanguḍi in Pungunda-nāḍu in Śaka 1432 (A.D. 1501-2). They were compelled to sell their lands to the local temple of Tirukkōlakkuḍi Aṇḍa-Nāyanār in the Tiruppatūr tāluka, Ramnad district, in order to pay the taxes due by them on their holdings.¹

The documents relating to the cases arising out of such and other allied transactions in connection with land were called *sameya-patra*. These existed even in A.D. 1263.² This brings us to the question of land which was leased out in mediaeval days. A lease-deed was known as *aḍḍa-ōlai*. An *aḍḍa-ōlai* is mentioned in Śaka 1321.³ Two pieces of land, which belonged to the temple of Arulāla-Perumaḷ in Paḍaiparṇu *alias* Tēperumālanallūr and which had remained uncultivated on account of their non-irrigable high level, in the days of Virūpāksha, in Śaka 1389 (A.D. 1468-9), were purchased as *ulavakāṇi* by the treasury of Tirumēḷisālvār, reclaimed and brought under cultivation. These were leased out for 200 *paṇam* of gold per year by the temple.⁴ This right of cultivation commonly known as *ulavu-kāṇiyākshi*, was generally granted, in the case of temple lands, by the temple authorities of the locality, as it happened in Śaka 1441 (A.D. 1519-20).⁵ The officer who was responsible for the granting of a lease was the temple treasurer. To Tirumalai Nāyaka, one of the Kannaḍiya Nāyakas, was granted a lease of certain temple lands, in Śaka 1442 (A.D. 1520-21) in the reign of Kṛṣṇa Dēva Rāya, by the temple treasurer Isāna-Sivāchārya of the Bhikshā Maṭha at Dēvakkapuram.⁶ In Śaka 1453 (A.D. 1531-2) the permanent lease (*ulavu-kāṇiyākshi*) of Dēvarāyanpaṭṭaḍai was granted again to a Kannaḍiya Nāyaka of Guṅgapuram in Paṅgaḷa-nāḍu.⁷

A permanent lease of cultivation was distinct from a permanent grant of land under a tank called *dasavaṇḍa*. *Dasavaṇḍa* was rent-free land granted for building or repairing a tank, on condition of paying one-tenth (or a small share) of the produce.⁸ The granting of a *dasavaṇḍa* of a tank, as in Śaka 1450 (A.D. 1528-29), was very common

50 of 1916.

E.C., XII, Tp. 2, p. 42, text, p. 118.

Ep. Report for 1921, p. 102.

658 of 1919.

353 of 1912.

352 of 1912; See also 354 of 1912.

369 of 1912.

E.C., V. P. 1, Intr., p. iii. n (5).

throughout the Vijayanagara Empire. In that year the permanent grant of *daśavaṇḍa* of the tank at Doṇḍavāṭe to a certain Malesāṇi was made by the people of that village with the permission of Muddaṇṇa Nāyaka, who was enjoying the village as an *umbali* or rent-free gift.¹ This enables us to conjecture that land which belonged to a government official as *umbali* estates, was given by him as a gift to a person for agricultural improvements obviously in the presence of the village people. Rent-free lands granted to Brahmans below a tank were called *brahmedēya*, and those granted to temples, *dēvadēya* lands.² These sometimes came under the general designation of *sarvamānya* lands.

The system of letting out temple-lands on lease, however, seems to have been rather elaborate. We are told in an inscription of Śaka 1457 (A.D. 1534-5) that the *mēlvāram*, or the Government share, on areca, cocoa-nut, mango, and other trees grown on the *tiruviḍaiyāṭṭam* lands of the Arul-āla Perumāḷ temple in Little Conjeeveram, Chingelput district, was formerly three-fourths of the yield, the remaining one-fourth going to the cultivator; that in a severe drought the above trees withered; that the tenants were asked to plant free trees and pay up the *mēlvāram* in the reduced ratio of two-thirds; that, in the case of sesamum, green-grain, and sugar-cane, the rates obtaining in adjacent villages were adopted; and that in cases where betel, plantain, and other quick-yielding crops were reared side by side in newly planted areca and cocoa-nut groves, the *mēlvāram* was fixed at three-fourths of old rate.³

It was not only arable land that was leased out in the Vijayanagara days. We know that in Śaka 1481 (A.D. 1559-60), in the times of the *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Rāma Rāja Tirumalarājayyadēva, the lease of the forest land or *jaṅgli-guttu*, as it was called, was also granted.⁴

Our assumption that there must have been an efficient system of land revenue administration is further proved by references like the following relating to the legislation on mortgaged lands. A subordinate official of the last Vijayanagara ruler Śrīraṅga Rāya, by name Siddarāmappa Nāyaka of the Haṇḍe family, issued an order in Śaka 1565

¹ 194 of 1913.

² 179 of 1913 dated Śaka 1455.

³ 655 of 1910; *Ep. Report* for 1920, p. 114.

⁴ 329 of 1920. The inscription was found in Yerrattimarājucheruvu, Gooty tāluka, Anantapur district.

(A.D. 1643-4) that the *kāpus* who had held any temple or Brahman lands on "mortgage by possession" (*bhōgya-āyakam*) should restore those lands to the original owners after twelve years' enjoyment, without demanding any money from them, giving them at the same time written deeds (*bhōgya-patra*) recording the reconveyance. The order was issued with the consent of the *Rēddis*, *Karaṇams*, and the other people of the place (*sihaḷa*). The defaulters were to be fined by the palace (*nagari*) i.e., king (or chief?).¹ The late Mr. Kṛishṇa Sāstri rightly commented thus on the above: "The legislation appears evidently to have been made as a remedy against the conveyance by the owners of these lands for long periods to the *kāpus* in consideration of the loans paid on such usufructuary mortgages decidedly favourable to the mortgagee".² If this was a piece of legislation of the last period of Vijayanagara history, the following is another instance of the same pertaining to the early part of their administration. A record dated Saka 1360 (A.D. 1438-39) of the times of Dēva Rāya II, which refers to Lakkanna Daṇṇāyaka, informs us that service *māms* were neither to be sold or mortgaged by the parties who received them, and that the lands being measured by the rod *rājavibhādan-kōl*, this document was itself to be accepted as the royal order conveying lands. (அடைபுத்திரு முசும்). He that sold or mortgaged the land would suffer the punishment that traitors to the king and to the community, would suffer, and in addition be liable to a fine imposed by the officers of the temple treasury.³

From the above it is clear that the Hindu State in mediaeval days bestowed careful attention on the question of land administration, since a happy solution of that problem alone enabled the monarchs to stabilize their resources. They had some definite methods of improving revenue which may be recapitulated before we pass on to the topic of the revenue administration itself. The Government advanced money to the ryots to enable them to provide

¹ *Ep. Report* for 1918, p. 170.

² *Ibid.* We may briefly enumerate the three kinds of transactions mentioned till now—(a) *bhōgya-patra* or written deeds recording the reconveyance of lands, issued by the officials of the State; (b) *sameya-patra* or documents related to land, in most cases, issued by temple authorities; and (c) *sādhana-krama* or an agreement between the temple priests (in their private capacity as individuals) and ordinary persons. *E.C.*, III, Sr. 139, p. 33, text, p. 111. Cf. These with those given in the *Sukraniti*, II, ll. 601-16, pp. 91-3.

³ *Ep. Report* for 1916, p. 140.

themselves with cattle, etc.; it repaired broken tanks; it dug wells on high grounds; it invited colonists from foreign countries on easy terms and granted *kāvulus* to them; it encouraged the manufacture of articles in great demand by supplying seeds etc; and finally, it gave patronage to foreign merchants to settle in new *pēthas* by advancing to them loans.¹ To these activities of the State we should add those of corporate bodies, like the unions of the Vīra Baṇajas, the organization of the Brahmans in *agrahāras* and the like, which were also instrumental in giving an impetus to the cultivators. In about the year A.D. 1372 all the Brahmans of an *agrahāra*, the name of which is unfortunately defaced in the inscription, "agreeing among themselves" gave a loan of 150 *gadyāna* from the temple treasury of the god Rāmanātha to the ryots.²

The State exempted from taxes land brought under cultivation for the first two years, as it did in A.D. 1379.³ Nuniz says that such land was sometimes exempted from taxation for nine years. "By means of this water they made many improvements in the city, and many channels by which they irrigated rice-fields and gardens, and in order that they might improve their lands he (the Emperor) gave the people lands which are irrigated by this water free for nine years, until they had made their improvements so that the revenue already amounts to 20,000 *pardaos*".⁴

It is interesting to observe that in this matter the Vijayanagara rulers paid much attention to ancient precept. Kautīlya lays down as a rule that "in the case of construction of new works, such as tanks, lakes, etc., taxes (on the lands below such tanks) shall be remitted

¹ Rice, *My. Gaz.*, I, p. 480, (1st. ed.); I, p. 586 (Rev. ed.).

² E.C., IV, Gu. 33, p. 41.

³ E.C., IX, Ht. 50, p. 93. Here we may note that the persons who were responsible for passing this order were Ahkaya Nāyaka, son of the *Mahāsāmantādhipati* Soṇṇaiya Nāyaka, and Superintendent of Nonḍigulī-nāḍu, Achcha Gauḍa, and Nārāyaṇa and Veṅgaḍam Uḍaiyaṇ, the *pūjāris* in the temple of Selva-Nārāyaṇa-ppurumāl at Nonḍigulī. The lands exempted from taxation were situated in the same *nāḍu*. The close co-operation of the official of the State, who, in this instance, is the Superintendent of the *nāḍu*, with the people,—who have been represented by Achcha Gauḍa, and the temple priests, only proves our assumption made elsewhere in this treatise that the Vijayanagara Government executed its revenue decrees, especially pertaining to land within the jurisdiction of a temple, through the temple authorities. B.A.S.

⁴ Sewell, *For. Emp.*, p. 365.

for five years. . . For repairing neglected or ruined works of similar nature, taxes shall be remitted for four years. For improving or extending water-works over-grown with weeds, taxes shall be remitted for three years. In the case of acquiring such newly started works by mortgage or purchase, taxes on land below such works shall be remitted for two years. If uncultivated tracts are acquired (for cultivation) by mortgage, purchase or in any other way, remission of taxes shall be for two years".¹ The Vijayanagara monarchs, if Nuniz can be relied upon, by exempting new lands brought under cultivation for nine years, went beyond the limit of five years imposed by Kauṭilya. Their benevolent policy of assisting cultivators, which ultimately led to the enhancement of revenue, is seen also in the action which the State took in reclaiming waste land that had been devastated by floods. We are told in an inscription dated Saka 1324 (A.D. 1402-3) of the times of Bukkaṇṇa Oḍeyar II, that some villages (*paṇṇu*) near Vaḷuvūr, in Tīruveḷundūr-nāḍu, a subdivision of Eḷumuṇi-paṇṇu, Tanjore district, were lying fallow, since the time the river Kāvēri, overflowing its banks, had washed away the demarcation mounds between the fields, and silted up the irrigation channels, and in consequence the tenants had abandoned the fields for a considerably long period.² These fields were now reclaimed, the channels restored, the boundary banks repaired, and the tenants rehabilitated on certain favourable conditions which are thus enumerated in the inscription :

(1) During the first year of holding, half of the usual dues only would be collected on lands cultivated both for *kār* and *paṣaṇam*, and three-fourths from the following years.

(2) Of money collections, *kuḍimai* and *kāṇikkai* being declared *nīṅgal*, half of *puḷavari* and *puduvai* alone would be levied.

(3) The tenants, too, would be assessed at half-rates during the first year, on *kaḍamai*, *aṇṇu-pēru*, *vāṣal-paṇam*, *āyam*, *puḷavari*, and other such taxes, while from the following year they would be required to pay three-fourths rates except in the case of *puḷavari* which remained the same.

(4) *Magamai* and *kāṇikkai* would be treated likewise

¹ *Arthaśāstra*, Bk. III, Ch. IX, 170, p. 209.

² 422 of 1912.

(5) And the same concessions would be allowed also in the case of lands belonging to temples and Brahmans. Kambaṅg Uḍaiyār, the person who was chiefly responsible in reclaiming these lands, was given the special privilege of collecting (?) *kaḍamai* from all the tenants who cultivated lands under his direction. This concession of charging half-rates of assessment during the first year was extended also to other waste lands which might similarly be brought under cultivation, year after year.¹

These changes in the rates of taxes payable to government, with the manipulation of other details in connection with them, came under the jurisdiction of the Revenue Department, which was called *aṭhavaṇe*.² We gather this from an inscription dated A.D. 1416, which speaks of Timmarasa and Tipparasa of the *aṭhavaṇe*.³ Then again we have under Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya the Great, in about A.D. 1515, Chennarasa of the Revenue Department (*aṭhavaṇeya*).⁴ The chief director of this department was called *sarvādhi-kāri* or *aṭhavaṇeya-pārupatyagāra*, who in vital matters was not allowed to exercise independent judgment without the knowledge and sanction of the sovereign.⁵ The superficiality of some of the observations of Nuniz is apparent when he asserts that such a department never existed at all. "The King has no controller of the revenues nor other officers, nor officers of his house, but only the captains of his kingdom. . . ."⁶

Land revenue was called by the general name of *sist*. Anāyakā-ayya's agent Nāgappa Nāyaka in about A.D. 1557 made a grant of *sist* to Toṭada Uchchappoḍear.⁷ A general order issued by the Emperor was called *nirūpa* or *rāyasa*.⁸ Such royal orders were entered in four registers, the original order, in the case of temple-lands, being placed in the hands of the *sthānikas* or temple-managers, as a *śāsana*. Dēva Rāya II gave an order to Sṛigirinātha of Chandragiri, so we are told in an

¹ *Ep. Report* for 1913, pp. 118-19.

² Rice, *My. Gaz.*, I, p. 472, (1st. ed.); I, p. 579, (Rev. ed.). Rice says that the *aṭhavaṇe* was also called *sthā mūlam*.

E.C., III, Sr. 105, p. 30.

E.C., XI, Jl. 7, p. 84.

³ Rice, *My. Gaz.*, I, p. 475, (1st. ed.). See also p. 485 for an account of the officers of the department.

⁴ Sewell, *For. Emp.*, p. 384.

E.C., XI, Jl. 47, p. 89.

⁵ *Ep. Report* for 1916, p. 139.

inscription dated only in the cyclic year Sādhāraṇa, permitting him to remit the *jōḍi* of 131 *poṇ* (*varāham*), and 6½ *paṇam* or 1,361½ *paṇam* at ten *paṇam* per *poṇ* due to the Chandragiri-rājya from Tiruppukkuli, Chingleput district, in order that that amount might be utilized for the temple of Pōrēṇṇupperumāl of that place. The order further requests the Viceroy to send his own *tiruvahichchittu* to the *sthānikas* of the village, to make copies of the king's order (*rāyasa*) in the four registers, and to place the original document in the hands of the *sthānikas* as a *sāsana*. Śrī-girinātha issued the *tiruvahichchittu*, in compliance with the order of the king, to the *sthānikas* of Tiruppukkuli.¹

Some more details about the working of the Revenue Department in general, especially in connection with the granting of lands, may be gathered from a stone inscription dated A.D. 1418 of the times of Dēva Rāya II. After recording the grant of certain lands by Peddaṇṇa Nāgaṇṇa's son Mallana, of the Kāsyapa-gōtra, to Nāgaṇṇa's son Nāgaṇṇa of the Viśvāmītra-gōtra, the inscription proceeds to give the previous history of the lands granted. The lands, which had been received by the donor along with a copper-plate grant from Harihara Rāya II, were situated in Dēviyakka's Haravari at Koppavaḷli. When Viṭṭhaṇṇa Oḍeyar was ruling the Āraga-rājya by order of the king Dēva Rāya, he gave a *śilā-sāsana* or stone grant about the details of the *okkalu* or tenants to the *mahājanas* of the *agrahāra* of Pratāpahariharapura and to Peddaṇṇa Nāgaṇṇa-ayya's son Mallanṇa-ayya as follows: "Formerly when śrī (with titles) Harihara Mahārāya granted, with pouring of water, as a *sarvamānya*, along with a copper-plate inscription, the *agrahāra* named Pratāpahariharapuram after himself to Peddaṇṇa Nāgaṇṇa-ayya and the Brahmans, he sent an order to Sōvaṇṇa Oḍeyar, who was then ruling over the Āraga kingdom, telling him to make a distribution of the tenants paying assessment to the *dharmasthala* or *agrahāra* so that there might not arise any trouble between the Government tenants and those of the villages constituting the *agrahāra*. Accordingly Sōvaṇṇa Oḍeyar sent for Arasaṇṇa Heggade and Vira Heggade of Neluvāgilu in the Mēlubhāgi of the Sātaḷige-nāḍu, and having convened a meeting of the residents of the nine *agrahāras* and the 1,005

¹ 172 of 1916; Ep. Report for 1916, p. 140.

land-owners of Sātālige at the *chāvaḍi*, or court of Āraga, called upon Arasaṇṇa Heggade and Vira Heggade to distribute the tenants paying assessment to the *dharmasthala* whereupon Arasaṇṇa Heggade, having distributed the tenants for the Government village Neluvāgilu and separated the tenants for Tumbaravalli which was a *dharmasthala*, gave a *paṭṭe* or roll of assessment to Peddaṇṇa Nāgaṇṇa-ayya stating that these tenants were not to be molested either by the king or the *nāḍu* for any loss that might occur at Neluvāgilu. Then follow the names of the tenants and the amounts of assessment they had severally to pay, as entered in the *paṭṭe*, together with the names of the witnesses who affixed their signatures to it. This *paṭṭe* was produced by Peddaṇṇa Nāgaṇṇa's son Mallaṇa before Viṭṭhaṇṇa Oḍeyar, who, observing that it contained the distribution of the tenants according to the order of Harihara Mahārāya, granted a *śila-sāsana* in confirmation and affixed his own signature to it'.¹

The foregoing inscription enables us to deduce the following :

(a) That the king himself gave orders in revenue matters ;

(b) That such orders were communicated to the governors of the province ;

(c) That the governors were directed to take personal interest even in the matters of distributing tenants who had to pay assessment either to the *dharmasthala* or the *agrahāra* ;

(d) That the governors, in order to execute the decree of the king, sent for the chief men of the village and convened a general meeting of the residents of the village at their *chāvaḍi* or court ;

(e) That these chief men of the village were required to distribute the tenants, which they did by separating the tenants of one village from those of another, and to give a *paṭṭe* or roll of assessment to the chief of the donees who received the charter ;

(f) That the assessments which the tenants had to pay were clearly indicated and provided against damage even at the hands of the king ;

(g) That the names and signatures of the witnesses were included in the *paṭṭe* ;

¹ *My. Arch. Report* for 1916, p. 60.

(h) And that such a roll of assessment was confirmed only when it was produced before the provincial governor, who, on being satisfied about its veracity, gave a stone inscription embodying its contents, affixing his own signature to it.

Revenue orders, therefore, were executed in the Vijayanagara age with a care and minuteness which does credit to their administration. The royal *nirūpa* had to pass successively through the officers of the king before it could be recorded as a grant. The funds of a temple at Talakāḍu were found to be insufficient in A.D. 1400, and the State took prompt measures to increase the revenue of the temple. The inscription narrates that Lakkaṇṇa Daṇṇāyaka having been informed that the income from the former grant was insufficient for the proper conduct of the service in the temple of the god Vaidyanātha at Talakāḍu *alias* Gajāraṇyakshētra, situated on the bank of the river Kāvērī flowing westward, for the long life, health, and prosperity of the king, passed an order to the effect that the customs dues amounting to six *gadyāṇa*, which were being paid to the palace customs-office at Belakavāḍi by the village of Kiṟugusūr which belonged to the above mentioned temple, should thenceforward be paid to the temple itself, and communicated it to Rāyaṇa Oḍeyar of Paṭṭaṇa. On receiving the order from the latter officer, Perumāle Dēva of Talakāḍu wrote the grant and gave it to the temple.¹

The existence of revenue officials is also seen when we notice a few details about tax-collection in those days. The provincial governments evidently imitated the procedure prevalent at the capital. The southern province of Rājagambhīra was in Śaka 1283 (A.D. 1361-62) under the famous Kaṁpaṇa, son of Bukka I. His great minister Sōmappa, and the treasurer Viṭṭappa Ayyaṇ, both of whom were styled "officers of the palace", issued an order to Meydēvar, who was in charge of the taxes of Puli-nāḍu, to assign certain duties, imposed in kind, on all articles that passed through his district, for the benefit of the Viṣṇu temple at Kurumāvi (mod. Kūrmāyi), Chittoor district.²

We may presume that there may have been occasional friction between the people and the revenue officials of the government, when the latter went round to collect dues,

¹ *My. Arch. Report for 1920*, p. 36.

² *Ep. Report for 1931*, p. 118.

obviously in arrears, from the fact that special mention has been made in inscriptions of the necessity for the people to treat the tax-collectors with consideration. On the representation of Vīra-Saiva Vīra Pratāpa Chōla Rāya to certain *Seṭṭis*, the heads of the caste, in about A.D. 1402, a grant of specified dues was made by the latter. The inscription ends as follows: "Directions for honourable treatment of the bearers of the *sāsana* when they came to collect the dues". The honourable treatment which the tax-collectors received is expressed in the following words: *yi sāsana tegedukonḍu archakaru sthalāntaragalige bandalli yedurra konḍu karadukkonḍuhōgi biḍidi vulupe vuḍugeṇe sakalavū koṭṭu varttaneyū koḍiṣi maryādegūḍi naḍisikonḍu baratakkad-embadāgi baresi-kōṭṭa dāna sāsana*.¹

There were customs officials, too, as an inscription of A.D. 1411 informs us. The customs officers (*suṅkada adhi-kari*) of Erumaṇai-nāḍu, Kārai-Kiḷaṇ Puliyar and Aḷagiya-Varadar Sōkkaṛ, servants of Tigāya Perumāḷ, the customs-officer of Muluvāyi-nāḍu, granted the tax on the looms of the Paṛaiyans in Samaiyamantripaḷḷi in Erumaṇai-nāḍu.²

There is every reason to believe that the Government gave receipts to the people for the taxes paid by them. Here however we have epigraphical evidence at variance with contemporary comments. Nuniz, whose accuracy was by no means so infallible as one may wish it to be, informs us that the king granted no receipts to the nobles from whom he received revenue. "In this way the kingdom of Bisnaga is divided between more than two hundred captains who are all heathen, and according to the lands and revenues that they have so the King settles for them the forces that they are compelled to keep up, and how much revenue they have to pay him every month during the first nine days of the month of September. He never gives any receipts to them, only, if they do not pay they are well punished, and are ruined and their property taken away."³ From this we may infer that if the granting of receipts for moneys received was unknown to the monarch, it must necessarily have been a matter of which the royal officials were ignorant in the kingdom. Whether a government which, according

¹ E.C., IX, Bn. 96, p. 19, text, p. 35, op. cit.

² Ibid., Ht. 149, p. 108, text, p. 133.

³ Sewell, *For. Emp.*, p. 389. Cf. Mettwold, *Relations of Golconda*, p. 11.

to the same traveller, trained in the royal palace women to "compare their books with those of the writers outside",¹ could have failed to institute a system of granting receipts, is a question which may pertinently be asked in spite of the adverse evidence of Nuniz. The fact that there were tax-collectors make us believe that they must have had a system of assuring the people for the revenue which the latter gave to the Government. Our surmise is strengthened by the evidence of an inscription dated A.D. 1558-9 which is positive about the granting of receipts by officials on behalf of the Government. This epigraph informs us that it was authorized that taxes should be levied in the Chadalavāḍa village in the Nellore district, and that the temple people themselves should credit the taxes to the estate of Śrī-Raghunāyakulu, and grant receipts to the merchants who buy there and receipts for the taxes raised in the two *sīmas*.²

Here it may reasonably be objected that these temple people were not government servants, and that, therefore, the assertions of Nuniz are not invalid. But it must be remembered that in Vijayanagara times, temples were under the direct control of the State, and that the officials of the temples must have been authorized to issue receipts to persons who gave them taxes, on behalf of the temples as well as the Crown. That the State had a definite voice in the management of the temples is evident from epigraphs. An inscription dated Śaka 1291 expired, Saumya, (A.D. 1369) records that three men were made over to the temple of Śiva at Tiruppaṇaṅgāḍu, under orders from the ruler Kaṁpaṇa Oḍeyar, son of Bukkaṇa Oḍeyar, to look after the lamps in the temple.³ Another inscription dated only in cyclic year Sādhāraṇa (i.e., Śaka 1293) [A.D. 1371-72], informs us that three men were likewise made over to the same temple by Aḍaipattu Ilakkappar and Āṇaikunḍi Viṭṭappar under orders from the king.⁴ In Śaka 1304 Durmatī (A.D. 1381-82), in the reign of Harihara Rāya, under orders from Kaṁpaṇa Oḍeyar, four new pillars were

¹ Sewell, *For Emp.*, p. 382. See also pp. 374-5, where Nuniz speaks of the secretaries of the king.

² Butterworth-Chetty, *Nellore Ins.*, II., p. 952.

³ 248 of 1906.

⁴ 249 of 1906. There is an inscription dated in about A.D. 1371 which mentions the penalty imposed on a temple by Bhōdarūpa Bhāgavarasu, *E.C.*, I, No. 9, p. 55, (2nd ed.).

placed to support the broken beams of the Channakēśava temple at Bēlūr.¹ The famous general of the same monarch, Guṇḍa Daṇḍanātha, according to an inscription dated about A.D. 1397, laid down rules for the performance of all the ceremonies (sixty-seven specified) formerly ordained by Biṭṭi Dēva Rāya; (i.e., Vishṇuvardhana Hoysala); and rebuilt with seven storeys the *gōpura* over the doorway of the same temple.² We may also recount here the evidence from two inscriptions cited elsewhere in this treatise, referring us to the time of Dēva Rāya II. That dated only in the cyclic year Sādhāraṇa tells us that a copy of the *rāyasa*, or royal revenue order, was deposited in the custody of the *sthānikas* or temple managers of Tiruppukuḷi, Chingleput district.³ In another inscription dated Śaka 1326 (A.D. 1414-15) we are informed that the Central Government ordered the fixing of the amount of consolidated taxes from the commercial classes of Perunagar, Chingleput district, in return for their burning a perpetual lamp in the local temple of Brahmapurīśvara.⁴ According to an epigraph dated Śaka 1471 (A.D. 1549-50), in the province under the jurisdiction of Jaṭilavarman Kulasēkhara Parākrama Pāṇḍya Dēva, under the orders of Prince Viravēṇbāmālai, a gift of land together with a house in Kuṇṇakkuḍi was made to a private individual for looking after the accounts of the temple of Viśvanātha at Teṅkāsi.⁵ As we shall relate in a subsequent chapter, Mallarasayya, the minister of the Queen Bommarasiammā, who ruled over the Kuppatur-Bhāraṅgi-sīme, in about A.D. 1500, "in the course of his enquiries from village to village, coming to Benṇagere, he stopped the daily allowance at the Nārāyaṇa temple", for some fault not stated in the epigraph.⁶ A record dated Śaka 1482, Raudri, (A.D. 1560-61) conclusively proves that in the reign of Sadāśiva Rāya temples were directly managed by the State. For, it states that Jñānaprakāśa-panḍāram of Tiruvārūr was appointed supervisor of Sikkal, Vadakūdi, Vōḍachchēri and other temples under orders from Kṛishṇamarāśayyaṇ, son of Āliya Rāmarāśayyaṇ.⁷

58 of 1901-2; *Ep. Report* for 1911, p. 53.

E.C., V, P. I, Bl. 3, p. 45.

Ep. Report for 1916, p. 140, 'op. cit.

367 of 1923. See *infra* p. 196.

553 of 1917.

E.C., VIII, Sb. 323, p. 55. *Infra*, Volume II, Chapter V.

104 of 1911.

We are informed in an epigraph dated A.D. 1568 that Sadā-siva Mahārāya deposited a fund for the perpetual lamp and other festivals of the temple of Gōpāla Kṛishṇa at Hojā-lakeṛe.¹ This custom of depositing a fund in a temple is evidently the same referred to by Nuniz who speaks of one of the predecessors of Sadāsiva Rāya granting one-fifth of his revenue to the temples.² From the above instances it is clear that the Central Government reserved to itself the right of controlling the temples in the kingdom; and we can only assume that it must have permitted the authorities of various temples to grant receipts for taxes levied, especially on temple lands, on behalf of the State. It is obvious that if the authorities of temples granted receipts, the officers of the government must also have been aware of the system. The absence of the slightest reference to any confusion in the revenue of Vijayanagara in the writings of foreign travellers strongly suggests that receipts were granted by the State to persons who paid taxes to it.³

Some aspects of the manner in which the Vijayanagara Government effected a revenue settlement may now be seen. The term *nirūpa*, as we have already remarked in an earlier connection, was meant to denote the order of the government in matters relating to the revenue administration.⁴ A typical instance of a revenue settlement was that which was effected in Śaka 1351 (A.D. 1429-30) in the reign of Dēva Rāya II. The occasion for a revised settlement of land was the confusion that prevailed in the locality. Certain unauthorized persons were collecting revenue, and the inhabitants protested against the illegal taxation in their province. This is related in an inscription dated above from Tiruvaigāvūr, Tanjore district, which registers the decision arrived at by the assembled residents of the Parāntakanaṇḍu, the Valangai ninety-eight subdivisions, and the Iḍangai ninety-eight subsects, regarding the various items of taxation that had to be paid to the Government (*rājagaram iṣaimuṣaimai*) or to the temple, as had been already settled by the inhabitants of the other *nāḍus* in Vaḷudalambaṭṭu-uśāvaḍi. The necessity for adopting this

¹ E.C., XI, Hk. 7, p. 117.

² Sewell, *For. Emp.*, p. 304.

³ For further notices of the control of temples by the State, see *infra*, Ch. VII, Judicial Administration, Section 3.

⁴ *Ep. Report* for 1916, p. 143.

procedure is stated to have arisen thus: "Since the time of the Kannaḍiyas (the Hoysalas?) the district had been declared to be the *jīvita-paṛṇu* (of the temple?) servants. Collecting taxes was not made by one single person. The lands were leased out (*aḍavōlai*) to other persons and *pura-vari* taxes were collected. Thus the whole district came to be ruined." It was decided that some specified lands in the district of Parāntaka-nāḍu, which were rent-free, were not to be interfered with, by classifying them as *paṇḍārivāḍai*, *jīvita-paṛṇu*, *aḍaiṇṇu*, *otti*, *guttigai*, or *sērvai*. The following rates of assessment on other lands were agreed upon:

| Class of Land | Assessment in paddy on one <i>vēli</i> , including <i>araṣupēṇu</i> , <i>ilaikki</i> , etc. | Other taxes such as <i>kānikkui</i> , <i>saṃmādam</i> , <i>paṭṭavattam</i> , <i>kāṇikūḷi</i> , etc., on each <i>vēli</i> . |
|---|---|--|
| <hr/> | | |
| (1) Paddy fields | 40 <i>kalam</i> of paddy and $\frac{1}{2}$ <i>paṇam</i> . | 20 <i>paṇam</i> . |
| (2) Uncultivated waste land (brought under cultivation) ... | 40 <i>kalam</i> of paddy. | 18 „ |
| (3) Forest reclaimed ... | 20 „ „ | 2 „ |
| (4) some lands and lands irrigated by baling water ... | 20 „ „ | 10 „ |
| (5) Plantain and sugarcane gardens in wet lands ... | | 60 <i>paṇam</i> (including <i>araṣupēṇu</i> , <i>kāṇikai</i> etc.). |
| (6) Plantain and sugarcane gardens in wet <i>dry</i> ... | | 50 <i>paṇam</i> . |
| (7) Marshes in which red lotuses are grown ... | | 40 „ |
| (8) Lands producing turmeric, ginger, onions, garlic, etc. ... | | 20 „ |
| (9) Lands producing brinjals, and pumpkins, etc. ... | | 30 „ |

| Class of Land. | Assessment in paddy on one <i>vēli</i> , including <i>arasupēru</i> , <i>ilaikki</i> , etc. | Other taxes such as <i>kānikkai</i> , <i>ṣammādam</i> , <i>paṭṭavaṭṭam</i> , <i>kāṇi</i> , <i>kūli</i> , etc., on each <i>vēli</i> . |
|--|---|--|
| (10) Lands producing செல்லு பருத்தி (?) castor seeds, வரகு பருத்தி (?) mustard, Bengal gram, wheat, and குசம்பை (<i>carthamus tinctorius</i>), எரிவாய் நாகல்வாய் and புழுதி (lands producing) gram (காணம்), lands producing paddy, and சாம்பலாரடி. ... | .. | 20 <i>paṇam</i> including <i>arasupēru</i> , <i>nērōlai</i> , etc. |
| (11) Lands producing gram, green pulse, தனிப்பருத்தி, தனியுண்ணக்கு, தினை, பனிவரகு, சாமை, etc. ... | ... | 1 <i>paṇam</i> . |
| (12) Lands producing sesamum (taxed for first crop) ... | ... | $\frac{1}{2}$ of the above (?) |
| (13) Lands yielding வெதி கொழுத்து? ... | ... | 200 <i>paṇam</i> . |
| (14) Lands yielding ஒளிமுடு கொழுத்து (taxed for first crop) ... | ... | 100 ,, |

Dry crops (*vaṇṇpayir*).

- (1) Every five areca palms yielding about 1,500 nuts per tree ... 1 *paṇam* (including *arasupēru*).
- (2) Every coccanut palm yielding not less than 40 per tree .. $\frac{1}{2}$ *paṇam*.
- Note*.—Tender trees which have not borne fruit, barren trees and trees in the backyard of houses are exempted.
- (3) Every jack-tree yielding not less than 20 fruits per tree ... Lost.

Note.—The surrounding (*i.e.*, the other) trees are not taxed.

| Class of Land. | Assessment in paddy on one <i>vēli</i> , including <i>arāṣupēru</i> , <i>ilaikki</i> , etc. | Other taxes such as <i>kāṇikkai</i> , <i>sammādam</i> , <i>paṭṭavaiṭṭam</i> <i>kāṇi-kūṭi</i> , etc., on each <i>vēli</i> . |
|--|---|--|
| (9) Every lace-loom in working order ... | | 3 <i>paṇam</i> |
| (10) Every lace-loom not in working order (?) ... | | $\frac{1}{2}$ „ |
| (11) Each blacksmith, carpenter, goldsmith and silversmith ... | | 1 „ (including <i>kottu</i> , <i>kirru</i> , <i>arāṣupēru</i> , <i>kāṇikkai</i>). |
| (12) Each chief potter ... | | 1 „ (including <i>நினை ஆயம்</i>). |
| (13) Each chief barber ... | | 4 „ (including <i>சரி ஆயம்</i>). |
| (14) Each chief washerman. | | 4 „ (including <i>சவுலாயம்</i>). |
| (15) Each <i>செருவரை</i> (brazier ?) .. | | 6 |
| (16) Each chief oilmonger ... | | 20 „ (including <i>செய்யம்</i>). |
| (17) Each member of the Paraiya caste (exceptions being made in certain specified cases) | | |

N. B.

(1) Of the *kārpasaṇa*, (i.e., wet lands) those that die in the planting (*naṭṭuppāl*), those that yield only blighted grain (*śāvi*), and those that the otherwise damaged (*aḷivu*), not being counted; and of the *punṇpayir* (dry lands), *pāl*, *śāvi*, and *aḷivu*, being likewise not counted, the remaining holdings are charged at the reduced rate of eight and a half in ten, it being, however, provided that in the excluded lands where on inspection they are found to have yielded a quarter crop, a third of the produce will be charged as *vāram* from each holder.

(2) It was ruled that anybody who collected taxes other than in the schedule given above, could do so (only) with

the consent of the assembly body (*maṇḍala*) of the people.¹

From the details of the revenue settlement given above it appears that the State, in its desire to increase its revenue, made a judicious distinction between those sources which yielded maximum revenue at minimum expenditure of labour, e.g., dry and wet lands, and those which offered poor returns to the exertions of the labourers, e.g. barren trees and ground. The Government, it may also be observed, differentiated between the income of, for example, the collector of tolls, the chief oil-monger, and the shop-keeper on the one hand, and that of the member of the village council and a Paṇaiya on the other. The principle, if one may venture to say so, was obviously one of taxing in proportion to the income earned by members of each profession. This brings us to the question of the rate of taxation.

C. Rate of Taxation

A tax has been thus defined by Manu in one of his regulations already cited above: "Let the king make the common inhabitants of his realm who live by traffic, pay annually some trifle, which is called a tax".² He has also mentioned the relationship between taxation and protection in the following passages: "The highest duty of a Kshatriya is to protect his subjects, for the king who enjoys the rewards, just mentioned, is bound to (discharge that) duty".³ "That king, indeed, is ever worthy of honour who ensures the safety (of his subjects); for the sacrificial session (*sattra*, which he, as it were, performs thereby) ever grows in length, the safety (of his subjects representing) the successful fee. A king who (duly) protects (his subjects) receives from each and all the sixth part of their spiritual merit; if he does not protect them, the sixth part of their demerit also (will fall on him). Whatever (merit a man gains by) reading the Veda, by sacrificing, by charitable gifts, (or by) worshipping (gurus and gods),

¹ *Ep. Report* for 1915, pp. 107, and n. (1), 108.

² *Manu*, VII, 137, p. 237, *op. cit.*

³ *Ibid.*, VII, 144, p. 238. Cf. *Sānti Parva*. "Protection of the subject is the highest duty of the king, since compassion to all creatures and protecting them from injury has been said to be the highest merit." LXX, p. 235. See also LXXV, p. 243 (Roy); see also *Gautama* X, 28, p. 230.

the king obtains a sixth part of that in consequence of his duly protecting (his kingdom). . . . A king who does not afford protection (yet) takes his share in kind, his taxes, tolls, and duties, daily presents, and fines, will (after death) soon sink into hell. They declare that a king who affords no protection (yet) receives the sixth part of the produce, takes upon himself all the foulness of his whole people".¹ Further, "His (i.e., a Kshatriya's) peculiar duty is conquest, and he must not turn back in danger, having protected the Vaisyas by his weapons, he may cause the legal tax to be collected, (viz.) from Vaisyas one-eighth as the tax on grain, one-twentieth (on the profits of gold and cattle) which amount at least to one Kārshāpaṇa: Sudras, artisans, and mechanics (shall) benefit (the king) by (doing) work (for him)".²

The principle of levying taxes from the people by the king only on condition that he assures them protection, which is thus enunciated by Manu, is also found in the codes of the later lawgivers. "Let the king," we are told in the *Institutes* of Baudhāyana, "protect (his) subjects, receiving as his pay a sixth part (of their income or spiritual merit.)"³ The right of levying one-sixth of the produce sanctioned by Manu is seen in the *Mahābhārata* as well as in the code of Nārada. In the former the revenue which the king receives is in direct relation to the protection afforded by him to the people. "With a sixth part, upon fair calculation, of the yield of the soil, as his tribute, with fines and forfeitures levied upon offenders, with the imports, according to the scriptures, upon merchants and traders in return for the protection granted to them, a king should fill his treasury".⁴ Nārada merely repeats the injunction of Manu in the following words: "Both the other customary receipts of a king and what is called the sixth part of the produce of the soil, form the royal revenue, the reward (of a king), for the protection of his subjects".⁵ Kauṭilya has laid down the following rule: "People. . . . allotted one-sixth of the grains and one-tenth of merchandise as sovereign dues. Fed by this payment, kings took upon

Manu, VIII, 303-5, 307-8, pp. 307-8. See also 309, p. 309.

Ibid., X, 119-20, pp. 427-8.

Baudhāyana, I, 10, 18, v. 1, p. 199.

Sānti Parva, LXXI, p. 233. (Roy). Cf. *I.H.Q.* I, p. 701.

Nārada, XVIII, 48, p. 221; *I.H.Q.*, I, p. 702.

themselves the responsibility of maintaining the safety and security of their subjects. . . .¹ The famous Mādhavāchārya Vidyāranya is also inclined to follow Kauṭilya in this matter. In his work *Parāsara-smṛiti* (also known as *Vidyāranya-smṛiti*), he assigns the usual one-sixth as the royal share of the crop.²

Before we proceed with the discussion of the question of the classical and mediaeval rate of taxation, we may note to what extent the Vijayanagara people understood the ancient idea of the relationship between taxation and protection. Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya in his well known work writes: "Be always intent upon protecting your subjects. Whenever you hear complaints from people in distress, hear them and redress their sufferings. Do not entrust your affairs to mean persons".³ The inscriptions throw better light on this point. An epigraph dated A.D. 1382 thus gives the classical principle: "His (i.e. Bukka's) son Harihara. . . Maintaining the customs of the various castes, he protected all the subjects as if his own children. Rejoicing in his protection, which was like that of Bharata, the farmers and merchants resolved to pay him certain taxes on account of his protection".⁴

We continue now the subject of the rate of taxation. The ancient tradition of the sixth part of the produce being the legitimate share of the government lingered on till the days of the East India Company. Thus Wilks writes in his *Sketches*: "Of the produce of land a sixth is the largest share which can be taken in ordinary circumstances, and a fourth in times of urgent distress; but the whole tenor of the institutes and the digest shew that the sixth part of the crop is the king's share, which is constantly in the contemplation of all Hindoo lawyers. This share is confirmed by the elegant Hindu drama of *Sacotala*. . . in one word, I have never met with a Hindoo farmer of ordinary capacity that was ignorant of the fact, and as we shall hereafter find

¹ *Arthaśāstra*, Bk. I, Ch. XIII, 23, p. 24.

² *Parāsara-Mādhaviya-dharmāśāstra*, Āchāra khaṇḍa, *Adhy.* I, p. 270. (1890).

³ *Amuktamālyada*, v, 205; *J.I.H.*, IV, P. III, p. 64. We shall see that Mādhava, in his commentary on *Parāśarasamhitā*, has also to say something on this subject. *Adhyāya*, I, vv. 61-2, p. 259. *Infra*, Ch. V, Administration, Central Government.

⁴ *E.C.*, V, Bl. 75, pp. 62-3.

that it was promulgated as the law of the south of India in the sixteenth century".¹

The source from which this may have originated in the sixteenth century can be traced only to the Vijayanagara monarchs, who, as remarked elsewhere, were undoubtedly influenced by the life and achievements of Mādhavāchārya Vidyāranya. But it may reasonably be doubted on the strength of the details enumerated above, whether the precept of that great scholar, based as it was on the older institutes, really guided the actions of the mediaeval Hindu rulers as regards this vital point in revenue administration. We may even venture to question whether the precedent set by one or two Tamil kings of the pre-Vijayanagara days was ever followed by the Vijayanagara kings. It seems, therefore, that the Hindu rulers of Vijayanagara not only discarded the example set by their predecessors but also set at naught the ancient principle of levying one-sixth of the produce as the authorized share of the government. But here we may observe that behind the apparent indifference of the Vijayanagara rulers to classical precept, there lie claims to legality which are by no means invalid. We have to exchange the regulations of the early canonists for those of Sukrāchārya to understand this point. And, moreover, we have to recall the nature of the times which made it possible for the Hindus to bring order out of the chaos which followed the Muhammadan invasions of southern India. The stability of their State, in the face of a very powerful league of Muhammadan kingdoms, was guaranteed only when it had solved successfully the fundamental question of men and money. The rulers realized that the needs of the times demanded a revision of the classical rate of levying taxes; and they, therefore, promulgated a new system of differential taxation which was not altogether without the support of the lawgivers of the classical and mediaeval times. For, in the *Arthaśāstra*² as well as in *Sukranīti* provision is made for a maximum rate of taxation on a differential basis; and we may presume that Sukra's mediaeval code may have had its influence on the minds of the Hindu financiers of the south. It must be confessed that this is only a conjecture, since no positive

¹ Wilks, *Sketches*, I, pp. 126-27 (1810); I, p. 78 (1869).

² *Arthaśāstra*, Book II, Ch. XXIV, 117, p. 140; Bk. V, Ch. II, 242, p. 291.

proof can be adduced for maintaining that the Vijayanagara monarchs actually made use of the freedom given in the *Sukranīti*. We may nevertheless note the injunctions pertaining to the point in question as given in the same work. The rates are different for different kinds of soil. From lands irrigated by canals, wells or tanks, the government demand is one-third; from those irrigated by rain it is one-fourth; and those by rivers, it is one-half; while from the arrant rocky soils, it is to be low as one-sixth.¹ This has been explained by Prof. Benoy Kumar Sarkar thus: "The principle is obvious. The highest rate, viz. 50 per cent. is demanded of those lands where cultivation is certain, e.g. under river irrigation. Where rain or 'monsoons' is the source of moisture, agriculture is precarious and uncertain. Hence the very low rate of government demand, viz. 25 per cent. But, where the tanks and other artificial water supplies irrigate the soils, cultivation is difficult and expensive, although certain. The rate in this instance is, therefore, midway between the two, i.e., 33½ per cent".²

This principle of Sukra, viz., of levying a tax according to the relative fertility of the plots of land, as must have been evident to the reader from the remarks made in a preceding connection about the Revenue Settlement, guided the financial policy of the Vijayanagara monarchs. That they were aware of the differences in soil has been seen in the description of the wet and dry lands given above; and that they were not ignorant of an equity of assessment on different lands,—the yield of which was based on the nature of water supply,—will be made clear when we shall examine the rate of taxation under their government together with that which prevailed in the Tamil lands from the eleventh to the thirteenth century of the Christian era.

In the third year of the reign of Kōv-Irāja-Kēsari-panmar, *alias* Śrī-Rājādhirāja Dēvar (i.e., in A.D. 1050) his commander (*sēnāpati*), Jayaṅgoṇḍa Sōḷa-Vāṇa-Kōvaraiyan, agreed to receive as the landlord's share two-fifths of the wet crops and one-quarter of the dry crops in the Maṇṇai-nāḍu, of Vikkīrama-Sōḷamaṇḍala.³ An inscription of A.D. 1046, however, enables us to fix the rate of taxation in the

¹ *Sukranīti*, IV, ii, 11, 227-30, p. 148.

² Sarkar, *Pos. Back.*, Bk. II, P. I, p. 118.

³ E.C., IX, Nl. 25, p. 33.

reign of that king. For the inscription states that it was one-sixth that was levied by the State.¹

The idea of differential taxation was also in the minds of the Tamil kings. In the twenty-sixth year of the reign of Rājādhirāja I, a military officer called Sōlan Kumāraṇ Parāntaka Mārāyaṇ *alias* Rājādhirāja Nilagaṅgaraiyar, of the Chōla country, bought certain uncultivated lands belonging to the temple of Tiruvogṛiyūr at the hands of the officers of the king. The military officer then brought them under cultivation with a view to provide the necessary paddy for the offerings of the god Ādipuranātha on festive occasions. It was agreed to supply annually, as temple share, twenty-eight *kalams* of paddy on each *vēli* of land, while another class (perhaps inferior) supplied only nineteen.² An inscription of the eleventh year of an unidentified Sundara Pāṇḍya enables us to note that discrimination was made by the State in levying rates from lands that yielded and those that did not yield crops. The inscription which was found in the Sundarēśvara temple at Aruppukoṭṭai, Ramnad district, states that the rate at which the taxes were paid was fixed at three *kalam* on each *mā* of land or one-half of what prevailed among the *dēvadāna* lands. In doing this, crops of full yield alone were taken into consideration. Those that had suffered damage or had failed altogether were excluded from the assessment to tax.³

The principle of differential taxation, common over many parts of the country, is best seen in the history of the Tamil lands. The *māhēśvaras*, *sri-rudras*, *dēva-kanmis*, and the temple accounts of the Kaikōlanātha temple at Tirukkalākkuḍi, Ramnad district, in the nineteenth year (?A.D. 1296) of the reign of Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya, granted certain temple lands as the *kāṇippidiḍipāḍu* to one Sundara Pāṇḍya Narasiṅgaḍēvaṇ, stipulating that he should enjoy them after repairing the tanks in disuse and bringing under cultivation such of the lands as were covered with jungle; and that while the lands were being enjoyed in this manner, he should pay to the temple for the *paśāṇ*, a *mēlvāram*⁴ of

¹ E.C., IX, Dv. 75, p. 84.

² Ep. Report for 1913, p. 99.

³ 409 of 1904; Ep. Report for 1915, p. 103.

⁴ "The total annual produce of the cultivated lands of a village is called Uda-vāram; the share received by Government after the deductions above noticed is the Mēl-vāram; and that allowed to the cultivator is the Cudi-vāram, which is now generally commuted for a money payment". Ellis, *Mirasi Right*, p. 43, n. (25), (1818).

one in three : for the cultivation of *தீனை*, *வாகு* etc., as well as the trees *மர*, *பலா* . . . etc., one in five should be given; for cocoanut and areca palms, one in seven, and for dry crops according to the yield, one in seven. In the case of lands which were brought under cultivation by clearing the jungle, he should have to pay one-tenth in the first year, one-ninth in the second year, one-eighth in the third year, one-seventh in the fourth year; and that for all subsequent years a permanent *mēlvāram* of one in three should be paid.¹ We are also told, in an inscription of the eleventh year of his reign, (A.D. 1287), that the *kuḍumi* assessment, which the Naṭarāja temple at Chidambaram was to receive, was 100 *kāsu* in money, and that the *virabhōga* was six *kalams* of paddy on each *vēli* of land.² The fixed rate in the Karṇāṭaka about the same time, according to an inscription of A.D. 1284, was one-seventh.³

When we reach the Vijayanagara times, we meet with a rise in the rate of assessment. In A.D. 1370 it was one-half of the produce. Virappa formed a new village called Śrīgirisamudra in that year, and out of its revenue one-half being assigned to the king, fifty *honnu* were reserved for the god (of the village), and the balance was remitted as *uttār*.⁴ One is inclined to surmise that this was the common rate throughout the Vijayanagara Empire, especially when one relies on the statement of the Portuguese traveller Nuniz. While describing the court and the nobles, he says: "The lands, they say, yield a hundred and twenty *lakhs* of which they must pay sixty to the King, and the rest they retain for the pay of the soldiers and the expenses of the elephants which they are obliged to maintain".⁵ It is not possible to assert, however, that this was the recognized rate of taxation under Vijayanagara. There is sufficient evidence to prove that the Hindu monarchs were not unaware of differential taxation. Namassivāya

¹ 66 of 1916; *Ep. Report* for 1916, p. 123.

² 294 of 1913.

³ *E.C.*, IV, Ng. 38, p. 123.

⁴ *E.C.*, IX, Mg. 49, p. 58.

⁵ Sewell, *For. Emp.*, p. 373. A defaced inscription dated only in the cyclic year Dundubhi, which cannot be assigned to any age with certainty, and which mentions the name of a chief Jagadēva, informs us that cultivators of lands below the tanks in the Kaḍagattūr country must give *śarvivāram* (i.e., equal share of the produce) to the owner, and pay a specified fee for strengthening the tank bunds with stones and earth. 197 of 1910.

Nāyaka, who received as a gift the village of Sembiya-maṅgalam as a *ulavu-kāṇiyākshi*, in the Saka year 1436 (A.D. 1514-15) in the reign of Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya, was required to pay ten *paṇam* and ten *kalams* of paddy in the first year, but in the fifth year fifty *paṇam* and fifty *kalams* of paddy had to be paid.¹ Aubalarāya, in Saka 1477 (A.D. 1555-6), in the reign of Sadāsiva Rāya, is said to have enjoyed two-thirds of the produce for himself, while the remaining portion was evidently given as *mēlvāram* to the temple from which he purchased lands at Ālamūru.²

It has to be admitted that these instances do not invalidate the statement that the incidence of taxation was heavy in some parts of the Empire. There are inscriptions which refer in unmistakable terms to the heavy taxation and the consequent migration of people from their own province to the neighbouring districts because of their inability to pay the taxes. But it may here be noted that we have evidence at the same time of the prompt measures which the State took to redress the grievances of the people, and to make adequate provision for the discontented. The threats which the people sometimes made on such occasions, of calling a sort of general strike or of deserting their homes, were followed by a revenue enquiry by the State, the results of which were generally accepted by the subjects with satisfaction. The earliest mention of dissatisfaction of the people on a large scale is in an inscription dated only in the cyclic year Vibhava, but assignable to the reign of Harihara II. The epigraph relates that the *Kaikkōlars* residing in that quarter of Olakkūru, South Arcot district, which was directly under the temple jurisdiction, migrated in a body and "without paying to the temple deserted the premises and left it in ruins". In consequence of which "the worship in the temple had to be stopped and the doors closed". Subsequently the *Kaikkōlars* were pacified and persuaded to return to their homes, and to pay the assessment decided upon by the State.³

We have another instance of how the Government redressed the grievances of the people. This inscription is also dated only in the cyclic year Plavaṅga, but refers us to the reign of Dēva Rāya II. It registers the command of the king (*rāyasam*)

¹ 389 of 1912.

² 66 of 1915.

³ 354 of 1909; *Ep. Report* for 1910, p. 112.

and the orders of the officers (?) of Arirāya Daṇṇāyaka and Bhikshāvṛitti-Appa, and of the Prince Dēva Rāya Uḍaiyar, ruling over Chandragiri-rājya, to the authorities of the Ādipurīśvara temple at Tiruvorriyūr, Chingleput district, under the following circumstances. The *māhēśvaras* of that temple complained to the king that the tenants, servants, and other residents of the village owned by the temple, had been much distressed by the imposition of taxes such as *jōḍi*, *mugampārvi*, *aṅgsalai*, *sambaḍam*, and *viśēśhādāyam*, and also, by the lease system introduced by Government for adoption by the trustees. For the same reason the worship in the temple too was not conducted as usual. Thereupon it was ordered that the above taxes, together with *arisi-kāṇam*, good bull, good cow, *veṭṭi*, and *kaṭṭāyam*, be thereafter collected by the *māhēśvaras* of the temple; that the leased lands already paid for, be redeemed (by money received from the royal treasury); and that the worship in the temple be revived as before. In connection with the above revenue terms, it may be worth while to note also that the residents of the district (*nāṭṭār* and *tantirimār*) of Viṭṭa-paṇṇu, evidently with the desire of co-operating with the State on a similar occasion, assigned to the temple of Āḍutuṟai the following taxes in the village of Ādisūda-maṅgalam—assessments on wet land, dry land, houses and house-sites, *pēṟkaḍamai*, *tarikadaṁmai*, *āṭṭaikāṇikai*, *nāṭṭu-viniyogam*, *paṭṭiṟai*, *pādāvari*, *āl-maṇji*, *arisi-kāṇam*, *kōṇigai*, *virimuṭṭu*, and *vaṇṇiya-vāri*.¹

In cases of heavy taxation where the State realized that taxes could not be remitted, it effected a compromise by ordering a consolidated amount to be paid by the people. We infer this from an inscription, already cited above, dated Saka 1326 (A.D. 1414-15) during the viceroyalty of Vira Bhūpati Rāya, son of Dēva Rāya Oḍeyar, which informs us that the State ordered the fixing of the amount of consolidated taxes from the weavers, oil-mongers, and the other commercial classes, in return for their burning a perpetual lamp in the temple of Brahmapurīśvara at Perunagar, Chingleput district.² Thus did the people colour a purely governmental affair with the sanctity of a religious obligation.

When the State found that the people proposed to desert their occupancies because of heavy taxation, it conciliated

¹ 223 of 1912; 30 of 1913; *Ep. Report* for 1913, p. 120.

² 367 of 1923. See *supra* p. 182.

them by a reduction in the rate of taxation. The weavers of Perunagar, who seem to have suffered a great deal from heavy taxation, for unknown reasons, according to an inscription dated only in the cyclic year Vibhava, Ādi, 7 of the times of Virūpaṇṇa Oḍeyar (Virūpāksha), received a concession from the State, which reduced certain taxes of theirs and persuaded them to resettle in their original possession, which they had left without paying the government dues.¹ Certain parts of the Ramnad district, too, seem to have been heavily taxed. The Maṇava inhabitants of Vēlaṅguḍi sold land in the last days of the Sāluva usurpation under very distressing circumstances. They had no means of discharging their revenue dues to Government, the reason being that it was the period of occupation by the Kannaḍigas (i.e., the Kaṇṇāṭakas).² What exactly were the circumstances which precluded them from "discharging their revenues dues to Government" cannot be made out, although it is not improbable that there might have lurked unauthorized taxation in some parts of the Empire. The hard times under the Sāluva government have been depicted in some of the epigraphs, one of which we have just noticed above. Another inscription dated Śaka 1426 (A.D. 1504-5) speaks of the revision of the rates by Triṇētranātha Kachchirāyar, son of Palligoṇḍa-Perumāl Kachchirāyar, as they had become exorbitant in the time when the country was in the hands of the Kannaḍigas. The cultivators owing to the oppression had dispersed and the *svarūpa* (?) scattered.³ The chief ordered that the lands (i.e., those in the Padi-nēluppaṇṇu district) might be measured year after year with the standard rod of thirty-four feet; that fifteen *paṇam* (including all items of taxation) be levied on one *mā* of dry land, and twenty *paṇam* on one *mā* of wet land; that towards *arasupēru* one-eighth *paṇam* be levied on each tenant, three *paṇam* on each loom of *Seṭṭis*, two *paṇam* on *Kammāla* agriculturists, three *paṇam* on *Kaikkōla* weavers; and that towards *iḍaituṇai* one-fourth *paṇam* on each cow, half a *paṇam* on each buffalo, and one-quarter *paṇam* on eight sheep be collected.⁴

¹ 370 of 1923.

² 50 of 1916; *Ep. Report* for 1916, p. 141.

³ 247 of 1906; *ibid.*

⁴ *Ep. Report* for 1916, *ibid.* If "one *poṇ* or *varāham* = 10 *paṇam* is accepted, and one *mā* is, as at present, 1/20th of a *vēli*, the assessment fixed by Triṇētranātha Kachchirāyar can in no sense be considered as mild". Krishna Sastri, *Ep. Report* for 1916, *ibid.*

Even in the reign of the greatest Vijayanagara ruler Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya, whose benevolence as an administrator was equalled by his bravery as a soldier, instances are not wanting to show that there was some heavy taxation which called forth prompt action by the government. Excessive taxation, according to an inscription found in the Nityēśvara temple at Srimushṇam, Chidambaram tāluka, South Arcot district, dated in Śaka 1435 (A.D. 1513-14), led to the desertion of ryots; but Sinnappa Nāyaka, brother of Vāśal Ādiyappa Nāyaka, at once investigated the matter and fixed favourable rates.¹ The *nirūpa* which he granted to the agriculturists of seventeen *paṇṇu* district contained the following: The permanent settlement of *kaḍamai*, *kāṇikkai*, *kuḍi*, *māḍu-kaṇikkai puravarai*, and *vinīyōgam* now introduced by Sinnappa Nāyaka who fixed twenty-eight *paṇam* on wet lands and twenty-two on dry lands for such residents as resided in the districts, twenty *paṇam* on wet lands and fifteen *paṇam* on dry lands, for those who were going and coming, and again fifteen *paṇam* on wet lands and ten *paṇam* on dry lands for those that lived outside.² Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya the Great sometimes personally investigated such cases of oppressive taxation. We shall deal with this in detail in a subsequent connection.³

This privilege of representing cases personally to the king was a noteworthy feature of Vijayanagara history. The *Mahāmaṇḍalēśara* Salakayya Dēva Chikka Tirumalayya Dēva Mahā-arasu, the powerful minister and brother-in-law of the Emperor Achyuta Rāya, came to Ādōni in the Śaka year 1454 (A.D. 1532-3) to examine personally the causes of disturbances in the Kavaṭālada sīme in the Ādavāni district. The people of this sīme on being threatened by the injustice of Government officers had obstinately migrated to the Māsaveya-sīme. Salakayya Dēva enquired into their grievances, pacified the people and induced them to reoccupy the Kavaṭāla district by offering them favourable terms of cultivation and occupation. These rights were granted to them in charters called *kavulu*.⁴ In Śaka 1455 (A.D. 1533-4) the artisan classes migrated from Kanagānīpalle-sīme to Pākāla and Kun-diripi-sīmes, on account of heavy taxation, but, as we shall

¹ 246 of 1916.

² *Ep. Report* for 1916, p. 143.

³ See below.

⁴ *Ep. Report* for 1916, pp. 144-5.

see, the State immediately set matters right by remitting their taxes.¹ The migration of people from province to province suggests that the incidence of taxation must have varied from locality to locality.²

That Achyuta Rāya had recourse to oppressive means of raising revenue, and that he sometimes exacted "payments from his captains and people so ruthlessly,"³ is not strange, if we remember that the costly wars and unprecedented liberality of his illustrious predecessor, Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya the Great, coupled with his own campaigns in the south, especially in Travancore, the huge indemnity he had to pay to 'Ādil Shāh, and his benevolence to the people, particularly to the Brahmans, must have had the inevitable result of emptying the royal treasury, driving the monarch to enact measures which proved financially burdensome to the people. What strikes one however is not that Achyuta Rāya should have resorted to the usual stringent means of raising revenue but that he should have continued the tradition of allowing the people the right of direct appeal to the government in times of need.

This feature of Vijayanagara times is also seen in the days of Emperor Sadāśiva Rāya. Complaints from the villagers of Yelahañji, Sōmalāpura, and Untakalu, in the Bellary district, about illegal taxation reached the ears of the Government in Saka 1478 (A.D. 1556-7) in the reign of Sadāśiva Rāya. The *Mahamaṇḍalēśvara* Rāmarāju Viṭṭhalarāja Tirumalarājayya Dēva Mahārāja heard their grievances and stopped the illegal collections of money in these villages, and directed that the fines collected in the villages should be utilized for repairing temple tanks, etc.⁴ The same viceroy in the same year heard from the Brahmans of Rāyadurga-sime, over which he was governing, that a certain Haṣāṇi-Hasu, was collecting by force certain taxes which they were not obliged to pay. After due investigation into accounts, he ordered that these taxes were illegal, that they need not be collected any more, and that

¹ 340 of 1926. *Infra*.

² *Ep. Report* for 1926, pp. 112-13.

³ Sewell, *For. Emp.*, p. 368. *A.S.R.*, for 1908-9, p. 191. But this evidence of Nuniz, it must be remembered, refers not, as the late Mr. Krishna Sastri seemed to suggest, to the ordinary times but to those times when the king was hard pressed for funds. Nuniz is here relating the events that followed the war with 'Ādil Shāh and the huge indemnity the Vijayanagara court had to pay to the Sultan. *B.A.S.*

⁴ 473 of 1923.

finances from people accruing in these *agrahāra* villages may thenceforward be utilized for repairing temples, tanks, ponds and irrigation channels.¹

These instances of heavy taxation, which are at once a proof of the frequently oppressive rule of the Emperors as well as of their readiness to put an end to such burdensome measures, are not to be confounded with their alleged extortion in Tuluva or with the worse actions of the later rulers, who, on the eve of the break-up of the Vijayanagara Empire, governed as independent Nāyakas and Pāleyagāras in the south and west. The imposition of unbearable tax in kind to the extent of 12,000 *muṣas* of rice on the Brahmans of Tuluva by Harihara I, which was increased afterwards to 2,578 *pagodas* is recorded only in later tradition,² and is not corroborated by any contemporary evidence. The deplorable condition of the country under the later Nāyakas has been pictured to us in tradition as well as in the accounts of eye-witnesses.³ Posterity, however, can hardly be justified in condemning the rule of the Vijayanagara monarchs for errors committed by the later rulers. Opinion has been expressed in some quarters that the Hindu kings of Vijayanagara "ground down" their subjects. "Other passages in both these chronicles (i.e., of Paes and Nuniz), each of which was written quite independently of the other, confirm the assertion here made as to the mass of the people being ground down and living in the greatest poverty and distress".⁴ This remark has been made on the strength of the following statement of Nuniz: "They (i.e., the nobles) make it over to the husbandmen who pay nine-tenths to their lord, and they have no land of their own, for the kingdom belongs entirely to the King".⁵ It must be admitted that there is sufficient evidence, as the reader has already noticed, to pass an unfavourable judgment on the Hindu nobles of Vijayanagara. But we may be permitted to observe that a government which lived on

¹ 104 of 1913; *Ep. Report* for 1914, p. 101. The late Mr. Krishna Sastri said about him—"Evidently a Muhammadan chief". I think he was one of the Muhammadan officers under the Vijayanagara Government. See *infra*, Chapter IX. The Army. B.A.S.

² Buchanan, *A Journey*, III, pp. 97, 123. But see Wilks, *Sketches*, I, pp. 152-4 (1810); I, pp. 93-4 (1869), where the rate is given as one-sixth.

³ Taylor, O.M.M.S.S., II, p. 185; Lockman, *Travels of the Jesuits*, II, p. 287. See also Nelson, *Madura Country*, P. III, pp. 149-51.

⁴ Sewell, *For. Emp.*, p. 379, n. (2). See also Moreland, *From Akbar to Aurangzeb*, pp. 244-5, for similar views.

⁵ Sewell, *ibid.*, p. 379.

a systematic policy of extortion could not have held its own for a period of two and a half centuries against immense odds; and further, that if the people were drained to such an extent as Nuniz would have us believe, the Hindus would never have been able to lead a life of intense social and intellectual activity. While it may certainly be granted that the nobles were rapacious in many instances—perhaps owing to a system of government about which we shall speak in great detail in a subsequent section—, it must not be forgotten at the same time that in no age of the history of southern India has oppression been so largely counterbalanced by liberal remissions of taxes to all kinds of people, as was done during all periods of Vijayanagara history. The account of Nuniz is eloquent about the great extortion by the nobles, and consequently about the oppression by the Government; but it is silent about the organized activities of prosperous groups of commercial classes that voted for their over-lords the dues of the country, about the prompt measures the monarchs took to remedy the evils of their government, and, finally, about the irrefutable evidence of innumerable epigraphs which deal with the unparalleled charities of both private and public bodies of men.

SECTION 6. *How Revenue was Paid*

Having seen at some length the nature of the land and revenue administration of Vijayanagara, we may now consider the manner in which it ordered the taxes to be paid. The general belief has been that under the Hindu monarchs the revenue was paid in kind.¹ "There is another peculiarity", writes Ellis in his well known book on the *Mirasi Right*, "which has ever distinguished the Tamil countries, Tondamandalam in particular, from the surrounding nations; it is, that, until the recent innovations enforced by the officers of our own Government, the revenue from all wet lands and very generally from dry field, was through every successive change of dynasty, invariably rendered *in kind*. Among the neighbouring nations the revenue has been paid at a fixed rate in money from a remote period, the assessment being sometimes on a whole village, or, as in Canara, on every *estate (shist)* and sometimes on each field (*tirvei*).

¹ Firishtah, Briggs, *The Rise*, I, pp. 346-7, n.

A complete Register (*Rāyarēkha*) of these assessments, which, as the grant of Immaḍi Sadāśiva Rāyer, the substance of which is noticed after No. II, of the following documents, demonstrates, previously existed, was drawn up during the Vijayanagara government for the whole of the Carnataca and Tuluva countries, constituting what may be called the home provinces of that state, by which, as long as it existed, the demand of revenue was regulated. But money assessments were never extended by those princes, or their dependents, to the Tamil countries, where the immemorial usage of delivering the revenue in kind by fixed *vāram* or scale of division, regulated originally, by the situation and circumstances of each village, was still continued".¹

The conclusion of this admirable treatise deserves, however, to be modified in the light of later research. Apart from the fact that the epigraphs which Ellis utilized in the compilation of his standard work on *Mirasi Right*, are documents which are historically worthless,² it may be questioned on valid grounds whether the system of realizing revenue in money was really an innovation of modern days. It is admitted that taxes were paid in kind under the ancient Hindu governments. Thus in the *Arthaśāstra* provision is made for the inclusion of such taxes in kind among those which were to be levied by the Superintendent of the store-house.³ It is also granted that, as, for example, in the time of Rājarāja I, the revenue was assessed in kind. But the same inscription informs us that it was also realized in money or *kāṣu*.⁴ A record in the seventh year of Sakalālōka-Chakravartin Rāja-Nārāyana Sāmbuvarāya states that the king remitted the taxes payable both in money and in

¹ Ellis, *Mirasi Right*, App. p. xviii (1818 ed.).

² The inscriptions on which Ellis based his remarks as regards Vijayanagara are these: That which referring to the reign of Immaḍi Sadāśiva Rāya begins with a Jaina invocation, deals with the consecration of the image of Gōmaṭa by Chāmuṇḍa Rāya, refers us to the events of the Vijayanagara king Immaḍi Sadāśiva Rāya and is dated Sālivāhana 927! Ins. No. II. Another inscription (No. III.) speaks of Virūpāksha Pratāpa Bukka Rāyulu in S. 1109! A third one (No. I) is dated S. 1339 and deals with the reign of Dēva Rāya. This last one smacks of some authenticity but it has to be referred to the reign of Vira Vijaya, since it cannot be made to reconcile with the known dates either of Dēva Rāya I, or of Dēva Rāya II. See Ellis, *Mirasi Right*, App. (1818 ed.).

³ *Arthaśāstra*, Bk. IV Ch. XV, pp. 112-3.

⁴ *S.I.I.*, II, P. I, pp. 42, 53, 62; P. III, p. 424.

kind on lands whose crops had suffered damage in Kala-vaipagru in the North Arcot district.¹

This ancient custom of levying taxes both in money and kind, as the reader must have gathered from the account of the revenue settlement given in the previous pages, continued under the Vijayanagara government. An order of the minister (*pradhāni*) Sōmaiya Daṇṇāyaka in the reign of Kāmpaṇa Oḍeyar II, according to an inscription found in the Bhūmiśvarasvāmi temple in the Gingee tāluka, South Arcot district, dated only in the cyclic year Kīlaka, was issued remitting the taxes payable in money by certain classes of people inhabiting the *tirumaḍaivilāgam* of the temple of Tiruppū-miśvaramuḍaiyar.² In A.D. 1301 *dēvadānam*, *tiruviḍaiyāt-tam*, *maḍapuṇam* and *paḷlichchandam* were paid in gifts.³ From a sale deed of the revenue of the village of Veppambattu and of Sīru-Kaḍambūr, as recorded in an inscription dated Saka 1328, expired (A.D. 1416-7), we gather that it was assessed both in money and corn.⁴ We have seen from the inscription of Tiruvaigāvūr, relating to the revenue settlement effected in A.D. 1429-30, that the people had to pay taxes in kind as well as in gold.⁵ 'Abdur Razzāq informs us that it was the practice of the country to pay in money. "The usage of the country is that, at a stated period, everyone throughout the whole empire, carries to the mint the revenue (*zar*) which is due from him, and whoever has money due to him from the Exchequer receives an order upon the mint".⁶ A damaged record dated A.D. 1488 deals with a grant of a village with its dry and wet lands and its income in money and grain (*sakala-suvarṇā-dāya-sakala-davasādāya*).⁷ The trustees of the Brihadāmbikā temple at Devakkāpuram, North Arcot district, in the Saka year 1452 (A.D. 1530-31) granted to a certain Ambalat-tāḍi the right of cultivating (*uḷavu-kāṇi*) the *dēvadāna* village of Kāmākshirāvuttantaṅgal and fixed fifteen *paṇam* and twenty *kalam* of paddy to be paid to the temple every year.⁸

¹ 425 of 1905; Rangachāri, *Top. List*, I, NA., 624, p. 107.

² 34 of 1919.

³ E.C., X, Mr. 100, p. 176.

⁴ S.I.I., I, p. 80.

⁵ Ep. Report for 1915, pp. 107, 108 op. cit.

⁶ Elliot, *Hist. of India*, IV, p. 109; Major, *India*, p. 26.

⁷ E.C., II, No. 229, p. 97, text, p. 96.

⁸ 367 of 1912.

SECTION. 7. *Gold Treasury*

The fact of the Hindu government having assessed revenue in money brings us incidentally to the question whether it had any treasury worth the name. We do not know whether the Vijayanagara State maintained the tradition of testing gold by stone which, we are told in an inscription dated A.D. 907, was known to the ancient Tamil people.¹ There are valid reasons to suppose, however, that a government like that of Vijayanagara, which dazzled the world with its splendour, must have had a gold treasury, and perhaps a diamond treasury as well. Foreign travellers, Hindu writers, and engravers are all unanimous about the existence of both in Vijayanagara. The opinion of 'Abdur Razzāq as regards the "universal practice" of the people bringing their revenue in gold to the mint, has already been cited. The Persian ambassador further tells us that the *Danṇāyaka* after his victorious return from Gulbarga, heard of the vile deeds of "Hambah Nunīr", and gave 'Abdur Razzāq "an assignment of 7,000 *fanams* on the mint the very day of his arrival".² The Portuguese chronicler Paes has the following to say about the treasury: "And now I wish you to know that the previous kings of this place for many years past have held it a custom to maintain a treasury, which treasury, after the death of each, is kept locked and sealed in such a way that it cannot be seen by any one, nor opened, nor do the kings who succeed to the kingdom open them or know what is in them. They are not opened except when the kings have great need, and thus the kingdom has great supplies to meet its needs. This king has made his treasury different from those of the previous kings, and he puts in it every year ten million *pardaos*, without taking from them one *pardao* more than for the expenses of his house. The rest remains for him, over and above these expenses and of the expenses in the houses of his wives, of whom I have already told you that he keeps near him twelve thousand women; from this you will be able to judge how great is the richness of this kingdom, and how great the treasure that this king has amassed".³ Then again, "Here I saw a little slab of green jasper, which

¹ S.I.I., III, P. III, p. 237.

² Elliot, *Hist. of India*, IV, p. 122.

³ Sewell, *For. Emp.*, p. 282.

is held for a great thing in this house. Close to where this jasper is, *i.e.*, underneath some arches where is the entrance into the palace, there is a little door closed with some padlocks: they told us that inside it there was a treasury of one of the former kings".¹

'Abdur Razzāq speaks of a centralized treasury, the moneys of which, as in his own case, were used for State purposes, and for the disbursement of the pay of soldiers. Evidently a treasury which could on demand produce 7,000 *fanams* must have been sufficiently well organized. But Paes makes us believe that it was a collection of gold hoarded in vaults to be used only when the kings were in great distress. The remarks of Paes, it is admitted, are supported by those of Nuniz, who, in his description of the capture of the six officers of the King of "Bisnaga" by the soldiers of the Sultan of Delhi, says: "These were made captive and were taken before the King (of Delhi), and the King asked them who they were and how they had escaped, and they told them who they were; at which the King greatly rejoiced, because one of them was the minister of the kingdom and another the treasurer, and the others were leading officers in it. They were questioned by the King concerning the treasures of the King of Bisnaga, and such riches as were buried in the vaults of the fortress were delivered up to him. . . ."² The concluding words of the above, "the treasures of the King of Bisnaga and such riches as were buried in the vaults", seem to corroborate the statement of Paes about the treasures.

But the suggestion implied in the remarks of these two travellers, viz., that the treasury of Vijayanagara consisted of wealth that was hoarded and that it was not used for State purposes, can only be accepted with great reservation; firstly, because of the direct evidence of 'Abdur Razzāq, who speaks from personal knowledge of the existence of a royal treasury and of a mint, the location of which he gives in detail. "Behind the king's palace are the house and hall allotted to the Danaik. To the left of the said palace is the Mint".³ Secondly, there is explicit reference in Hindu literature and inscriptions to

¹ Sewell, *For. Emp.*, p. 286.

² *Ibid.*, p. 295.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 91.

the existence of officers of the royal treasury in Vijayanagara. We believe that the "treasury" which Paes describes is the same place where bullion was stored underneath the ground, about which too 'Abdur Razzāq has also something to say. The Persian ambassador remarks: "In the king's palace are several cells, like basins, filled with bullion, forming one mass".¹ Our surmise that this place which contained bullion could not have been the royal treasury, is based on the evidence found in literature and inscriptions. The *Tanjāvūri Āndhra Rājula Charitra* informs us that on the application made by the Pāṇḍyan king Chandrasēkara, Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya sent his general Nāgama Nāyaka, who is called *Tōṣēkhāna-adhikāri* (Officer of the Treasury) against the refractory Chōla.² Nārāyaṇa Dēva, son of Timmarasa of the treasury of gold, granted in A.D. 1530 two parts of the village of Ballāpura for the annual (*avasara*) *satra* of the god Harihara in Harihara-sīme.³ Four years later we have one of the officers of Achyuta Dēva Rāya called the treasury officer (*bhaṇḍārakke karttarāda*) Timmappayya, probably the same Timmarasa mentioned above.⁴ As distinct from this officer we have evidence of a Palace Treasurer. This latter was called *maneya-bayakāra*. The *maneya-bayakāra* of Achyuta Rāya in A.D. 1535 was Rāmappayya, who was placed over Kandikeṛe-sīme.⁵

It is not possible to find out in what respects the functions of a House or Palace Treasurer differed from those of a *Tōṣēkhāna-adhikāri*. We can only conjecture that the latter may have been in charge of the treasury of the kingdom, and the former, of the personal treasury of the monarch. However that may be, Achyuta Rāya seems to have been careful even as regards the financial stability of the villages. For the villages seem to have had a village treasury. We are told in an inscription, in which unfortunately the name of the village is defaced, that in A.D. 1535 Achyuta Rāya ordered that the immemorial customs dues of that village were to be paid and that they might be made use of for the treasury chest

¹ Sewell, *For. Emp.*, p. 92.

² *The Sources*, pp. 319, 327; Heras, *Aravidu*, p. 121.

³ E.C., XI, Dg. 28, p. 38.

⁴ E.C., IX, Cp. 152, p. 164.

⁵ E.C., XII, Ck. 44, p. 87, text, p. 252.

(*bhaṇḍārada-bokkasa*).¹ References to the officers of the State treasury are also found in later years. Rāma Rāya Nāyaka, having inquired into the disorders of the *agrahāra* of Sadāsivapura, in A.D. 1577, made new grants, and appointed as manager Kṛishṇappayya, son of Nārāyaṇappa of the treasury of gold.² Hariyappa of the palace, son of Nārāyaṇappa of the gold treasury, in A.D. 1583, has left some evidence of his benevolence.³ We are informed that in the same year the treasurer was Koṇḍapparasa, and that his agent Timma Rāja granted certain specified lands to Māgaḍi Keñchamalla Siddaya Gauḍa.⁴

As regards a diamond treasury, we gather that Muttina Lakshmi Setṭi, officer in charge of the *vajra-bhaṇḍārā* or diamond treasury, at Karūru, in the Varuvakoṇḍe-sīme, granted in Saka 1453 (A.D. 1531-32), lands in Gaḍēkallu, Gooty district, to Koṇḍa Jyōsya, son of Purushōttama Bhaṭṭa of Polaki.⁵

While we have, therefore, some evidence for affirming that there was a centralized treasury at the capital, proof is not easily forthcoming to enable us to suppose that the provincial governments had treasuries of their own. Nevertheless there are some inscriptions which suggest that the provincial rulers must have had some kind of treasury to meet current expenses of administration. In A.D. 1506 the *Mahā-prabhu* Vighnēśvara Oḍeyar was placed over Sigalanāḍu, which is described as a province belonging to "Chikka-Rāja Oḍeyar's treasury".⁶ We may conjecture that the miscellaneous tolls for the council and accounts, mentioned in A.D. 1563,⁷ refer to the revenue administration and treasury of the provincial government.

SECTION 8. *Rent from Land*

The system of renting out land was in great vogue in Vijayanagara times.⁸ An enquiry into some of the details

¹ E.C., IX, Cp. 50, p. 142.

² E.C., VIII, Tl. 5, p. 163.

³ *Ibid.*, Tl. 172, p. 199.

⁴ E.C., IX, Cp. 1, p. 137.

⁵ 387 of 1920.

⁶ E.C., IX, Kn. 39, p. 125.

⁷ E.C., V, Hn. 2, p. 2, op. cit. For remarks on provincial revenue, read Satyanātha, *Nāyaks*, pp. 243-8. Nelson's conjectures may also be read. *Madura Country*, P. III, pp. 179-80.

⁸ Rice, *My. Gss.*, I. p. 475, (1st ed.); I, p. 584, seq. (Rev. ed.) for remarks on land rent.

relating to rent from land leads us to the question whether the method by which it was derived can in any way be identified with the method by which the kings of Vijayanagara received revenue from their viceroys. In other words, it is important to know the difference between the status of provincial governors, whom the Central Government placed over large districts, and that of the farmers and other people, who agreed to pay a stipulated sum to the rulers for having received from them certain productive agencies, for a definite time. Mr. Moreland writes thus: "The practice of appointing provincial Governors on farming terms prevailed in the Hindu Empire of Vijayanagar, and it is probable that the farming system extended down from the province to the village under the Empire, as it certainly did in this region after the Empire had collapsed".¹ In another place, Mr. Moreland states the following: "As to the Hindu territories in the south, we know from a large number of references in the Dutch records that farming was the regular practice from Pulicat at least as far as Negapatam. The farms were, sometimes at least, of short duration, for we read that the nāyak of Tanjore put in new governors almost every month (doubtless an exaggeration); and the post commonly went to the highest bidder in Tanjore, and also in Pulicat. From time to time we hear of severity and extortion".²

We shall not concern ourselves with what the later Dutch records have to say on the matter, since we are able to ascertain with the aid of contemporary foreign evidence corroborated by trustworthy local records, the actual state of affairs in the Hindu Empire. At the outset it may be stated that in the passages given above, Mr. Moreland confounds two distinct systems prevalent under Vijayanagara—the granting of a fief to lords or noblemen under what was essentially a military tenure, and the leasing out of lands, groves, liquor shops, and the like, on what was purely a contract system. The former question will be dealt with in its proper place;³ for the present, we may note that the confusion between the two systems arises out of the futility of maintaining that the contract system—which for practical

¹ Moreland, *Agrarian System of Moslem India*, p. 12, n. (2).

² Moreland, *From Akbar to Aurangzeb*, p. 244.

³ *Infra*, Chapter VI. Administration—Local Government and Corporate Life in Political Matters.

purposes, may be here taken to mean the farming system—was an innovation brought by the Muhammadans, and that as such it was unknown to the land before their advent into southern India. From contemporary epigraphs we know that the rulers of Vijayanagara appointed, at first, members of the royal family as viceroys over the provinces; that the most important provinces were, at least for the greater part of Vijayanagara history, directly controlled by the nearest relations of the Emperor himself; that famous generals and noblemen were raised to the rank of governors; and that, as in the famous instance of Virūpaṇṇa Oḍeyar, the tenure of office of a viceroy sometimes extended over a period of twenty years. Foreign travellers do not give us these details, but they have a few observations to make on the nature of the system of conducting the provincial government. Paes narrates the following: “These captains whom he has over these troops of his are the nobles of his kingdom; they are lords, and they hold the city, and the towns and villages of the kingdom; . . . and as each one has revenue so the king fixes for him the number of troops he must maintain, in foot, horse and elephants”.¹ According to Nuniz: “Within these nine days (i.e., of the great Mahānavami festival) the King is paid all the rents that he receives from his kingdom; for, as already stated, all the land belongs to the King, and from his hand the captains hold it. . . only the captains are put to charges on account of the troops for whom the King makes them responsible, and whom they are obliged to provide in the way of service”.² Neither of these contemporary witnesses says that the Provincial governors, the lords, and the captains of Vijayanagara enjoyed their estates on a contract or farming system. On the other hand, their observations conclusively prove that the nobles held land—“the city, the town and the village of the kingdom”—on military tenure, that is to say, they were obliged to supply the ruler with troops in virtue of the fiefs which they held at the hands of the king. There cannot be any divergence of opinion, we believe, about the fact of the fief system having been indigenous to the land.³

¹ Sewell, *For. Emp.*, p. 280.

² *Ibid.*, p. 379.

³ Floris speaks of “a great Officer under the King, which farmeth out his Revenues” in A.D. 1611. Floris, *Purchas, Pilgrims*, III, p. 321. But this refers to Masulipatam which was outside Vijayanagara influence.

We now come to the contract or farming system. It may be interesting to know Mr. Moreland's conception of the farming system: "The idea underlying the method of farming the King's share seems to have been that an officer appointed to administer a province, or smaller area, could effect a great administrative simplification by undertaking to pay a fixed sum representing the net revenue of his charge, thus relieving the executive of all detailed financial responsibilities in regard to it".¹ In another connection Mr. Moreland speaks of the "new system". "It is a noteworthy fact that in the seventeenth century the agrarian system of the Vijayanagar territory was practically identical with that of the Moslem kingdom of Golconda, and it is most unlikely that the former should have borrowed a new system from the latter: the more probable inference is that Farming had become established as the mainstay of the Hindu agrarian system in the South by the end of the thirteenth century, and that 'Alā-ud-din Khaljī took it over at the time when he acquired the territories which later became the kingdoms of the Deccan.'"²

If "Farming had become established as the mainstay of the Hindu agrarian system in the south by the end of the thirteenth century", one fails to see how it could ever have been "a new system" introduced by the Muhammadans.³ Without entering into the question whether farming had become established as the mainstay of the Hindu agrarian system prior to the rise of the sons of Saṅgama, we may note a few facts about the futility of asserting that farming was an innovation brought by the Muhammadans into southern India. Farming or contract system existed in the south—if not also in the north—when the newcomers came to the land. This is proved by the measures which Ghyas-ud-din Tuglaq, Muhammad Tuglaq, and Firūz Shāh took to stabilize their revenues. We have to add to this the testimony of epigraphs which speak of the *guttige*, *guttage*, *gutta*, or *guttu*, and of four different names in connection with it, as distinct from the fixed rent or *siddhāya*, in pre-Muhammadan times in southern India. From both these

¹ Moreland, *Ag. Sy.*, p. 10.

² *Ibid.*, p. 12.

³ For a detailed account of the farming system under the Muhammadans, read Metthwold, *Relations of Golconda*, p. 11.

sources it is clear that farming or contract system was also indigenous to the country.

Mr. Moreland gives the following about Ghyās-ud-dīn Tuglaq: "A third element in the policy of Ghiyāsuddīn was his insistence on the dignity of provincial Governors, and a correspondingly high standard of conduct on their part. It is clear that, at his accession, speculative farming of the revenue was common; and the Ministry was crowded with touts and pests of various kinds, whose functions have to be guessed from the designation applied to them: 'spies', 'farmers,' 'enchancement-mongers,' and 'wreckers'. The King put a stop to the activities of these pests, and chose his Governors from the nobility; he ordered that they were to receive all due consideration from the audit-staff of the Ministry; but he made it clear that their position and dignity would depend on their own conduct".¹ While the prevalence of the farming system in pre-Muhammadan times is implied in the statement that "speculative farming of the revenue was common" at the accession of Ghyās-ud-dīn, the fact of the existence of the contractors is proved by the following in the *Ta'rikh-i-Firūz Shāhi* written by Zīā-ul-Dīn Barani. "He (Ghyās-ud-dīn Tuglaq) fixed the land tax on principles of moderation, on the actual produce, and he took away innovations and levying of tax based on estimated crop. And he did not listen to the words of the speculators and the offers of those who out-bade others, and the applications of the contractors (*muqātia-garam*) about the Iqtas (revenue assignments) and the domains of the kingdom".² In connection with the rebellion of Nizām Mayin of Karra, Barani tells us the following: "For sheer vanity and recklessness he (Nizām Mayin) took the contract (*muqātia-girift*) for a couple of *lacs*, and became disconcerted when he found that he could get nothing out of it, and he could not get one-tenth of what he had undertaken to pay," and, therefore, he rebelled against Muhammad Tuglaq.³ Barani further informs us about the contractors,

¹ Moreland, *Ag. Sys.*, p. 42.

² Zīā-ul-Dīn Barani, *Ta'rikh-i-Firūz Shāhi*, text, p. 429. (*Bibl. Indica*, Vol. 33, 1848). For this as well as the other passages from Barani, I am indebted to my friend and fellow-student, Dr. K. M. Ashraf. B.A.S.

³ Barani, *ibid.*, p. 487. Cf. Moreland, *Ag. Sys.*, p. 47. One looks in vain for the significant details of the contractors, while dealing with these rulers, in Mr. Moreland's book! B.A.S.

while writing about Firūz Shāh : "He (the King) would not permit any contractors and the spoilers and prospectors to go about his Iqtas and domains".¹ The fact that the early Sultans put an end to these contractors proves that the latter could never have belonged to "a new system" introduced by the Muhammadan rulers.

There is every reason to believe that the farming or contract system existed from early times in southern India. Mr. Moreland's conception of farming as given in one of the above passages cannot be applied to the conditions in Hindu India, either during or before Vijayanagara times. The centralized system of revenue administration under the early Tamil and Karnāṭaka kings,—about which we have mentioned a few details in this treatise,—precludes any idea of supposing that officers, who were appointed to administer provinces, undertook to pay a definite sum representing the net revenue of their charge, in their capacity as holders of contracts. These officers were certainly granted large provinces, or, as in the instance of the smaller officials, small estates; but they were distinct from the holders of the contracts or the *guttars* or the *gutteddārs*, as they are even today called in many parts of southern India.

That the people did not confound the revenue from the *guttus* with that derived from land leased out, or granted as an endowment, to tenants, is evident from the term *siddhāya* givn to the fixed rent. A stone inscription dated A.D. 1184 mentions the fixed rent of the immemorial *agrahāra* of Jambūr.² From inscriptions dated about the same time, it is clear that the *guttige* system had already become native to the land. In fact, there is reason to suppose that it was not known in the middle of the tenth century. A stone inscription dated about A.D. 960 of the times of Bira (Vīra) Nōlambādhirāja, informs us that Komāra-maṅgaḷam Oḍeyar Nāgamayya's son Kaṇṇayya and Saṅkarayya gave to one hundred and eight Brahmans of Kuṇambūr fifteen *gadyāna* of gold for daily providing one *parivaḍi* to anyone who stopped in the Kuṇambūr *gutte* as a permanent endowment (*ondu-parivaḍi Kuṇambūra gutteyo!*

¹ Barani, *Ta'rik-i-Firūz Shāhi*, p. 575. Cf. Moreland, *Ag. Sys.* pp. 59-60.

² *E.C.*, VII, Sk. 145, p. 107, text, p. 256.

ār iḷdoḍam chandrādittiyarkaḷ ullimam etc.).¹ This may be understood to mean that not only free provision was made for any traveller resting in the Kuṇambūr *gutte*—which, we suppose, is another although rare form of the more common *gutte*—but that even Brahmans in the tenth century held contracts under persons whose official status cannot be determined in the inscription.

Our assumption that Brahmans also, like the agricultural and commercial classes, held contracts is based on another stone inscription dated A.D. 1104 which speaks of *bhaṭṭa-guttas*. The record relates that Iṣvarayya Nāyaka with the knowledge of the townsmen of the great royal city of Balligāve, of the five *maṭhasthānas* and of Daṇḍanāyaka Gōvindarasa, having purchased certain land (specified), granted it for the offerings of the god Narasiṃha in A.D. 1104. And it was agreed on this occasion that “the ministers for peace and war of the Vanavāsi Twelve thousand will give one *gadyāna* a year, the *bhaṭṭa-gutta* one *pa*, the king’s servants ten *vi* (*mattam Vanavāsi-dvādaśa-sahasrādhikārigala saṇḍhi-vigrahigaḷu varsha prati kuḍuva ga 1 bhaṭṭa-guttaru pa 1 arasālgalu vi 10*).² We are unable to ascertain the official position of the *bhaṭṭa-guttas*, who are here classed with the king and the ministers for peace and war. Nevertheless it may not be far wrong to assume that the term *bhaṭṭa-guttas* was obviously used in connection with Brahmans who held some unspecified kinds of *guttas*.

That there were four different kinds of *guttas* is proved by other epigraphs. Thus in about A.D. 1150 the *Seṭṭi-guttas* are mentioned together with the *gavaṇegas*, *gātrigas*, *seṭṭis*, *aṅkakāras*, *vīras*, *bīra-vanigas*, *gandigas*, *gāvunḍas*, and *gāvunḍasvāmis*.³ The *Seṭṭi-guttas* referred to here were evidently owners of what may be called commercial *guttas*. We come across this name also in another inscription of the same period, assigned to about the year A.D. 1180.⁴ From a record dated A.D.

¹ E.C., X, Ct. 43, p. 251; P. II, p. 313. This epigraph is dated *Saka nṛipa Kalātita-sambatsara-satanigaḷ enṇu-nūra-ayvatta-mūzaneya Raudriyemba sambatsara pravarttisuttire*. Rice commented thus on the date “So in the original: Saka 853 expired=Khara, Raudri=883.” Translit. p. 317. n. (1). According to Swamikannu, Khara=853; Raudri=882. *Ind. Ep.*, II, pp. 264, 322.

² E.C., VII, Sk. 131, p. 100, text, p. 242.

³ *Ibid.*, Sk. 118, p. 87.

⁴ E.C., X, Kl. 170, p. 56. From these two epigraphs one may conclude that *Seṭṭi-guttas* belonged to the *Vīra Baṇajiga* sect.

1287 we can infer that *Seṭṭi-guttas* were persons of some importance. The *Nāḍ-Seṭṭi-Gutta* Chaladaṅka Rāma Seṭṭi, along with a number of prominent persons of Bemattanūru, in that year, caused to be written and gave to Perumāla Dēva, the famous general of the Hoysala king Narasiṁha, a gift of imposts (specified) for rebuilding the Kurubara Kāleya tank in Bemattanūru.¹ *Seṭṭi-guttas* also figure under the Yādava rulers. An inscription dated A.D. 1271, while praising Bettūr, situated in the middle of the Pāṇḍya-dēsa, also speaks highly of its *maneyars*, *seṭṭi-guttas*, *gaudas*, and *ūr-oḍeyars*.²

Another kind of *guttu* is mentioned under the name *guttige-piṇḍa-dāna*. An inscription assigned to the year A.D. 1210 informs us the following: "The *gaudike umbali* of Amitya-dannāyaka in Amṛitapura, together with the garden, was five *maṭṭas* of rice land by the Gaṅga pole. Its boundaries. Whoever plants areca gardens in the land of the god Amṛitēśvara in this Amityapura will always pay as *guttige-piṇḍa-dāna* three *paṇa* per *kamba* according to the Gaṅga pole. On their planting the pits and making an areca garden, they will pay at this rate as soon as the trees come into bearing. And these gardens will be open to mortgage or sale".³ It appears from the above epigraph that *guttige-piṇḍa-dāna* was a sort of fee levied from those who planted areca trees in an areca garden belonging to a temple.

We assume that the *guttige-piṇḍa-dāna* thus derived from areca gardens was related to the *kaṭṭu-guttige-piṇḍa-dāna* mentioned in the epigraphs. In A.D. 1193 the greater leader Chamūnātha Eṇega made a grant of Chiyaṇa-Sāliyūru in Muddha-Kundāni-vṛitti in the Sāntalige-naḍ of his government, with freedom from all imposts, for the first eighteen *gadyāna* payable to the treasury, and freedom from *kaṭṭu-guttige-piṇḍa-dāna*, to the *rāja-guru* Vāmasakti Dēva of the great temple of Kēdāra in the royal city of Baḷipura

¹ Rice, *My. Ins.*, p. 12; *E.C.*, XI, Cd. 12, dated A.D. 1286, p. 4; see text, p. 11, for the names which are not given in the translation.

² Rice, *ibid.*, p. 22, where the passage in question has been wrongly translated thus: "And the greatness of its *Manneya Setti* and *Guttara-Gauda* was as follows." The error is rectified in *E.C.*, XI, Dg. 13, p. 28, text, p. 69.

³ *E.C.*, VI, Tr. 43, p. 110, text, pp. 433-4.

(Baḷḷigāme).¹ Another record dated A.D. 1252 informs us that the great ministers of the Hoysala king Sōmēśvara Dēva, Kēśirāja Daṇṇāyaka, Billayya Daṇṇāyaka, Beṭṭayya Daṇṇāyaka, made grants of land for the decorations and illuminations of the god Kēśava of Kēśavapura *alias* Belugali. One of their sons named Kēṣiyaṇṇa granted additional land to the Brahmans enjoining that the latter were to pay forty *gadyāṇa* a year for the services of the god Kēśavēśvara together with *kaṭṭu-guttige*.² Our assumption that the *guttige-piṇḍa-dāna* was related to *kaṭṭu-guttige* is proved by an inscription assigned to about A.D. 1450 which relates that Viṭṭhaṇṇa and Hariyappa made a grant of land on the terms of a *śrōtra-agrahāra kaṭṭu-guttage-vṛitti* for the purpose of planting areca trees. And Tammaya Nāyaka with the consent of his relatives (*tamma śrī-putra jñāti-sāvanta-dāyādānumata aliyaṇḍiramakkaḷu sahita sarvvaika matyavāgi*), of his own free will, gave the stone *sāsana* and the copper *sāsana* and the *kaṭṭu-guttage-patra sāsana*.³

In the mediaeval treatise of Śukrācharya, as we have already observed, reference may be found to one of the features of the *guttige* system. "Having determined the land revenue of the village the king should receive it from one rich man in advance, or guarantee (for the payment) of that either by monthly or periodical instalments. Or the king should appoint officers called *grāmapas* by paying one-sixteenth, one-twelfth, or one-eighth, or one-sixth of his own receipts".⁴ Receiving revenue from one man in advance is essentially of the nature of the *guttige* system, although we admit that Śukrācharya does not make any provision for the element of bidding which is the most prominent, and, at the same time, the worst feature of the *guttige* system. Whether reference to this system is found in the *Sukranīti* or not is outside our purpose, since on the

¹ Rice, *My. Ins.*, p. 107; E.C., VII, Sk. 105, p. 78. Rice translates the passage thus: 'freedom from *kaṭṭu-guttige* and *piṇḍa-dāna*'. But the original, especially when read in the light of the epigraph related to Aṛmitapura cited above, does not warrant the separation of *piṇḍa-dāna* from *kaṭṭu-guttige*: *gadyāṇam hadineṇṭakke sarvanamasya kaṭṭu-guttige-piṇḍa-dāna sarvva-bādhā-parihārav* etc. Text pp. 199-200.

² E.C., V, P. I, Cn. 242, p. 226. The above error is repeated here. But the original clearly says: 'A Kēśavēśvara-dēvara-śrī-kāryyake *kaṭṭu-guttige-piṇḍa-dānavāgi, ā-mahā-janaṅguḷu* etc. Part II, text, p. 674.

³ E.C., VIII, Tl. 194, p. 206.

⁴ *Sukranīti*, IV, ii, ll. 248-52, p. 149, op. cit.

strength of the evidence of epigraphs, we may definitely assert that, long before the Muhammadans came to southern India, the farming or contract or *guttige* system had already come to stay in the country as a noteworthy feature of the agrarian life of the people.¹

We may now consider questions relating to rent. An inscription of A.D. 1229 mentions rents, shares, and other details of a *sameya-sāsana*. Shares of a particular kind were called *ōhaḷa*.² The rental in the Vijayanagara times was known as *sotta* (*sūtra*) *guttige*, and the grant which embodied it, *sotta-guttigeya-kallu-paṭṭe* (stone roll of the rental). This we gather from an epigraph dated A.D. 1533.³ Yeṛeme Nāyaka in A.D. 1498, gave to Nañjaṇa Seṭṭi and Rāma Seṭṭi of Maṭhakeṛe, for the boundary erected by the Oḍagere sub-tenants, on the south side of Horanahallī, seven *gadyāṇa* as a *sūtta guttige*.⁴ This same donor, who is called in an inscription of the same year, Yarama Nāyaka, together with Narasaṇṇa Nāyaka, granted to Gaṇāchari Liṅga a *sūtra guttige* of thirty *gadyāṇas*.⁵ The hereditary nature of the holding of a *sotta guttige* is made clear in an inscription dated about A.D. 1560 which informs us that a certain Ara bemalā Dēva of Agara, the immemorial Durgga *agrahāra* gave for the (?) carpenters, potters, goldsmiths, and barbers,whoever is in enjoyment of the *guttige* land granted by our father. . . . Timmayya, will pay rent as follows for that *guttige* . . . ? carpenters, five *gadyāṇa*; goldsmiths, eight; potters eight; barbers, eight;

¹ As regards the remarks of foreign travellers, who, often confound the *rent* (i.e., revenue) paid by the viceroys to the Central Government with the rent derived from land and the income derived from the farming system, e.g., in the case of the main gate of the capital—which, as we shall presently relate, yielded according to Nuniz, 12,000 *pardaos* a year,—allowance must be made for their unfamiliarity with the agricultural habits of the people and revenue terms current in the country. B.A.S.

² E.C., V, P. I. Ak. 128, p. 171.

³ *My Arch. Report* for 1920, p. 42. According to Mr. R. Narasimhachar *sotta* seems to be derived from *śrōtriya*. But it is more probable that *sotta* may have been the corrupt form of *sūtra*. The term *sūtra guttige* refers to the rental system, while *śrōtriya* was the name given to a village granted to a temple and a number of Brahmans. Thus in A.D. 1468 Hosahallī is called the *śrōtriya* village situated in Kuruvāṅka-nāḍ-vēṇṭheya given as a gift by Dēva Rāja of Nāgamaṅgala to the god Rāmachandra together with 76 Brahmans of Harahu. E.C., III, Sr. 139, p. 33. *Śrōtriya* is also the name given to one of the judges who sits in a law court. *Gautama*, XXVIII, 49-50, p. 310. *Infra*, Chapter VII. Justice and Oppression.

⁴ E.C., IV, Hg. 97, p. 78.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Hg. 35, 36, p. 71.

for outhouses, one *gadyāṇa* per house".¹ We may note in this connection that some kinds of quit-rent were called the prime minister's quit-rent (*pradhāni-jōḍi*), the *karaṇam*'s quit-rent (*karaṇika-jōḍi*), and the village watchman's quit-rent (*talavārike-jōḍi*).² "Fixed rent" (*siddhāya*) was the name given to a consolidated amount of rent payable by the people to the State. Thus Sadāśiva Nāyaka and Rāma Rāya Nāyaka, in about A.D. 1545, granted to Benakappa Setṭi of Āraga and others, a *dharma-sāsana* in confirmation of that granted by Harihara Oḍeyar. "Harihara Oḍeyar made the dharma that for the Āraga city the fixed rent and combined dues should be 100 *varāha*. Customs and watchmen's dues at the former rate. Thus much will we continue".³ Rent was paid, if we may be allowed to repeat, in money. Thus in about A.D. 1570 a certain Nāyaka gave to the *agrahāras* of the Āraga-Gutti-śime land having a money rent of 415 *varāha*.⁴ The residents of the *brahma-dēya* village of Tirupputtūr, in Kērala-siṅga-vaḷa-nāḍu, in Śaka 1421 (A.D. 1499-1500), were allowed to enjoy their rent-free lands without imposition of any cess or service.⁵ Such rent-free villages in the Tamil lands were also called *taṇ-yur*,⁶ and in the Kaṛṇāṭaka *urmbali*.

The system of farming out revenues was extended to all sources that were exceptionally productive. Forests, in some instances, were also leased out. In the revenue settlement effected in A.D. 1429-1430, as we have seen, re-claimed forest was taxed.⁷ Trees, especially the areca palms, were likewise rented out. Narasimha Bhaṭṭa, son of Liṅga Bhaṭṭa, in A.D. 1547, gave as *uttār* the fixed rent of seven *haṇa* on 500 areca-nut trees bought by him in the Tālakōḍu-kōhu from the people of Hedese-Tālakōḍu.⁸ Fisheries were also leased out. *Daḷavāyi* Sēvappa Nāyaka, according to an inscription dated only in the cyclic year

¹ E.C., IV, Jl. 62, p. 33.

² S.I.I., II, P. II, p. 119.

³ E.C., VIII, Tl. 15, p. 166.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Tl. 18, p. 166.

⁵ 89 of 1908.

⁶ 386 of 1905 dated S. 1292 Sādhāraṇa unden Kāmpaṇa II; 390 of 1905 dated S. 1295.

⁷ *Ep. Report* for 1915, p. 107, op. cit. This was almost a violation of the classical principles. For Vasishṭha enjoins the following: 'No taxes (shall be paid) on the usufruct of rivers, dry grass, forests (places of) combustion and mountains. *Vasishṭha*, XIX, 26, p. 99, also *ibid.*, 27-8, p. 99.

⁸ E.C., VI, Sg. 10, p. 95.

Vikrama, Tai, 5, but presumably of the times of Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya, made a gift of the income from the lease of fishery in the tank at Koḍungālūr, in the North Arcot district, for purposes of deepening the tank, for the merit of Tirumala Nāyaka, the Agent of the king.¹ We may conjecture in this connection that the viceroys of the south, especially of Madura, also leased out the famous pearl-fisheries, although there is no proof to support our statement.

We may likewise surmise that the people must have been slack in the matter of paying their rent, and that on being pressed by the officials of the government, they must have raised the necessary amount to pay their landlords or the government. For, as regards the question of their withholding the rent, the people could refer to the precedent set by the inhabitants of the earlier times. An inscription dated A.D. 1139 tells us how the ancient government sent a reminder to the people. "These *hon* you should pay without opposition and without keeping back, with the first payment of rent. The payment should be made from the first day of the order. (*patihale-paḍiya-devasam*.)"² That in Vijayanagara times, too, rents were in arrears we gather from the following inscription dated A.D. 1524 which deals with a grant from the head of the Sringeri Maṭha, Rāmachandra Bhārati, to Sūrappa Sēnabōva, a Brahman of Kārkaḷa. "The village of Kēla Bellūr which, on account of the rent from the proprietors (named) being in arrears, was granted free of tax to the Srī-maṭha, do we give you as a share, through love of the god Vidyāśaṅkara."³

SECTION 9. Customs and Other Minor Sources

A most fruitful field of State revenue was made up of customs. In the *Sukranīti* the term *śulka* or duty is used in connection both with customs and excise. It is to be collected at the market-places, streets and mines.⁴ It is to be realized only once, either from the buyer or from the seller. If the seller has to part with the commodity at a loss, no duty is to be paid by him. In that event the buyer

¹ 145 of 1924.

² E.C., V., P. I. Cn. 200, p. 210.

³ E.C., VI, Sg. 21, p. 98.

⁴ *Sukranīti*, IV, ii, l. 212, p. 147; Sarkar, *Pos. Back*, Bk. II, P. I, pp. 117-8.

has to pay it.¹ The same authority gives the normal rate as one-thirty-second, which could rise to one-sixteenth.² We have no evidence to judge whether this percentage was kept up by the Vijayanagara government. Neither are we in a position to say whether it levied duties at the mines, although, as remarked elsewhere, there were mines in the Empire. But the customs duties levied at market-places and at the principal gates of the capital were called *suṅkam*. Rice classifies these under three headings: *sthāla-ādāyam* or customs on goods imported to be sold at one place; *mārga-ādāyam* or duties on goods in transit through a district; and *māmūl-ādāyam* levied on goods exported to foreign countries.³ The different centres where customs dues were collected were called *thāṇa* (*thāṇya*?) and *kaṭṭe*.

A very brief historical sketch of the customs duties as understood in pre-Vijayanagara days may not be out of place here. In the early times, too, customs duties formed an important part of the State revenue. We may also observe that even betel-leaf sellers had to pay duties. Thus the betel-leaf sellers in A.D. 1074 had to pay *okkal deṇe*,⁴ which seems to have been more of the nature of a tax or an impost rather than that of the *ādāyam* of the later age. However, the customs and imposts as known in the Kaṇṇāṭaka went by the general names of *herjuṅka* and *vaḍḍu-rāvula*.⁵ Officers of the government were placed over the *perjuṅka* or Big Customs. Sometimes, as in A.D. 1111, these superior officers were called *pērggaḍe*.⁶ The rates of the duties in the Tamil land, according to an inscription dated in the tenth year of Jaṭavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya, were the following: half a *paṇam* on each bundle of female cloths, one quarter *paṇam* on each *podī* of pepper, one quarter *paṇam* on each *podī* of areca-nuts: one quarter *paṇam* on each gold piece (*poṇ*) tested by rubbing, two *kāṣu* on each *podī* of rice; one *kāṣu* on each *podī* of paddy; and one *kāṣu* on each head-load.⁷ But these rates often varied in different provinces.

Sukranīti, IV, ii, l. 219, p. 147, n. (2).

Ibid., IV, ii, ll. 216-217, p. 147.

Rice, *My. Gaz.*, I, p. 477 (1st ed.), I, p. 583 (Rev. ed.), Rice's other remarks on this page are interesting.

E.C., VIII, Sb. 299, p. 52.

Rice, *My. Ins.*, pp. 79-125. These names occur frequently in inscriptions. B.A.S.

E.C., XI, Jl. 9, p. 85.

Ep. Report for 1915, p. 104. Cf. *E.C.* IV, Ng. 38, p. 123, text, p. 349.

With what scrupulous care the Vijayangara monarchs looked after the customs is told to us by 'Abdur Razzāq. "The fortress. . . is made of stone and mortar, with strong gates, where guards are always posted, who are very diligent in the collection of taxes, *jizyāt*".¹ Nuniz gives us the amount of the revenue derived by the State from customs. He describes the city of Nāgalāpura: "It now yields forty-two thousand *pardaos* of duties for things which enter into it, the duties in this land being very great; since nothing comes through the gates that does not pay duty, even men and women, as well as head-loads, and all merchandise".² Then again, while describing the great tank built by Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya, the same chronicler writes: "Above this tank is a very large ridge all enclosed, and in the middle some very strong gates with two towers, one on one side and one on the other; and within are always posted 1,000 men on guard. For through this gate all things must enter that come into the two cities, since in order to enter the city of Bisnaga there is no other road but this, all other roads meeting there. This gate is rented out for 12,000 *pardaos* each year, and no man can enter it without paying just what the renters ask, country folk as well as strangers. . . and every day there enter by these two gates 2,000 oxen, and every one of these pays three *vintēes* ("about 3½d" [?]), except certain polled oxen without horns, which never pay anything in any part of the realm".³ Nuniz, therefore, confirms the evidence of 'Abdur Razzāq about the strictness and care with which the State collected customs duties at the main gates of the capital. The Portuguese chronicler speaks of the main gates being "rented out for 12,000 *pardaos* each year",⁴ and herein we have an example of the *guttige* system so common in other parts of the Empire. Castanheda also informs us that this system of letting out gateways on contract yielded immense revenue. While describing the *thānas* around Goa, he says that the *tanadaris* (i.e., *thānyadāra*?) in that region realized an income "of more than 500,000 gold *pardaos*".⁵

The names of some of the prominent *thānas* in the western parts of the Vijayanagara Empire are given in an

¹ Elliot, *Hist. of India*, IV, p. 106; Sewell, *For. Emp.*, p. 90.

² Sewell, *ibid.*, pp. 363-4.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 365-6, & p. 366, n. 3.

⁴ Cf. Hayavadana Rao, *I.A.*, XL, p. 272.

⁵ Sewell, *ibid.*, p. 143.

inscription dated A.D. 1606. They were the following: Ikkēri, Sadāsiva, Sāgara, Sīrivaṇṭe, Kesanūr, Tavanidhi, Gutti, Jaḍeya, Kupaṭūr, Soraba, Togarasi, Kabūr, Uḍu-ḡaṇi, Jambūr, Mahādēvapura, Kumbasi, Hāranahaḷḷi, Ānaṇḍapura, Mosarūr, Pombuchcha, Dānivāsa, Araga, Durgga, Āgumbe, Kōvi, Bāḡuṇḡi, Beḷare, Kalasa, Mēgunda, Kiga, Nemmāru, Muttūru, Muḍe, Kāru, Bidirūru, Hulikallu, Hannara, Karaūru, Saulanāḍu, Sāvaṇṭanakatte, Bhārangi, and Āvinahaḷḷi.¹ From an inscription dated A.D. 1542, it appears that the superior officer, who was responsible for customs dues, was called *nāyaka*, and his office, *pārūpatya*;² while the officials under him, as we shall see presently, were known as the *adhikāris* of the *hejjuṅka*. Two *adhikāris* are mentioned in A.D. 1518.³

We may now attempt to form an idea of the goods that had to pay customs dues and of the rate of duties levied by the Government. A copper plate grant dated A.D. 1382 mentions a great array of goods and the rate of customs the people had to pay on them. The annual dues were as follows: Immovable property: for light assessment villages (*sthāvara sthālaka hoṅguttageya grāmakke*) 1 *bēle* per *gadyāṇa*, for villages cultivated on half share (*vāravan ikkuva grāmaṅgaḷige*), 1 *bēle* per *gadyāṇā*, according to the rent payable in money; for rice and grain 2 *bēle* per *khanduga* for government and private shares united (*bhatta nānādhānya irāya prati-khaṇḍuga ondakke ibbala*). Particulars of the dues payable on grain carried by pack bullocks (*mūleya svāmyada vivara*): for the *nava ratna* (nine kinds of grain?) [=gems?] 2 *fanams* per *gadyāṇa* reckoned on the price. Perfumes: fresh camphor 1 *hāga* per *kuruju* (or *kūru*); *panne* (?) 1 *bēle* per *kuruju*; musk 1 *bēle* per *tōla*; the red flower *crocus sativa* 1 *hāga* each; dark sandal chips (*agilu*) 1 *aḍḍa* per *tōla*; sandal wood 1 *hāga* per *tōla*; *sāndu javādi punugu pratikanaju* three per *hāga*; *vastra paika dēvagiri javali* 1 *bēle* (? cloths from Dēvagiri); wedding cloths 1 *viśa*; white cloths 80 pieces to a *maḷavi*, 1 *aḍḍa*; silk cloths 1 *aḍḍa* per *tōla*; raw silk, 1 *hāga* per *tōla*; spun cotton 1 *aḍḍa* per *maḷavi*; cotton 1 *hāga* per *maḷavi*; wool, (*kambali*? blankets?) 1 *hāga* per *maḷavi*; sack cloth (*kāgeyapaṭṭe*) 1 *viśa*

¹ E.C., VIII, Sa. 123, p. 117.

² E.C., III, Sr. 6, pp. 7-8. op. cit. For a further explanation of the designation and functions of a *nāyaka*, see *infra* Chapter VI Provincial Administration.

³ E.C., XI, Hk. 73, p. 125.

per piece (*paṭṭe*); rugs and carpets (*ratnagam̐baḷi jambuk-hāna*) 1 *hāga* per *maḷavi*; palmyra leaves (for writing upon) 1 *hāga* per *maḷavi*; *gōṇi* (bags made out of sack cloth?) 1 *hāga* per *maḷavi* of pieces. Grains: for these six kinds, *nellu*, *jōla*, *rāgi*, *navani* (or *navane*), *barugu* and *sāve*, 1 *bēle* per load. Split grains: *gōdhi*, *kaḍale*, *ellu-agase*, *kusube*, *hesaru*, *uddu*, *togari*, *huruvalli*, and other pulses, 1 *hāga* per load. A load of rice, 1 *bēle*; a bullock load of great value,¹ from other countries (*para-dēśadiṇḍa bahu-mānyada ettiṅge*) 1 *hāga*; a load of buffalo ghee 1 *aḍḍa*; a load of salt 1 *bēle*; a load of jaggery 1 *hāga*; a load of sugar 1 *aḍḍa*; a load of areca-nut 1 *hāga*; a load of betel leaves for chewing 1 *hāga*; a load of chillies 1 *aḍḍa*; turmeric, garlic, cummin seed, fenu greek, mustard, and the rest 1 *hāga*; a cart-load of sugar-cane 1 *hāga*; a load of *allada* 1 *hāga*; a cart-load of *nārivaṇa* fruit 1 *hāga*; a cart-load of *mēlōgara* fruit 1 *hāga*; *āhoṭe* each *hulu viṣa*; a load of fruits for eating and *mēlōgara* 1 *bēle*; betel vines 1 leaf per row; areca-nut trees 1 nut daily for each line; timber 1 *bēle* a cart-load; straw and firewood 1 *bēle* a cart-load; *singavattigeya māruvāghēṇindam* (?) country bred horses (*ōlaṅgaṇ kudurege*) 1 *bēle* a *gadyāṇa* a *viṣa* (?) *āghēṇindam mēle holeya kudure kheḍiliya kudure nādu kudure* 1 *bēle* a *gadyāṇa*; elephants 1 *hāga* per *gadyāṇa*; camels 1 *bēle* a *gadyāṇa*; female servants (*tottiṅge*) 1 *bēle* per *gadyāṇa*; carts 1 *bēle* per *gadyāṇa*; bullocks, *bēle* a head; she-buffaloes, 1 *hāga* a head; goats, sheep and such other cattle (*ā*) [*ṇ*] *ḍu kuṇi kālu-nade*) 1 *viṣa* according to the excise rate; (on goods coming from) both roads, 1 *bēle* per *gadyāṇa*; servants (or followers? *parivārike*) 1 *paṇa* a head every year; chargers (attached to the suite) of an *amara-daṇṇāyaka* 5 *paṇa* every year; great officials of the executive department (list?) (*ṇviniyōgada paikakke*), from 10 up to 100 *honnu*; field slaves (*ṇpariyantarada-jivitagāṭarige*) a *paṇa* a year for each; life-long slaves (*ṇhechchu-jivitagāṭarige*) on every 100 *gadyāṇa* 2 *paṇa* every year; princes for the grants to the viceroy (*ṇkumāraru dhoregaḷa umbalige*) on every 100 *gadyāṇa* 2 *paṇa* every year . . .²

The names of some dues given in A.D. 1404 were *suṅka*, *kāruka*, *grāma-gadyāṇa*, and *pañcha-kāruka*.³ The transit

¹ Rice gives a different meaning—'a bullock load of untaxed grain' *My Ins.*, p. 270.

² Rice, *ibid.*, p. 269; E.C., V., P. I. Bl. 75, p. 63; P. II, pp. 201-3.

³ E.C., VIII, Tl., 9, p. 164.

duties in about A.D. 1413 in Bañkiyapura, in the Dummi-nāḍ and Bānūr-nāḍ, included those on areca-nuts, on loads of betel leaf, on contract for articles coming from beyond the river, and on those coming from another (as for example, Bañkiyapura) *ṭhāṇa*.¹

The Vijayanagara government maintained the old custom as regards the imposts. We gather this from an inscription dated A.D. 1440 which says that Mallarasa, the *adhikāri* of the *hejjunka* in the Soṇḍeyakoppa-vēṇṭhe, gave to the god Chokkanātha of Dombaḷūr a charter by which, as in the olden days, customs officers came to Soṇḍeyakoppa (and) made a gift of their share of the *hejjunka* levied from those who came to any of the villages within the boundaries (of the land) belonging to the god Chokkanātha of Dombaḷūr.² An inscription of A.D. 1491 informs us that one *haṇa* was the rate levied on every *honnu*, according to former custom.³ In A.D. 1520 these following were the rates levied: Half a *paikamu* (= a farthing) on every bag of the following articles: great millet, millet, salt, mangoes, myrobalan fruits, brinjals, clearing nuts, and *māvena* (a fragrant root like sarsaparilla); at one *paikamu* on every bag of the following: green gram, black gram, bengal gram, horse gram, red gram, wheat, sesamum seeds, oil seeds, black pulse, pulse, cotton, tamarinds, gall-nuts, myrobalan seeds, yam, *chāma* (and) *chiragaḍam* (roots); at one *damma*⁴ (=apparently the same as *dramma*) on every bag of the following: onions, turmeric, dammer, fenugreek, cummin, mustard, salagas, of new gunny bags, green ginger, lime fruits (and) cocoanuts; at two *dammās* on every bag of the following: jaggery, cleaned cotton, ghee, castor oil, *saṅgaḍi* (?), flowers of the *bassia latifolia* (tree), dry ginger, iron and steel chisels; at three *dammās* on every bag of mango jelly; at four *dammās* on every bag of the following: sugar, areca-nuts, cotton-thread, and betel leaves; at six *dammās* on every bag of the following: long pepper, pepper, sandal, cloves,

¹ E.C., VII, Sh. 30, pp. 15-6.

² E.C., IX, Bn. 8, p. 5.

³ E.C., III, Nj. 118, p. 106.

⁴ It is interesting to note how this coin, which could be no other than the ancient *drachma*, has survived till the middle of the 16th century in southern India. For some notices on this coin; see *Bombay Gaz.*, I. P. II, p. 21, ns. (1) and (6); *Ep. Ind.*, I, p. 168, seq; *Ep. Ind.* II, p. 130; *E.C.* VIII, Sb. 479, p. 81; *Ep. Ind.*, VI, p. 233; *Ep. Rep.* for 1911, p. 73; *Ep. Rep.* for 1915, p. 102; 682 of 1916.

nutmeg, mace, lead, tin (and) copper; and at one *chavela* (= chavalama = about one shilling)¹ on a double bullock load of women's garments. The inscription which enumerates these details, informs us that the *mūle-vīsa* levied at the above rates from many people were granted to a temple by Nādiṇḍla Gōparasayyaṅgāru for the merit of the chief minister Sājuva Timma and his wife Lakshmammā² That the duties levied on grains were called by the same name is confirmed by an undated inscription of the reign of Achyuta Rāya which tells us that customs on grains (i.e., *mūle-vīsa*) and tolls "passing either way" were levied in Rūpalaguḍiya-thānya in Yālapaya-sīme.³

The places where customs duties were levied in the Telugu country in about A.D. 1520 were the following: *vasanta-garuvus* (i.e. ? rest-houses), water-sheds, salt beds, market towns, and roads frequented by people.⁴ The dues (*āya*) levied on articles at the fair at Hoḷalakeṛe, Chitaldroog district, in A.D. 1522, seem to have been fixed with the unanimous consent of the *Gauṇḍas*, and the *Nānā-dēsis* of the 96,000 (Gaṅgavāḍi?).⁵ The miscellaneous excise duties in A.D. 1536 were these—the miscellaneous excise for oil (*chiluvāna suṅka gāṇa*), plantain leaves and grain (*bāḷe-yele taragu*), watch and ward (*mādāṛike taḷavāṛike*), salt-guards (*uppinakāvali*) *mambāla* (?); export duty and all other taxes payable to the palace (*hora-saluvali muntāda kuḷagal*).⁶ The rate on every pack of oxen collected at the main gate of the capital, according to Nuniz, as already remarked, was three *vintēes* (or $3\frac{1}{2}$ d).⁷ This may be compared with the rate levied at Virupāpura, Bellary district, which, according to an inscription dated Śaka 1479 (A.D. 1557-8), was one *kāśu* per *hēru* (bullock pack).⁸ The rate allowed per every load (of bullock-pack) by the great Āvaṭi-nāḍ *Prabhu*, Hāvaḷi Bayappa Gauḍa, in A.D. 1586, was one *mūle-gāsu*.⁹ Floris in A.D. 1613 on reaching Masulipatam, "took a Caul at four per Centum, & landed goods".¹⁰

¹ Brown, *Telugu-English Dictionary*. q. v.

² *Ep. Ind.*, VI, pp. 232-3.

³ 223 of 1913.

⁴ *Ep. Ind.* VI, p. 232 op. cit. Cf. Sukra's rule *supra*. p. 218.

⁵ *E.C.*, XI, Hk. 34, p. 120.

⁶ *E.C.*, IV, Ch. 196, p. 24.

⁷ Sewell, *For. Emp.*, p. 366, op. cit.

⁸ 704 of 1919.

⁹ *E.C.*, IX, DB. 5, p. 62.

¹⁰ Floris, *Purchas, Pilgrims* III, p. 335. But Masulipatam, as we have already seen, was outside the Vijayanagara Empire by this time. B.A.S.

We may mention the names of some imposts in A.D. 1561: *kāṇike* (offerings or gifts), *kappa* (tribute), *jodi* (a favourable quit-rent), *bēḍige* (begging), *tala-vāṛike* (village watchman's dues), *alivu* (waste or ruin), *anyāya* (injustice), *samaya* (season or proper time), *saṅkhyā* (enumeration), *bīldāna* (transit dues or else fallow land), *suṅka* (customs), *saudige* (firewood), *birāḍa* (apportioning, that is, of any extra fine or assessment upon a village, amongst the individuals), *hiṭṭu*, (flour, or pudding, that is, for feeding government peons when passing through a village on duty), *hunmi* (full moon), and *bijavari* (the amount of seed required for a portion of land).¹

As regards the tax on houses, we may be permitted to repeat that in about A.D. 1206 it was ordered that eight *haṇas* had to be paid once for all on houses, and that no more payment would be levied on that account.² Details about the house tax in the Vijayanagara are lacking. Nevertheless, the few notices we have of this tax enable us to gather something about it. Pottaraṣaṇ, the minister (*pradhāni*) of Sālūva Maṅgu Mahārāja, for example, was authorized to collect two *paṇas* on every storeyed-house and one *paṇa* on houses with inside verandahs.³ That this was more or less the common rate can be inferred from other Vijayanagara inscriptions. In A.D. 1368 at Belgoḷa one *haṇa* a year was levied on every Jaina house, and this seems to have been the rate "throughout the whole kingdom".⁴ In about A.D. 1402, as remarked elsewhere, the rate of the house tax (for the Vaiśya community?) was one *haṇa* per house per annum.⁵

As regards the rate of tax on shops and towns, we have in A.D. 1379 for an old town one *ga* a year; for a small town five *ma*; for a village three *ma*; for a shop at the festival of the god's *tīrtha* one *ma*.⁶ The dues on shops were called *māligesuṅka*.⁷ The rate on all animals in the kingdom above the Ghats in A.D. 1606, in the times of Veṅkaṭapa Nāyaka, was one *vīsa* for each animal.⁸

Rice, *My. Ins.*, p. 229, n.

E.C., II, No. 333, p. 141, op. cit.

585 of 1919.

E.C., II, No. 344, p. 146.

E.C., IX, Bn. 96, p. 19, op. cit.

E.C., XII, Si. 76, p. 99.

* *My. Arch. Report* for 1925, p. 76.

• E.C., VIII, Sa. 123, p. 117, op. cit.

In what way the Nāyakas, who held the *pārūpatya* over certain large areas, and the *Adhikāris*, who were placed over the *hejjunkas* or Big Customs, were subject to the direct control of the Central Government cannot be made out for the present. The inefficiency of some of these officials is shown in a few instances of unauthorized collection of customs dues; but it may be noted at the same time that the Government at once set matters right by redressing the grievances and granting the people a remission of taxes. Peddirāja in A.D. 1542, in the reign of Achyūta Rāya, granted to the people of the Daḷavāyi-*agrahāras* a *sāsana* as follows: "Whereas in the aforesaid *agrahāras* and villages (of Daḷavāyi-*agrahāras* and Sriraṅgapattṇa) which Rāma Bhaṭṭaya had assigned to me for his *māgaṇi* customs duties which did not exist before have been levied from all by Kāmappa Nāyaka while he held the *pārūpatya*,—the whole of these customs dues and collection, altogether 300 *gadyāṇas*, and the house-dues of the Peraṅgūr-ayya for Hāruvahalli-Vogeya-samudra, in order that merit might accrue to the king and to Rāma Bhaṭṭayya, I have freely remitted to you, having summoned the cultivators. . . ." The concluding lines of the same grant may be taken to be the assurance which the higher officers gave the people whenever the latter were harassed by petty government servants. Peddirāja says: "For the areca-nut of your rent-free lands neither customs nor collections are due. Besides the local transport tax of three *haṇa* to the merchants, who buy your arecanut, why pay customs and collection? You have nothing to do with them, and may enjoy (your produce) free of all imposts". Since the Brahmans, who formed the most important members of the *agrahāras*, were given this assurance "in the presence of all the cultivators," we may reasonably assume that it was equally well intended to cover the interests of all other classes of people, without whom the Brahmans could never have conducted the affairs of an *agrahāra*.

The above instance of a high government official remitting taxes "in the presence of all the cultivators" brings us to an interesting feature of Vijayanagara polity. This was the voice which the common people had in the matter of granting, and, in some instances, of fixing, the dues in their locality. The rate of dues on weavers, for example, was

fixed by the officers of the government as well as by the people themselves. An inscription dated only in the cyclic year Sarvajit, Kārttigai, 3, found at Mānampāḍi, Chingleput district, records an order of Tirumalai-Nāmbi, the Agent of Tirumalai Kumbhakōṇam Tātāchārya, Tirumāliruñjōlai Ayyaṇ, the trustees of the temple of Pērarulālap-Perumāi, the citizens and accountants of the temple, fixing the rate of the tax on looms and the *paḍiñjakāṇikkai* to be paid to the temple treasury by the weavers of Vāṇavanmādēvi during the *régime* of Kṛishṇayyaṅgā-*rayan*.¹

This custom of allowing the average man a right over the local dues of the district seems to have been in vogue from the commencement of Vijayanagara history. That accounts for the *Gauḍas* and *Setṭis* granting a viceroy in A.D. 1378 the dues of their province. "Adorned with all titles . . . the Sādali-nāḍ *Gauḍas* (named), the four *Setṭis* of Seṛe, and all the elders of the Sālumūle, having set up the *baisanige*² made the following regulations—Grain entering the fair wholesale, free of all dues for one year : after that the following dues to be levied—according to the custom of Sādali, the royal due one, the lordship due one, the five *Setṭis*' due one, for *miṇḍa-guḍḍas* one,—these five dues may *Dēpaṇṇa Oḍeyar* (the viceroy) levy and live" permanently.³

The influence of these local bodies and corporations was, therefore, felt by the Central Government, whose officers could neither remit taxes nor make gifts without the consent of the former. Abbarāja Timmappa, the Agent of the *Pradhāni* Tirumala Rāja, in Śaka 1457 (A.D. 1535-6), granted the *mūle-vīsa* of certain villages for the offerings of the god Tiruveṅḡalanātha at Tirumaladēviyarapaṭṭana, (Bellary district?), with the consent of the *setti-paṭṭaṇasvāmis* of the villages of Tirumaladēviyarapaṭṭana, Varadarājammannapaṭṭana and Kṛishṇāpura, and of the *mahā-nāḍu* (General Assembly) of Dēsāvāra.⁴ An officer of Achyuta Rāya, Kāmpa Dēvarasa, is said to have made a gift of some duties on crops and of the fees on marriages to the temple of Gaurēsvara at Tirumaladēviammanavara-paṭṭana, obviously the same locality referred to above, in

¹ 376 of 1923.

² *Infra*, Volume II, Chapter V.

³ E.C. X, Sd. 112, pp. 196-7.

⁴ 681 of 1922; *Ep. Report* for 1923, p. 120.

Saka 1433, with the consent of the *nānā-dēsis*.¹ From these instances one may reasonably conclude that the Vijayanagara Government was liberal enough to acknowledge the existence and power of important organizations like the guilds of merchants and the popular assemblies of villagers.

SECTION 10. *Miscellaneous Sources of Revenue*

A. *Revenue from Prostitutes*

Vijayanagara derived great revenue from prostitutes. 'Abdūr Razzāq, as we have observed elsewhere, informs us that the huge police force of the capital was maintained on the proceeds derived from the brothels.² Dr. Vincent Smith remarks thus on the point in question: "An interesting comparison might be made between the statements of the Persian envoy and the regulations of the *Arthasāstra* concerning the City Prefect and the courtesans in Maurya times."³ Then, as at Vijayanagara, the public women played an essential part in court ceremonial. The Maurya Government levied from each woman the earnings of two days in the month, that is to say, between six or seven per cent of her income at least. Shah Jahan, also, was not ashamed to draw revenue from the same source".⁴ Whether the public women played "an essential part in the court ceremonial" in Vijayanagara days, will be seen in connection with the question of woman and the place she occupied in Vijayanagara society, which will be narrated in a subsequent chapter. Meanwhile we may observe that the Vijayanagara Government added to its treasury revenue derived from a source which does not reflect credit on the morality of the people.

B. *Revenue from Voluntary Contributions*

It also derived some revenue from voluntary contributions from the people. We are unable, it must be admitted, to determine whether these voluntary contributions were in all instances the outcome of the generosity of the people. It is quite possible that often they gave to the Government,

¹ 679 of 1922; Ep. Report for 1923, p. 120.

² Elliot, *Hist. of India*, IV, p. 111.

³ The reference is obviously to the Superintendent of Prostitutes, *Arthasāstra*, Bk. II., Ch. VI, p. 63; Ch. XXVI, pp. 148-9. B.A.S.

⁴ Smith, *Oxford History of India*, p. 314.

out of their own free-will, sums of money for some specified purpose. In A.D. 1368 the great lords (*kōvas* and *kōmmes*) of Tagdūr led by Rāmarasa, the governor of Tagdūr, determined that in lieu of the 120 *hon* which were paid for the perpetual lamp and for the livelihood of the servant and flower-man of that god Mūlasthāna (*ā-mūlasthāna-dēvarīṅge*) from the temple endowments received by the *tammaḍi* (i.e., the resident priest), they would themselves pay 120 *hon* (for the purpose) to the palace every year without fail.¹ From the ending of a grant by the members of the Tōṭṭigan caste, as related elsewhere, it seems that much coercion was not used by the officers of the Government to make the people give voluntary contributions to the State. For, as already remarked in this treatise, we are told in that grant of about A.D. 1369 that the Tōṭṭigan caste in Puliyūr-nāḍu came to the conclusion that everyone who did "not pay shall be an outcaste from the *nāḍu*, the assembly, the *pañchālan*, the *paṛai*, and the eighteen *nāḍus*".²

C. Revenue from Gardens and Plantations

The gardens and plantations formed another source of revenue. But there is no means however of gauging the amount of receipts which the State derived from them. The revenue which the Government got from them came under the general name of *āgram*.³ If the State taxed the tanks, as an inscription dated A.D. 1427-8 seems to suggest,⁴ it is not improbable that gardens as well were taxed. But evidence is lacking about this; and all that can be said for the present is that gardens and groves, the produce of which when sold, as in A.D. 1551-2⁵, was sufficient to maintain the worship in a temple, must certainly have come under the notice of the Vijayanagara Government.

D. Revenue from Temple Priests

The State, in spite of the fact that it championed the cause of the Hindu Dharma, was not partial towards the

¹ E.C., III, Nj. 117, p. 106. The stone epigraph mentioning these details speaks of the god Mūlasthāna of Tagadūr. It appears a deity called by this singular appellation was also known to other places. Cf. Mūlasthāna god of Chitṭevūr in A.D. 1154. E.C. VIII, Sb. 570, p. 84. Perhaps this was another name for the god Ramanātha of Chitṭevūr, see E.C., VIII, Sb. 515, p. 85.

² E.C., IX, Ht. 103 (a), p. 101, op. cit. *Supra* p. 153.

³ Rice, *My. Gaz.*, I, p. 476, (1st ed.); I, p. 582 (Rev. ed.).

⁴ Butterworth-Chetty, Nellore Ins., I, p. 319.

⁵ *Ibid.*, II, p. 867.

Brahmans. Manu says: "Though dying (without want), a king must not levy a tax on Srotriyas, and no Srotriya, residing in his kingdom, must perish from hunger".¹ According to Vishṇu: "Let him (the king) not levy any tax upon Brahmans. For they pay taxes to him in the shape of their pious acts".² Kāuṭilya lays down as a rule that "those who perform sacrifices. . . , spiritual guides, priests, and those learned in the Vedas shall be granted Brahmādēya lands, yielding sufficient produce, and exempted from taxes and fines. . .".³ The Hindu monarchs of Vijayanagara conformed to the classical rules regarding the granting of the *brahmādēya* lands; but it must be said to their credit that they did not hesitate to extend their financial regulations to the Brahmans, who had to share the burden of the State with the humbler classes of people in the land. It may indeed appear that in taxing the priestly class the Vijayanagara kings transgressed the classical Hindu rules. The justification of this unorthodox attitude of the Hindu Government is to be found not only in their avowed policy of granting large villages to groups of Brahmans but also in the stipulation of Sukrāchārya, noted at the beginning of this chapter, to the effect that the State could at times of great need resort to taxation of the holy places and properties consecrated to the gods. In no previous age in the history of southern India had the very existence of the Hindus been threatened with extinction as it was in that of the Vijayanagara monarchs. There is another consideration which may be mentioned here. The Vijayanagara age was the product of the intellectual exertions of the Brahmans no less than of the industrial achievements of the middle classes; and it was but meet that the Government should impose on the Brahmans the same financial restrictions which it did on the agricultural and industrial sections of the people.

From the inscriptions we gather that Brahmans and temples were taxed. In the times of Dēva Rāya II, as an inscription dated A.D. 1427-28 informs us, a circular (*rāya-sam*) appears to have been issued through the officers Ariyappa Daṇṇāyaka, Bhikshāvṛitti Ayyagal, and Chandra-giri Dēvarāja Oḍeyar, to all temples in the Chandragiri-

¹ Manu, VII, 133-34, p. 237.

² Vishṇu, III, 26-7, p. 16.

³ Arthasāstra, Bk. II, Ch. I, 46, p. 50.

rājya, such as Kāñchipuram, Tirukkālatti, Tiruvorriyūr, Tiruvālaṅgaḍu, and Tiruppālaivnam, remitting the *vibhū-tikāṇike* (ie., the voluntary fee paid to a temple by its devotees while receiving the sacred ashes) which, till Saka 1349 (A.D. 1427-28), appears to have been collected as a royal due.¹ Under orders of the same monarch, in A.D. 1432, Dēvarāja Oḍeyar made a grant of the dues paid by the Srīvaishṇava Brahmans and others of Srīraṅgapura, amounting to thirty *honnu*, for the spring festival of the god Rāmanātha.² The temples of Muḷuvāyi seem to have been taxed. We infer this from an epigraph dated A.D. 1465 which relates that Muḷuvāyi Jannarasa granted a *dharma-sāsana* by which he remitted the tribute money for sacred ashes (*vibhūti-gāṇike-honnu*) and the revenue from forced sales (*kaḍḍāyada-huttuvalli*) which were levied for the palace from the temples of the Muḷuvāyi-rājya.³

The lands owned by the *maṭhas* were taxed like those owned by the average citizen. An agreement (*śrōtriyada kallu-paṭṭe*) was made in A.D. 1530 between Bhadrappa, Agent for the affairs of the *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Rāma Rāja Tirumala Rājayya Dēva Mahā-arasu, and the *svāmīs* of the *maṭha* at Suttūr, Nañjanagūḍ tāluka, to the effect that the annual rental (*śrōtriyada guttige*) of forty *varāha*, which they had been paying on the lands at Suttūr belonging to the god Sōmēśvara, should thenceforward be paid to the temple treasury. That Brahman endowments were also taxed can be made out from an inscription dated A.D. 1575 which records that Venkaṭātri Nāyaka, son of Eṇa-Kṛish-nappa Nāyaka, in order that merit might accrue to Kṛish-nappa Nāyaka, of Bēlūr, remitted the *birāḍa* (extra tax) on the temple and Brahman endowments to six Brahmans.⁴ An inscription dated Saka 1510 (A.D. 1588-9) of the reign of Veṅkaṭapati Dēva, deals with the gift of 400 *pon* for providing twenty (rice) offerings to the god Chidambārēśvara and distributing the same among begging devotees. It is stated that this amount till then had been set apart by the temple of Naṭarāja at Chidambaram for the *ilakkai* and *korru* of the king and his followers (*rājagaram*).⁵

Ep. Report for 1912, p. 78.

E.C., III, Sr. 7, p. 8.

E.C., X, Bp. 18, p. 139.

My. Arch. Report for 1918, p. 53.

E.C., V., P. I, Hn. 176, p. 41.

335 of 1913.

These instances of the State imposing taxes on the temples are best understood when studied in the light of the liberal policy which it showed not only to the Brahmans but also to all other classes of people. The idea of remitting taxes was not an invention of the mediaeval monarchs. Ballāla III, in A.D. 1301, remitted to the *mahājanas* of Kuñchiya taxes amounting to 230 *gadyāna* and one-and-a-half *paṇa* which they had been paying to the palace.¹ While describing the political situation in the first half of the fourteenth century A.D., we remarked that Ballāla III, in A.D. 1313, released the taxes on all commodities in Chikka-Kūḍali and Hanasavādi, in commemoration of the return of his son Vīra Ballāla from Delhi.²

The Vijayanagara monarchs not only maintained the tradition of remitting taxes but made it almost a principle underlying their financial policy. Four causes prompted them to remit taxes: religious considerations, political motives, financial needs, and social demands. Taxes were remitted to temples and priests on the occasion of the consecration of a temple; or, as it happened sometimes, when on enquiry it was found that a particular temple, celebrated but in straitened circumstances, needed aid, or in recognition of services done in temples. On returning from a victorious campaign or on the suppression of a rebellion, the Emperor remitted taxes obviously for political reasons. The nobles, in some instances, imitated him in this respect and gave expression to their loyalty by remitting on their behalf taxes within their jurisdiction. Financial discretion made the monarchs relax their stringent regulations when they were confronted with the problem of the agricultural classes migrating from province to province because of their inability to pay the heavy taxes. Social considerations, it may doubtless be assumed, were also to some extent responsible for their remitting taxes on marriage, and perhaps on the poorer classes of people like the shepherds, fishermen, barbers, and the like. Sometimes these remissions of taxes were made public on the occasion of a *laksha-hōma* sacrifice.³

The monarch whose munificence was unrivalled was Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya. He granted in Śaka 1440 (A.D. 1518-9)

¹ *My. Arch. Report* for 1912-13, p. 40.

² *E.C.*, VII, Sh. 68, p. 26, op. cit.

³ *Ep. Report* for 1914, p. 99.

remissions of taxes on the properties of temples and of Brahmans who did service in them.¹ In Saka 1456 (A.D. 1534-4) Mādappayya, the Agent of Rāmapayya, who was bearing the burden of the kingdom with the king Achyuta Rāya, restored the villages and lands belonging to the temple of Mallikārjuna at Old Mōḍahalli in Hadināḍ-sime, and remitted certain taxes in its favour.² The *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Aubala Rājayya Mahā-arasu of the Āravīti family, in A.D. 1550, having been informed on enquiry that the Chaturvēdimāṅgala Vidyānidhiprasanna-Sōmanāthapura was the holy hermitage of Vaśiṣṭha, remitted the taxes that were being paid till then by the Brahmans of the *agrahāra* to the royal palace.³ In Saka 1472 (A.D. 1550-1) remission of certain taxes due to the State on lands in Tiyyāgapañjavanēri and other villages belonging to the temple of Kṛiṣṇa, on the east side of Sevval, in Mullināḍu, for offering cakes daily to the god, was made by Uddanḍar, the Agent of Viśvanātha Nāyaka, for the merit of the latter.⁴ The *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Rāmarāja Viṭṭhalarāja Tirumalayya Dēva remitted in Saka 1478 (A.D. 1556-7) taxes on the *agrahāras* in the Rāyadurga-sime.⁵ *Dalavāyi* Veṅkaṭapa Nāyuḍu, under orders from Mēgōṭi Timma Nāyuḍu, the Agent and minister of the king Srīraṅga Rājaya Dēva Mahārāja, in Saka 1503 (A.D. 1581-2), remitted the taxes *nagari-birāḍa*, *aśavechhālu* and *birudulu*, due on the lands owned at Bukkasāgaram and Anantapuram by the temple of Chavudēsvari of Krottacheruvu-Bukkasāgarām.⁶ In Saka 1515 (A.D. 1593-4), the districts of Dēvamaṇḍalaśirami Vīranārayanaḥchīrmai, Teṅku-nāḍu, Vadaḱka-nāḍu, the five villages grouped under Aśuvūr and all others that had been enjoyed by the temple of Chidambarēśvara at Chidambaram from early times, for the merit of Vaiyappa Kṛiṣṇappa Koṇḍama Nāyaka, were made rent-free.⁷ On the occasion of the consecration of the temple of Chennakēśvaradēva, at Dombara-Nandyāla, remittance

¹ 335 of 1915. The inscription was found in the Kapōtēśvara temple at Chejarla, Guntur district.

² 245 of 1913. Mōḍahalli=mod. Modatti, Kollegāl tāluka, Coimbatore district.

³ Narasimhachar, *Architecture and Sculpture in Mysore*, I, p. 9.

⁴ 609 of 1916.

⁵ 104 of 1913.

⁶ 178 of 1913.

⁷ 369 of 1913; *Ep. Report for 1914*, p. 101.

was made of taxes payable at the village of Nandēla, which belonged to the district of Rēnāḍu in the Gaṇḍikōṭa-sīme, by three chiefs, in Śaka 1443 (A.D. 1521), in the reign of Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya.¹

The conquests of that great monarch enable us to conjecture about the second feature underlying the policy of remissions. This was in connection with his campaigns. On his victorious return from the Gajapati kingdom on the eastern coast, Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya remitted taxes in favour of the Śiva and Vaiṣṇava temples in his Empire.² This royal order was proclaimed in Śaka 1439 (A.D. 1517-8), and covered such taxes as *sōḍi* (*jōḍi*), *śulvari*, and *arasupēru*.³ The total amount of taxes remitted thereby amounted to 10,000 *varāha*.⁴ Among the temples which were affected by this proclamation were the following :

Chandralēkhai (or Sēndalai, i.e. Tanjore), Tirunagari, Tirunānagūr, Tiruvaḷundūr, Tiruveṇṇagar, Tēvūr, Tirupugalūr, Vaigal, Tirumuṭṭam, Iraivānāsur, Sēndavanmaṅgaḷam, Narariyūr, Kānāttanpullūr, Talaichchaṅgāḍu, Kuri-chchi, Tiruppuṅgur, Korukkai, Talaināyar Tirumurugal, Tirumaṅgalakkudi, Tirundudēvankudi, Sūryanārkoil, Tirukkōḍikkā, Kuṛṛālam Śirukuḍi, Tirukkuraiyalūr Viṛkuḍi, Aḥchāpuram Tiruvāliputtūr, Nallūr, Tirumechchur, Ākkūr, Permuḷai, Tiruvalliyaṅguḍi, Paṇiyālūr, Āṇḍārkōvil, Tirunannipalli, Ilaṅgārkkudi, and Tirukkondīśvara.⁵ The success which crowned the Vijayanagara arms in Śaka 1435 (A.D. 1513-4) was also another cause of the remission of taxes. This we gather from an inscription dated in the same year, which states that Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya, who had gone to Sivanasaṃudram on State business, ordered from there that the ceremony of *lakṣha-hōma* might be performed at Penugonḍa; and that on the closing ceremony of that occasion when the *pūrṇāhuti* was offered in the fire, the assessment of the *dēvadēya* and *brahmadēya* lands below the tank of Krottacheruvu which,—although reckoned tax-fee from the times of Chikka Oḍeyalu, had been reassessed during the subsequent political disturbances in the country,—were to be completely exempted from paying any

¹ 353 of 1905.

² *Ep. Report* for 1909, p. 118; *Ep. Report* for 1911, p. 85.

³ 381 of 1908; 214 of 1926.

⁴ *A.S.R.* for 1908-9, pp. 181-82.

⁵ *Ep. Report* for 1925, pp. 89-90; 80 of 1911.

taxes in kind or coin. This was evidently in commemoration of the signal victory which Kṛishṇa Dēva Raya won over the refractory chief whose capital was at Sivanasamudra. The royal behest, it may incidentally be noted, was engraved on stone by the command of *Rayasam Koṇḍamarusayya Dēmarasayya*, the son of the famous Brahman general *Koṇḍamarusayya*.¹

Patriotic motives sometimes impelled princes and officers to remit taxes. *Chiṇṇamarāju*, the officer (*adhikāram*) in *Idaiturai*, remitted in Saka 1347 (A.D. 1425-6) the taxes *śekkumanṇadi*, *kōḍik* (*koṇai*), *vaḍakottu*, and *śiruvēṭṭai* in the village of *Kāviḍu*, to the temple of *Tiruvagattisvaramuḍiya-Nāyinār* for the (long) reign of king *Dēva Rāya*.²

Sometimes, however, financial discretion prompted the monarchs to remit taxes. Thus, in A.D. 1528, there was danger of people migrating from the *Maleya-Bennūr* village because of their inability to pay the heavy taxes imposed on them. Remission was consequently made of the *kāṇike* and *meluvana*, and the dues on sugar-cane.³

Two kinds of remissions deserve special notice because of the social considerations that lay behind them. These were remissions of taxes on marriage and on barbers. The marriage tax seems to have been imposed in ancient times as well. It was being paid probably from very early times by both parties of all castes during marriages.⁴ *Dēva Rāya II* perhaps inaugurated the policy of exempting people from paying this tax. We may assume that he was prompted to do so by considerations of Hindu Dharma. That is the reason why in A.D. 1432 it is said that "for the sake of dharma, he remitted the marriage tax on all classes in *Ballālapur*".⁵ Whether this benevolent royal order was extended to all parts of the *Vijayanagara Empire* during the reign of the same monarch cannot be made out. We may conjecture that it was done so on the strength of another inscription dated in the same year (Saka 1354) which informs us that all castes at *Koṭapi*, *Anantapur* district, were freed from this tax.⁶

¹ *Ep. Report* for 1914, p. 99; *Ep. Ind.* VII, pp. 17-22; *Ep. Report* for 1921, p. 80, where *Koṇḍamarusayya*'s descent is given.

² 134 of 1924.

³ *E.C.*, XI, Intr. p. 26; *Dg.* 106; p. 71.

⁴ 387 of 1904. Cf. *Kaṇṇālakkāṇam* mentioned in the *Leyden grant* (11th century A.D.), *Ep. Report* for 1905, p. 51.

⁵ *E.C.*, X, Gd. 17, p. 214; *A.S.R.* for 1907-8, p. 250.

⁶ 765 of 1917; *Ep. Report* for 1918, p. 163.

The reign of Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya witnessed the liberality of the Central as well as Provincial Government in this direction. The great names which were associated with the execution of the royal decree were those of Śāluva Timmappaya, Śāluva Gōvindaṃṇa, and Adapinayingāru.¹ Timmapura Gaṅga Nāyaka and others petitioned to the Emperor and obtained a royal order which embraced the following provinces—the Ghanagiri kingdom, the famous Gutti kingdom, the Kandanavōlu kingdom, the Ghaṇḍi-kōṭa-sthala, Siddavaṭṭa (or Siddāvata), the celebrated Siddāpura-sīma, the Nāgamaṅgala-sīma of the Chandragiri kingdom, the great Muḷuvāyi kingdom, and the great Rāyadurga kingdom.² All classes of people were affected by this royal edict.³ To the list of the provinces given above is to be added the name of Yalapi-sīma, which was in Śaka 1431 (A.D. 1509) released from the payment of the same tax,⁴ and that of Maleya-Bennūr-sīma, which was exempted from a similar obligation by Prince Virabhadra in A.D. 1516.⁵ Another locality, where a similar *dharma-sāsana* remitting the marriage tax was set up, was the Kundalagurike village of the Malalūr-sthala, belonging to the Nallur-nāḍ. Here in the presence of all the *nāḍ-gaṇaṇḍas*, the remission was made in A.D. 1523.⁶

Achyuta Rāya continued the liberal policy of remitting the marriage tax. Rāmappayya, the House-Treasurer, in A.D. 1535, executed the royal order by exempting all the eighteen castes of Kandikere-sīma from the same.⁷ In the same year Rāmappayya extended the monarch's bounty to the Būdiḥāl-sīma.⁸ Bāgūr-sīma was freed from the burden in A.D. 1540.⁹ There seems to have been much rejoicing at the royal proclamation of A.D. 1540, if one may judge from the ending of the epigraph, which records that even the family of Nāgaṇāchari of Vijayanagara, the engraver of the *sāsana*, "will certainly be undying". Achyuta Rāya clearly states in this edict, "I have given up the marriage

343 of 1892; A.S.R. for 1908-9, p. 182, n. (5).

E.C., XII, Mi. 64, p. 110.

E.C., X, CB. 4, p. 198. For another instance of royal remission, 387 of 1904, op. cit.

217 of 1913.

E.C., XI, Dg. 107, p. 71; A.S.R. for 1908-9, p. 176.

E.C., X, Sd. 79, p. 190.

E.C., XII, Ck. 44, p. 87, op. cit.

Ibid., Ck. 5, p. 71.

E.C., XI, Hk. 111, p. 131.

tax throughout my kingdom''. In the same year Jājūrusime was likewise exempted from paying the marriage tax.¹ These orders were due to the initiative of the Emperor himself.

But in Śaka 1464 (A.D. 1542) his liberal policy was imitated by his high officials, one of whom Peddirājayya, under orders from Rāmabaṭṭayavāru, remitted the marriage taxes and those of the earnings of the Brahmans, and this order was conveyed to the *Reḍḍis*, and *Kaṇṇams*, of the village of Krottacheruvu in the Anantpur district.² The *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Rāma Rājayya, in the reign of Sadāśiva Rāya, in A.D. 1548, remitted the marriage dues payable to the Government by each family in the Honnavalli-sime in the Hoysana-nāḍu.³

Among the particular classes of people who were benefited by the munificence of the mediaeval monarchs mention must be made of barbers, shepherds, artisans, cowherds, and fishermen. The barbers figure to a great extent in the later history of Vijayanagara. The probable causes which gave the barbers an opportunity of winning the favour of the Vijayanagara government will be presently stated. In the meanwhile, we may sketch briefly the history of the remission of taxes in connection with them. *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Rāma Rājayya Dēva, we may assume, was solely responsible for the promulgation of the ordinance which exempted the barbers of the Vijayanagara Empire from paying certain hereditary taxes. The reason given for this royal generosity, as we shall see, was a flimsy one—that he was pleased with the proficiency of Timmōja, Hommōja, and Bhadrōja, in the art of shaving (*gaḍḍada kelasa*).⁴ Whatever that may be, we are told that in A.D. 1544, Rāma Rājayya granted a *śāsana* to them on their having made four petitions to the Government.⁵ The barbers of Yeḷappaya-sime, in Śaka 1465 (1543-4), were exempted from all taxes by him.⁶ In Śaka 1466 (A.D. 1544-5) those of Penuḡoṇḍa' and of the *agrahāra*-village of Gajarāmapalli in

¹ E.C., XI, Hk. 62, p. 123.

² 177 of 1913; Rangachari, *Top. List.*, I, Ap. 142, p. 22. See also 176 of 1913 dated S. 1463 (A.D. 1541).

³ E.C., XII, Tp. 129, p. 68.

⁴ A.S.R. for 1908-9, p. 198, n. (5); 317 of 1925 gives the name Timmōja, Koṇḍōja, and Bhadrōja.

⁵ E.C., XI, Hr. 29, p. 108.

⁶ 218 of 1913; *Ep. Report* for 1914, p. 101.

⁷ 340 of 1901.

Gutti-durga,¹ together with their brethren of Kuṟukundi situated in the Ādavāni-sīme,² enjoyed this royal bounty. In A.D. 1545 the barbers of Hoḷe-Narasīpura also profited by it.³ In the next year (Saka 1467 = A.D. 1545-6) Mūrti Rāma Rājayya, the Agent of the *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Rāma Rājayya Dēva Mahā-arasu, the viceroy over Koṇḍaviḍu, under the command of the latter and of the king, liberated the barbers of Vinikoṇḍa, Bellamkoṇḍa, Addaṅki, and Ammanambrōlu from taxes.⁴ Those of Bāgūr-sīme⁵ and of the villages comprising Nasana-Kōṭa-sthaḷa received the royal order in the next year (Saka 1468).⁶ The barbers of the Kaṇṇāṭaka country of the Ghaṇḍikōṭa-sīme, and of the villages belonging to the Indranātha temple in the Karnool district were relieved from the tax in Saka 1469,⁷ when perhaps those of the *bhaṇḍāra-grāmas* (crown villages), *agrahāras* (Brahman villages) and *dēvasthānam-grāmas* (temple villages), in the Ūravakoṇḍe-sīme (Gooty), were most likely liberated from it.⁸ *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Tīrumanaiyya Dēva Mahārāya, with the permission of Rāma Rājayya Dēva, in Saka 1469, (A.D. 1547-8), widened the scope of the benevolent order so as to include the barbers of Kalumaḷḷa in Pulavindala-sīme.⁹ Those in Srīraṅgaṭṭaṇa came under the new provision in A.D. 1550,¹⁰ and those in Taṅgēḍa-sīme in Saka 1474 (A.D. 1552-3).¹¹ Srīraṅgaṭṭaṇa was fortunate enough to have its *sāsana* confirmed in A.D. 1576.¹² This suggests that Srīraṅga Rāya I also continued the liberal policy of his predecessors. But by that time we may reasonably assume that the barbers throughout the Vijayanagara Empire had benefited by the royal edicts, especially when we realize the fact that Rāma Rājayya Dēva Mahā-arasu was "Agent for the whole of the Empire of the King";¹³ and that generous as he was, he would not have been partial to the barbers of one province leaving

354 of 1920.

723 of 1919.

My. Arch. Report for 1912-13, p. 44.

475 of 1915.

E.C., XI., Hk. 110, p. 131.

352 of 1926.

318 of 1905.

390 of 1920.

381 of 1904.

My. Arch. Report for 1911-2, p. 51.

373 of 1926.

My. Arch. Report for 1911-2, p. 52.

¹³ 475 of 1915, op. cit.

those of other localities in the shade. Definite statements in the inscriptions that the barbers throughout the Empire were benefited by the royal orders confirm our assumption.¹

We may note in passing the names of some of the taxes which were remitted. According to an inscription dated A.D. 1555, they were the following—forced labour, *birāḍa*, fixed rent, land rent, and *Mahānavami* torches.² It is not so much the names and numbers of taxes remitted that interest us as the persons who were instrumental in securing from the Vijayanagara court uncommon concessions on behalf of a community which, till the reign of Emperor Sadāśiva Rāya, was hidden in the background of Hindu social life. There is reason to believe that the barbers were not held in high respect from the ending of an epigraph dated A.D. 1545 which contains the curse that those who violated the grant would be born as sons of barbers.³ The same is repeated in another inscription dated A.D. 1549.⁴ But this did not prevent them from having powerful leaders. Kaṇḍōja, who is mentioned in about A.D. 1546, was one of them. This person wielded considerable influence at the Vijayanagara court. In A.D. 1555 his whole family became conspicuous by receiving remissions from the Government.⁵ But Kaṇḍōja could use his exertions for more worthy ends as well. The poet Rudrayya, author of the Telugu poem *Nirāṅkuṣōpākhyānamu*, went to the capital with the desire of seeking an interview with the Emperor but could not get an audience of the ruler on account of the jealousy of the court poets. The unfortunate poet however got over the difficulty by approaching the barber Kaṇḍōja and explaining to him the circumstances. Kaṇḍōja, so it is narrated, carried this information to the Rāya (Emperor), and the poet was forthwith summoned to the court and suitably rewarded. In gratitude for this service rendered to him by the barber, the poet composed a verse in his praise which is still extant.⁶

Like the barbers, there were other insignificant communities too which received particular recognition at the

¹ A.S.R., for 1908-9, p. 198; E.C. XI, Mk. 6, Hk. 11, pp. 90-1, 117.

² E.C. XI., Mk. 6, pp. 90-1.

³ My. Arch. Report for 1912-13, 44.

⁴ E.C. XII., Si. 41, p. 96.

⁵ E.C., XI., Mk. 43, p. 97; Mk. 6, op. cit.

⁶ Ep. Report for 1926, p. 113. Kaṇḍōja may have been known also as Kaṇḍōju.

hands of the State and of some public bodies. Among them mention is to be made of the artisan class, the shepherds, the cowherds, and the fishermen. As we have already seen, an inscription dated only in the cyclic year Hēvilāmbi, but assigned to the Śaka year 1340 of the reign of Vīra Vijayabhūpati Rāya Oḍeyar, records that the *sthānattār* (i.e., managers) of the temple of Pulippara-kōvil, after consulting with the revenue authorities at Chandragiri sālā, remitted six *paṇam* which they used to collect in excess as *vāśal-paṇam* to the *Kaikkōlars* living within the temples precincts.¹ The *Kaṇmālas* (artisans) of Tiruvaḍi-simai were exempted from taxes by the governor Sāluva Nāyaka in about Śaka 1449 (A.D. 1527-8).²

Isvarayya, the Agent of Vākiṭi-Timmappa Nāyivāru, in Śaka 1455 (A.D. 1533-4), communicated an order to Bhūvi Redḍi Chennama Reddi of Kanagānipalle, Karaṇam Chinayya, Parvvata-Rāju Basavayya, and Ayyaparsu Nāyayya, to remit several taxes on the *Pañchālāmvaru*, or the five artisan classes, of Kanagānipalle. This measure was introduced because the artisan classes, as we have already remarked, who had been exempted from taxes since former times, had been taxed in the time of Timmappa Nāyuḍu, as a result of which they had migrated from the *sīme* to Kundripi-sīme and Pākāla-sīme.³

It was a wise step which Sāluva Timma took in A.D. 1510, as noted above, when he exempted the cowherd class (*gōpa-kula*) from taxes.⁴ That this was to the satisfaction of all cowherds is evident from the epithet *sārathi* (charioteer) given to Sāluva Timma in the same year.⁵ We may presume that economic considerations prompted the rulers to exempt the cowherds as well as shepherds from taxation. In Śaka 1502 (A.D. 1580-81) under Rāma Rājayya, a *Mahā-nāyaka* remitted the taxes on sheep due from the shepherds of Koṭūr-sīme in the Hastināvati-vaḷita.⁶ The *Mahā-maṇḍalēśvara* Narasiṃha Rājayya Dēva Mahārāya of

¹ 294 of 1910, op. cit.

² 118 of 1897; A.S.R. for 1908-9. p. 184; Ep. Ind., VI, p. 331, n. (8).

³ 340 of 1926, op. cit.

⁴ E.C., XII, Mi. 64, p. 110, op. cit.

⁵ E.C., X., CB. 4, p. 198, op. cit. Evidently the picture suggested here is the following: Kṛishṇa (Dēva Rāya), the ruler and protector; Sāluva (Timma) the chief minister; and the populace including the cowherds the entire *gōpa-kula*. We may recall in this connection the remarks of foreign travellers (*Supra Chapter II.*) about the remarkable condition of cattle in the capital during these years. B.A.S.

⁶ 318 of 1925.

Nandyāla according to an inscription dated only in the cyclic year Bahudhānya, exempted the fishermen living in the streets at Kammadurgamu (in Ghaṇḍikōṭa?) from certain taxes.¹

We may note a few more miscellaneous instances of royal benevolence before we conclude our remarks on the revenue administration of Vijayanagara. These concern mostly tolls. A gift of taxes by Kaṁpaṇa Oḍeyar, in Śaka 1294 (A.D. 1382-3), is recorded in the Viṅṅirunda-Perumāl temple at Poṇṇētti.² All taxes on Tirumukkūdal, Chingelput district, except the 300 *paṇam* of *jōḍi* and *sūlavari*, were remitted in the reign of Bukkaṇṇa Oḍeyar.³ In A.D. 1430, in the Mūlḃāgal-Tēkal-nāḍu, the following order was passed: "For all who belong to the six *darsana*, whatever they buy . . . bullocks, servants or horses, —and whatever they sell, they are free from all tolls. Blacksmiths, carpenters, goldsmiths, washermen, barbers, Holeyas,—these are free from all tolls".⁴

SECTION II. *An Estimate of the Revenue of Vijayanagara*

The Vijayanagara monarchs have left behind them definite evidence of their courage and grandeur; but they have not given to us any record by which we could form a general estimate of their wealth. Suppositions have been made in one or two quarters about the amount of their total revenue.⁵ There can hardly be any doubt that the rulers of Vijayanagara had resources at their command which were almost unprecedented in the history of southern India. Foreign travellers have given us a glimpse of the immense revenues of Vijayanagara. Paes, for example, writes: "You may well imagine how great these expenses may be, and besides these that of the servants, who have the care of the horses and elephants; and by this you will be able to judge what will be the revenue of this city." (Vijayanagara).⁶ Then again: "Should any one ask what revenues this king (Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya) possesses, and what his treasure is that enables him to pay so many troops, since he has so

¹ 488 of 1906.

² 617 of 1902.

³ 188 of 1915.

⁴ E.C., X., Bp. 72, p. 152.

⁵ Hayavadana Rao, I.A. XL., pp. 271-2. Mr. Rao estimates Vijayanagara revenue at nearly 420 million rupees.

⁶ Sewell, *For. Emp.*, p. 281.

many and such great lords in his kingdom, who, for the greater part of them, have themselves revenues, I answer thus . . . there are captains amongst them who have a revenue of a million and a million a half of *pardaos*, others a hundred thousand *pardaos*, others two hundred, three hundred, or five hundred thousand *pardaos*, and as each one has revenue so the king fixes for him the number of troops he must maintain, in foot, horse and elephants".¹

Nuniz has some further details to give in this connection. While describing the activities of an unnamed son of the king whom he calls *Pinarao*,² the Portuguese traveller relates that the King had "every year thirteen millions of gold".³ The same chronicler gives an account of the great feudatories under the Vijayanagara Emperor: "Salvanayque" (Sālva Nāyaka), with a "revenue of a million and a hundred thousand gold *pardaos*"; "Ajaparatimapa" (?Haḍapada Timmappa), with a "revenue of eight hundred thousand *pardaos* of gold"; "Gapanayque" (Gōpa Nāyaka) who had a revenue of "six hundred thousand *pardaos*"; "Lepanayque" (?), who was a master of "three hundred thousand *pardaos*"; "Narvara" (?) who could command a revenue of "four hundred thousand *pardaos*"; "Chinapanayque" (? Chinnapa Nāyaka), with lands that yielded him "three hundred thousand *pardaos*"; "Crisnapanayque" (Kṛishṇappa Nāyaka), with a revenue of "twenty thousand *pardaos*"; Bajapanarque" (?) of "three hundred thousand *pardaos* a year"; "Mallapanarque" (Mallappa Nāyaka?) "fifteen thousand *pardaos*"; "Adapanayque" (Haḍapa Nāyaka?), "three hundred thousand gold *pardaos*, excluding the precious stones which form a revenue by themselves"; and "Bajapanayque" (?), "four hundred thousand *pardaos*".⁴ How far Nuniz is reliable in these figures can only be determined when we have found indigenous or foreign sources to confirm his statements. Meanwhile we may observe that the greatness of Vijayanagara always struck the imagination of foreigners. Varthema in A.D. 1502 wrote: "This king of Narsinga is the richest

¹ Sewell, *For. Emp.*, p. 280, op. cit.

² "*Pina*=*China* in Telugu, *Chikka* in Kanarese, and means 'little'. Pina Rāya or Chikka Rāya was the title applied to the Crown Prince." Sewell, *ibid.*, p. 302, n. 5. For *Chikka Rāya*, see *ibid.*, p. 223.

³ Sewell, *ibid.*, p. 304.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 384-9.

king I have heard spoken of". Then again, "His Brahmins, that is, his priests, say that he possesses a revenue of 12,000 pardai per day".¹ Tradition has it that Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya derived three crores of rupees from the districts of eastern Kārṇāṭaka.² The *Burhān-i-Ma'āsir* gives "120,000,000 *hūns*" as the revenue of "that accursed infidel", Sadāsiva Rāya in A.D. 1564.³ Long after the fatal shock of Rākshasa-Taṅgaḍi, *Bisnaga* still could lay some pretensions to a rich heritage. Antojne Vico wrote to Laerizo in A.D. 1611: "The great Nāyak of Madura and those of Tanjore and Gingi are themselves tributaries of Bisnagar, to whom they pay or have to pay each an annual tribute of six to ten million *francs*. But they are not punctual in paying it; often they postpone the payment; sometimes they even refuse it with insolence".⁴

CHAPTER V. ADMINISTRATION

CENTRAL GOVERNMENT

PART I. THE MACHINERY OF GOVERNMENT

SECTION I. *Dharma—Its Political Significance*

THE spirit underlying the movement which liberated the Hindus from a veritable cataclysm of foreign domination brought into relief a principle which had found favour with Hindu lawgivers from Manu down to Śukrāchārya. It was embodied in the statement that the king was the creator of the age, and that the nature of his rule produced corresponding variations in the social, moral, and even physical condition of the times. Thus in the code of Manu—"The various ways in which a king behaves (resemble) the Kṛita, Trēta, Dvāpara and Kali ages; hence the king is identified with the ages (of the world)".⁵ How the king assumes five different forms according to five different occasions has been described at some length in the *Mahābhārata*.⁶ As

Varthema, Jones, p. 129; Temple, p. 53.

Taylor, *Cat. Rais*, III, p. 39; Heras, *Aravindu*, p. 112.

Haig, *I.A.L.*, p. 143.

Satyanatha, *Nayaks*, p. 293. See also Heras, *ibid.*, p. 41.

Manu, IX, 301, 303 *seq.* pp. 396-7. See also *Nārada*, XVIII, 26-33, pp. 217-8; *Gautama*, VIII, 1-11, pp. 214-5.

⁶ *Sānti Parva*, LXVII, pp. 221, 229. See also Ghosal, *Hind. Pol. Theor.*, pp. 187-8, (1.ed.), p. 139 (2nd ed.)

understood by the mediaeval theorist Śukra, it meant the following: "The king is the maker of the age as the promulgator of duties and sins. The faults are to be ascribed neither to the age nor to the subject, but to the king".¹ "The king is the cause of the setting on foot of the customs, usages and movements and hence is the cause or maker of the time. . . .".²

What precisely the writers meant when they made the king the creator of the age is a question which leads us to the elucidation of a vital principle in terms of Vijayanagara history. It is only then that we shall be able to realize to a certain extent the position which the Brahman canonists took as regards the promulgation of an apparently unintelligible dogma, and at the same time, to follow the thought and action of the mediaeval Hindu monarchs of southern India. In the famous saying of Bhishma we have the key to the interpretation of the statement which seems to give to the king some undefined superhuman powers. "Whether it is the king that makes the age, or it is the age that makes the king, is a question about which thou shouldest not entertain any doubt. The truth is that the king makes the age".³

¹ *Sukranīti*, I, IV, i, ll. 116-7, p. 132.

² *Ibid.*, I, ll, 43-4, p. 5.

³ The passage in question is the following:

परोक्षा देवताः सर्वा राजा प्रत्यक्षदेवता ।
 प्रसादश्च प्रकोपश्च प्रत्यक्षो यस्य दृश्यते ।
 राजा माता पिता चैव राजा कुलवतां कुलम् ।
 राजा सत्यं च धर्मश्च राजा हितकरो नृणाम् ॥
 कालो वा कारणं राज्ञो राजा वा कालकारणम् ।
 इति ते संशयो माभूत् राजा कालस्य कारणम् ॥
 राजमूलो महाराज धर्मो लोकस्य लभ्यते ।
 प्रजा राजभयादेव न खादन्ति परस्परम् ॥

Sānti Parva, Ch. 69, 79. See, LXIX, p. 229, seq., (Roy). See *Parāśara-Samhita*, with the Commentary of *Sāyaṇna Mādhavāchārya*, I, P. I. *Āchāra-Kaṇḍa*, *Adhyaya*, I, p. 449. (Pandit Vaman Śāstri Islampurkar's ed., Bombay 1893).

Herein we have a political principle of the first magnitude which the sons of Saṅgama made the corner-stone of their Empire. To them it meant that "national" regeneration could only be achieved when political emancipation had already been secured. In other words, the ruler had to create the proper political environment in order to foster all that was best in Hindu culture. That this was exactly in the minds of the founders of the Vijayanagara Empire is evident from the manner in which they promoted the Hindu Dharma. "In the Kali age evil having greatly increased, Dharma seeing that it was impossible for it to move about, went to the side of its master the creator and benefactor of the world, and said: "With only one leg (left) how can I travel about in the troubles of this Kali age? . . ."' It was this prayer, as we had an occasion of remarking in an earlier connection, which caused the Benefactor of the world to create Saṅgama in the royal line of Sailaṅka. The Hindus, who recognized the necessity of securing a proper political rejuvenation prior to their attempts at preserving their ancient heritage, called their monarchs Defenders of their Dharma.² This was the reason why Rājanātha, for example, wrote thus about Śāluva Nṛsiṃha :

वर्णाश्रमाणां अवनक्रमेण धर्मं स्थिरोक्त्य पदैश्वर्यभिः ।

कलिं पुनर्यैः कृतयाद्विः उभ्यां कालस्य कर्ता नृपइत्यदर्शि ।³

The ideal of the monarchs, who established thus firmly Dharma on its feet, and converted thereby the Kali age into the Kṛita age of righteousness, is also borne out in the writings of Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya, who, as we have recorded elsewhere, in his *Āmuktamālyada*, says. . . . "A crowned king should always rule with an eye towards Dharma".⁴ The same ruler has laid down the following rules which are to guide the general conduct of a king : "A king should rule collecting round him people skilled in statecrafts, should investigate the mines yielding precious metals in his kingdom and extract the same, should levy taxes

¹ E.C., VIII, Sb. 375, pp. 65-6, op. cit.

² *Infra*, Volume II, Chapter I. *Varṇāśrama-dharma*.

³ *Śāluvaśhyudayam* cited by Venkoba Rao, *Vyāsyaṅgicharitam*, Intr., p. CLXXX.

⁴ *Āmuktamālyada*, Canto IV, v. 285, J.I.H. IV, P. III, p. 77. See below.

from his people moderately, should counteract the acts of his enemies by crushing them with force, should be friendly, should protect one and all of his subjects, should put an end to the mixing up of the castes among them, should always try to increase the merit of the Brahmans, should strengthen his fortress and lessen the growth of the undesirable things and should be ever mindful of the purification (?) of his cities and thus strengthen himself and increase his longevity just as a man strengthens his own body and increases his longevity by consulting good doctors, by learning the properties of the seven *Dhatus*. . . ."¹

SECTION 2. *The Origin of the King's Power*

While the Vijayanagara monarchs recognized the need of agreeing with the ancients that the general lines on which administration was to be conducted were to be those which were based on Dharma, there was one important detail in the observance of which mediaeval practice was allowed to transgress completely ancient tradition. This was in connection with the origin of the king's power. From the Vedic age had been handed down the belief in the divinity of the kings.² In olden times it was "pre-eminently associated with his participation in the great political sacrifices".³ The earlier writers agreed as regards assimilating the functions of the king to those of various specified deities.⁴

This notion of the divine nature of the king, however, gave place to new dogmas in later times when Hindu political writers took a more rational view of sovereignty. They inculcated the older notions of the paramount importance of the king,⁵ but dwelt less frequently on his divine nature. It took some time before the old principle—which was understood in the Purāṇas as referring to the king, in the form of a mortal, with a divine body⁶—was finally modified to suit the changing times. The later Hindu writers maintained that the duties of the king were

¹ *Amuktamālyada*, Canto IV, v, 271-2, pp. 157-118 (Ed. Vāviḷla Rama-swamy); *J.I.H.*, IV, P. III, p. 74.

² Ghosal, *Hind. Pol. Theor.* p. 28, *seq.* (1st ed.); p. 124. (2nd ed.)

³ *Ibid.*, (1st. ed).

⁴ *Sānti Parva*, LXVII, p. 215; Ghosal, *ibid.*, pp. 174-5, (1st. ed.). p. 127 *seq.* (2nd. ed.).

⁵ Ghosal, *ibid.*, p. 217. (1st. ed.); p. 176 *seq.* (2nd. ed.)

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 224-5, (1st. ed.); p. 184 (2nd. ed.)

no longer limited to Kshatriyas only. This was the view of Mēdhātithi, amplified by Vijñānēsvara.¹ According to Mitramisra, the duties of kingship were extended to all the rulers, and even to subordinate officials.² When royalty was thus no longer the monopoly of the Kshatriyas,³ a modification of the classical ideas was bound to follow. Hence we find in the *Sukranīti* the dying echoes of the earlier doctrine of the divinity of the king side by side with the enunciation of the new principle in the following words: "The ruler has been made by Brahmā a servant of the people, getting his revenue as remuneration. His sovereignty, however, is only for protection".⁴ Then again: "From the very moment a man attains the position of a king through skill, might or valour, no matter whether he is properly anointed and duly installed or not, he shall begin to rule his subjects according to Nīti, being always above board and ever the holder of the sceptre".⁵ And the classical theory of the divine nature of the king received its death-knell in the following statement of Sukrāchārya: "The king is honoured because of these qualities. It is not birth that makes a king. He is not respected so much because of his ancestry, as for his prowess, strength and valour".⁶ Thus was promulgated a principle which justified monarchical authority on the sole ground of merit.⁷

Sukrāchārya's conception of kingship anticipates the origin of the mediaeval monarchy of southern India; and one may have applied the statement of Sukra to the sons of Saṅgama were it not for the difficulty one finds in reconciling the theory of Sukrāchārya with that of the celebrated writer Mādhavācharya, whose influence was profound in the early days of the Vijayanagara Empire. Mādhava is inclined to give a dogmatic interpretation to the old theory in his commentary on Parāśara, thus: "Now the word *rājan* applies to Kshatriyas alone, and not to one qualified for

¹ Ghosal, *Hind. Pol. Theor.*, pp. 234-5 (1st ed.); pp. 193, 197; *seq.* (2nd. ed.)

Ibid., pp. 262-3, (1st. ed.); pp. 223-4. (2nd. ed.)

Infra Volume II, Chapter III. Brahmins. See also Acharya, *Dicty. of Ind. Arch.*, p. 60.

Sukranīti, I, l. 375, p. 24.

Ibid., I, ll. 52-4, pp. 6-7.

Ibid., I, ll. 363-4, p. 24.

Ghosal, *ibid.*, pp. 254-5 (1st. ed.); p. 214 (2nd. ed.)

kingship".¹ This assertion, which is at variance not only with the principle of Sukrāchārya but also with the actual facts about the origin of the very founders whose kingdom Mādhavācharya himself helped to stabilize, is to a certain extent qualified by the following words of the same high authority: "As the divine incarnation in the form of Rāma and others came into being for punishing the mighty Rāvaṇa, and others like him, so the divine incarnation in the form of the king (*Rājāvatāra*) is born for the purpose of punishing lowly beings like thieves and the rest".² The theory of the divine incarnation in the form of the king is reflected in the following words of Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya, who writes: "Manu, Daṇḍadhara and others became known as addicted to *Dharma* only by finding out the mistakes of the subjects and punishing them. The anointed king who is equal to God and who is created by God (*Prajāpati*) in various forms for the purpose of ruling the subjects is known by various terms which are sanctioned by the *vēdas*, as *Virāt*, *Samrat*, and should put up with the trouble and relieve the sufferings of the world. If he does not do this, the purpose of his creation is not fulfilled".³ The term *Samrāt* carries us to the Vedic conception of the position of the universal monarch⁴; the idea of the anointed king

¹ Ghosal, *Hind. Pol. Theor.*, pp. 260-2 (1st ed.); p. 220, (2nd. ed.). The reference is obviously to the following by Parāśara:

अव्रता ह्यनधीयाना यत्र भैक्ष्यचरा द्विजाः ।

तं ग्रामं दण्डयेद्वाजा चोरभक्तप्रदो हि सः ।

क्षत्रियो हि भ्रजा रक्षन् शस्त्रपाणिः प्रदण्डवान् ।

निर्जित्य परसैन्यानि क्षितिं धर्मेण पालयेत् ॥

पुष्पं पुष्पं विचिनुयान्मूलच्छेदं न कारयेत् ।

मालाकार इवारामे न यथाऽङ्गारकारकः ॥

Parāśara-samhita, I, p. I, Āchāra-kaṇḍa, Adhyāya, 1, vv. 60-2, p. 445. For Mādhava's explanation of the point in question, *ibid.*, p. 449 (ed. by Pandit Vaman Sāstri Islāmapūrkar); *Parāśara-Mādhaviya-Dharma-sastraviv.*, Āchāra-kaṇḍa, Adhyāya, 1, vv. 61-3, pp. 259, 262-3. (Veñkaṇṇaiyya).

² Ghoshal, *ibid.*

³ *Āmuktamālyada*, v. 285; *J.I.H.* IV, P. III, p. 76.

⁴ Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, p. 24; Ghosal, *ibid.*, p. 34 (1st ed.)

created by Prajāpati, to the dogmatism of Vidyāranya; and the purpose for which the king is created, to the saner views of Śukrāchārya. It is in the last detail that Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya truly confesses the needs of the times.¹ The basis of the king's authority in the Vijayanagara age is to be sought, therefore, not in the dogma of the divine nature of the king, which was inapplicable either to the sons of Saṅgama or to Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya himself, but in the solution of the fundamental question of the times—the protection and encouragement of the Hindu Dharma.²

SECTION 3. *Position of the King*

A. *In Relation to Society*

The earlier notions of the divinity of the king having thus been modified in later times, it remains to be seen whether the corresponding ideas about the position of sovereignty also underwent any alteration in subsequent ages. The adherence of the early Hindu canonists to the theory of the divine nature of kingship may at first sight seem to be most uncompromising, especially as expressed by Manu. Nevertheless, it is curious to observe that their attitude was to some extent characterized by tolerance. This is seen when we deal again with the topic of protection which we discussed once from the point of view of the right which the king could claim in levying a specified rate of taxation. We shall now analyse the same question from the standpoint of the obligation which the king owed to the people for having received from them a certain amount of revenue. In other words, we shall explain the position of the king "as a moral element in the social system".³

The acknowledgment of the king as an integral part of the social order presupposes, on his part, the observance of the very principle which brought into being his sovereignty—viz., the principle of protection, which now resolves itself into the foremost of his duties. The second duty of the king is his adherence to the dictates of polity (*daṇḍanīti*) in the fullest measure. Thus in the code of Manu: "A

¹ As regards Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya's idea of protection, see *supra*, Chapter IV on Revenue Administration.

² The Vijayanagara monarchs as patrons of, and participators in, great sacrifices may be said to have fulfilled one of the conditions of divinity mentioned in the Brahminical canons. See Ghosal, *Hind. Pol. Theor.*, p. 30. (1st ed.)

³ Ghosal, *ibid.*, p. 88. (1st ed.)

king who protects the created beings in accordance with the sacred law and smites those worthy of corporal punishment, daily offers (as it were) sacrifices at which hundred thousands (are given as) fees".¹ It was also the duty of the king to respect the traditional rights and customs of individuals as well as of collective bodies.² The duties of lawful punishment, giving State-relief to the Brahmans and other people, fighting the enemy, levying taxes, administering justice, appointing State officials, and performing sacrifices—these are some of the duties of the kings that are given in the *dharma-sūtras*.³ To these may be added the personal duties of the king as mentioned in detail in the *Sukraniti*.⁴

Classical as well as mediaeval theory, as regards this question, may be set side by side with the maxims of Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya. "... So with very great care and according to your power you should attend to the work of protecting (the good) and punishing (the wicked) without neglecting anything that you see or hear. In the case of impossibilities, you should throw the burden on the God Viṣṇu (Puṇḍarikāksha) who is the Protector of the afflicted who take refuge in him".⁵ "You should not think that ruling a kingdom is a sin and feel embarrassed how to get rid of the sin. The scriptures do not ordain any impossible thing. Therefore you should rule the kingdom to the best of your ability".⁶ "A crowned king should always rule with an eye towards *Dharma*. The lives of the Gods like Varuṇa, Indra, Vaiśravaṇa, Vāyu, and Agni are the results of their actions in several previous births. The various worlds, as the *Bhu*, *Bhuvah*, and *Suvah* owe their positions to *Dharma*. So, skilfully fulfilling your *Dharma*, you get rid of your three-fold debt and attain fame among your equals".⁷

¹ *Manu*, VIII, 306. See also 303, 307, p. 307; *Sānti Parva*, LXIX, pp. 228-31; Ghosal, *Hind. Pol. Theor.*, pp. 184-6. op. cit. (1st. ed.)

² *Gautama*, XI, 20-1, p. 237; Ghosal, *ibid.*, p. 16 (1st. ed.); Majumdar. *Corporate Life in Ancient India*, p. 60, seq.

³ *Manu*, VII, p. 216, seq.; *Gautama*, XI, p. 234, seq.; *Āpastamba*, II, 10, 25, p. 161, seq., *Viśiṣṭha*, XIX, p. 96, seq.; *Baudhāyana*, I, 10 18, p. 199, seq. See Ghosal, *ibid.*, p. 62. (1st ed.)

⁴ *Sukraniti*, I. II. 551-72, pp. 36-7.

⁵ *Amuktamālyada*, v. 285; *J.I.H.*, IV, P. III., p. 77.

⁶ *Ibid.*, v. 284, p. 76.

⁷ *Ibid.*, v. 285, p. 77.

B. *In relation to Other Parts of Sovereignty*

The recognition of the king as an integral part of society did not prevent legists from considering the relation in which he stood to the other parts of sovereignty. The disappearance of the classical theory of the divine origin of the king was in itself an indication of the growing claims that were being put forward in support of the inter-dependence of the different parts which constituted sovereignty. When the ancient writers introduced the notion of protection, they ushered in at the same time the idea of divided responsibility between the king and his ministers, and of the limitations on the authority of the king. It is true that even in the earliest times royal action was to a certain extent limited by the highest moral and spiritual sanction.¹ But what definitely diminished the importance of the ruler as a despot with an atmosphere of divinity around him, was the principle which made the minister an indispensable adjunct to sovereignty. Since neither the king nor his minister alone, nor both of them combined, could solve the growing demands of the State, there necessarily were introduced the financial, military and foreign departments,² the ministers in charge of every one of which were to a large extent responsible for the effective execution of the orders of the sovereign. It is exactly this sense of responsibility being shared between the king and his great officers that is expressed in the maxims of Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya on what may be called the civil service of Vijayanagara.

Before we deal with them, we may acquaint ourselves with the words of Kauṭilya, who explains to us the relations of the king to other parts of sovereignty thus: “. . . it is verily the king who attends to the business of appointing ministers, priests, and other servants including the superintendents of several departments, the application of remedies against the troubles of his people, and of his kingdom, and the adoption of progressive measures; when his ministers fall into trouble, he employs others; he is ever ready to bestow rewards on the worthy and inflict punishment on the wicked . . .”³ The interdependence of the several component parts of the State is more clearly given in the *Sukraniti* thus: “The kingdom is an organism

¹ Ghosal, *Hind. Pol. Theor.*, p. 41. (1st ed.)

² *Ibid.*, p. 86. (1st ed.)

³ *Arthasāstra*, Bk. VIII, Ch. I, 322, pp. 377-8.

of seven limbs, viz., the Sovereign, the Minister, the Friend, the Treasure, the State, the Fort, and the Army. Of these seven constituent elements of the kingdom, the King or sovereign is the head, the Minister is the eye, the Friend is the ear, the Treasure is the mouth, the Army is the mind, the Fort is the arms, and the State is the legs".¹

SECTION 4. *The Secretariat*

The idea of a ruler conducting the administration of the country with the aid of what may be termed civil service is as old as Manu. "Even an undertaking easy (in itself) is sometimes hard to be accomplished by a single man; how much (harder is it for a king), especially (if he has) no assistant, (to govern) a kingdom which yields great revenues".² Kṛṣṇa Dēva Rāya was evidently conversant with the injunction of Manu, if one may say so from the following statement made in his poem: "When the work of a single subordinate (officer) is entrusted to a number of men and when each of them is assisted by his friends the business of the State may easily be accomplished. On the other hand when the staff is decreased, work cannot be turned out when business increases. No business can be accomplished by money alone without the co-operation of many big officers. For having them in due subordination the following are essential—absence of greed, absence of cruelty and truthfulness".³

From theory we may now turn our attention to the actual state of affairs in Vijayanagara. The existence of a sort of a secretariat is proved by the writings of foreign travellers. 'Abdur Razzāq says: "On the right hand of the palace of the Sultan (i.e., the Vijayanagara Emperor) there is the *diwān-khāna*, or minister's office, which is extremely large, and presents the appearance of a *chihal sutūn*, or forty-pillared hall; and in front of it there runs a raised gallery, higher than the stature of a man, thirty yards long and six broad, where the records are kept and the scribes are seated".⁴

Nuniz has some details to give about the secretariat.

¹ *Sukranīti*, Ch. I, ll. 121-4, p. 11. See also Ch. II, ll. 141-62, pp. 68-9.

² *Manu*, VII, 55, p. 224.

³ *Amuktamālyada*, I., vv. 214-5; *J.I.H.*, IV., P. III., p. 66.

⁴ Elliot, *Hist. of India*, IV, p. 107. According to Elliot, the *diwān-khāna* was on the right hand of the palace; but according to Major it was on the left hand side. Major, *India*, p. 25. Sewell evidently follows Major. *For. Emp.*, p. 91, n. (2).

"The captains and lords of this kingdom of Bisnaga, as well those who are at Court as those who are away from it, have each one his secretary who goes to the palace in order to write to him and let him know what the King is doing; and they manage so that nothing takes place of which they do not soon know, and day and night they are always in the palace. And the King also, when he leaves the palace, takes with him on his own account secretaries, who write what the King says, and the favours he bestows, and with whom he spoke, and upon what subject, and what his determination was; and to these men is given a credit equal to that of the Evangelists, because they say that whenever the King speaks there must be something worthy to be recorded, and also that such a record is necessary for their remembrance. Thus no written orders are ever issued, nor any charters granted, for the favours he bestows or the commands he gives; but when he confers a favour on any one it remains written in the registers of these secretaries. The King however gives to the recipient of the favour a seal impressed in wax from one of his rings, which his minister keeps, and these seals serve for letters patent".¹

The inscriptions as well as the accounts of travellers throw some light on the general features of the administration of Vijayanagara. The king was assisted by a council of ministers. About the council we have some details in the chronicles of the Portuguese travellers. Nuniz, while describing an incident in the diplomatic relations between Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya and Sultan 'Ādil Shāh, relates that the latter had harboured at his court a man called "Cide", who had misappropriated the revenues belonging to the Hindu Government. 'Ādil Shāh sent a letter to Vijayanagara professing innocence in the Cide affair. "When those who had come from the King returned bearing the Ydallcāo's answer, the King showed great indignation at it, and held that the peace was broken; he at once ordered to appear before him the great lords of his Council, and had the letter read aloud so that all might hear. As soon as it was read he said that without more ado they should make ready, since he was determined to take full vengeance". The influence which the councillors had on the

¹ Sewell, *For. Emp.*, pp. 374-5. See also Taylor, *O.H. MSS.*, II, pp. 171, 199, *seq.*, for some notices of the secretariat of the provincial rulers.

Emperor is thus described by the same traveller. "But the councillors advised the King, saying that for such a small sum of money as this it was not well so to act; that he should think of what would be said and talked of throughout the world; and that if he was bent on breaking so prolonged a peace for such a trifling cause, he should call to mind that there never was any honesty in a Moor; that others were to blame in that which Cide had done; and that if Cide should dare to come to that war which was waged in order to take vengeance on him, then it would be well that those who accompanied him should die, but that they knew that Cide would keep well away from the army.

"The councillors, however, saw that the King remained unmoved from his determination to make war, and they then counselled him, saying:—'Sire, do not go to war by that route (Dabull), but go against Rachol, which now belongs to the Ydallcão but of old was part of this kingdom; then the Ydallcão will be forced to come to defend it, and thus thou wilt take vengeance jointly both on one and the other'. The King held this advice to be good and prepared for his departure. . . ."

In the above passage we have evidence of a council, of the stubborn stand made by the Emperor as regards the question of war, of the equally persistent attitude of the councillors, and finally, of the manner in which the ruler yielded to the advice of his ministers. Whether the ministers were able to have their own way in all important matters cannot be made out; what we may assert is the fact that the king governed with the aid of a council. The remarks of Barbosa seem to confirm the evidence of Nuniz as regards the existence of a council. Barbosa speaks of a council-room thus: "This King has a house in which he meets with the governors and his officers in council upon the affairs of the kingdom. . . ."² Firishtah also speaks of a council summoned by the king. While relating the events of Dēva Rāya's reign, the Muhammadan historian says: "He called a council of his nobility and principal brahmins. . . ."³ It was summoned, as we shall see, to

¹ Sewell, *For. Emp.*, pp. 324-5.

² *Barbosa*, Stanley, p. 89; Dames thinks it to be the *divān-khāna*, I, p. 208, n. (1); Sewell, *ibid.*, pp. 129-30.

³ Firishtah, Briggs, *The Rise*, II, p. 430; Scott, I., p. 118; Sewell, *ibid.*, p. 72.

discuss the ways and means of improving the Vijayanagara army.

The council, we may presume, was composed of ministers appointed by the king and of the great nobles of the kingdom. The tradition of appointing ministers was of course in vogue in India since the earliest times.¹ In the following words of Sukra there is not only a further denial of the divine nature of the king but also an affirmation of the importance of the ministers. "Without the advice of the *Prakṛitis*, i.e., the Executive Officers, the state is sure to be destroyed. If the king fears their control, they are good ministers".² Then again: "Even the king who is proficient in all the sciences and a past-master in statecraft should never by himself study political interests without reference to ministers".³ Sukra is no advocate of the superiority of a particular caste as regards the question of the selection of ministers. "One should not notice only the caste (or race) or only the family in making the selection (of ministers). Work, character, and merit—these three are to be respected—neither caste nor family. Neither by caste nor family can superiority be asserted".⁴ This approaches the maxim of Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya: "Do not have the following as your servants even though they are Brahmans: one born of a mean family, one living in a Kikaṭa (a Śabara village), one who is not learned, a coward, a liar, an Ātatāyin, one who is not afraid of ignominy, a foreigner and one devoid of *Dharma*".⁵ The same ruler has recorded the following about the procedure to be adopted in the council: "In the Council when one officer proposes a particular course another may object to it as unsuitable through mere spite of the former. The king should discover their individual motives and without denying the statement of either should close the council and then follow the course adopted by the first councillor, without spite".⁶ We are not certain whether the Vijayanagara monarchs followed this injunction of Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya; but we are sure that as regards the selection of ministers,

¹ *Manu*, VII, 54-68, pp. 224-6; *Sānti Parva*, lxxxi-lxxxiii, pp. 254, seq., 268, seq.; Ghosal, *Hist. Pol. Theor.*, p. 191. (1st. ed.)

² *Sukraniti*, II, ll. 161-3, p. 69.

³ *Ibid.*, II, ll. 3-4, 5-8, pp. 54-5.

⁴ *Ibid.*, II, ll. 111-12, p. 65.

⁵ *Amuktamāyada*, v. 209; *J.I.H.*, IV, P. III, p. 65.

⁶ *Ibid.*, v. 227; *J.I.H.*, IV, P. III, p. 67.

their choice was by no means confined to the members of the sacerdotal class. Their ministers were recruited from the ranks of Brahmans, Kshatriyas, and Vaisyas. The office was sometimes hereditary, and sometimes rested on selection.

Here we may perhaps add a word about the function of the ministers. The post of a minister and of a royal chaplain was sometimes held by one and the same man. But there is reason to believe that in the generality of cases under Vijayanagara, while the *rāja-guru* was always a Brahman, the post of a prime-minister was bestowed on a Brahman, a Kshatriya or a Vaisya. It is evident, therefore, that Śukrāchārya's injunction as regards the choice of ministers was unconsciously followed by the Vijayanagara monarchs. Information is not forthcoming as to how the office of a *pradhāna*, or, as he was also called, *mahā-pradhāna*, was conferred by the king. But we may assume from the manner in which similar high offices were bestowed on nobles, that appointments were confirmed by a *sāsana*. We have so late as A.D. 1639 Veṅkaṭapati Dēva II granting Erekkatte in Hoysala-dēśa to Bhairappa Nāyaka of the Gōvala-gōtra, by means of a *sāsana*, with the office of *amara-nāyaka* along with certain lands.¹ The granting of lands for personal services, or, as in some instances, in lieu of salary, was greatly in vogue in those times. Thus in A.D. 1416-17 under Rāmachandra Oḍeyar, son of Dēva Rāya, Bhāvanāyanigarū was given as personal salary (*aṅga-jītamū*) fields in the village of Bōyaviḷḷa.² Whether ministers were granted lands in lieu of money, as salary, cannot be determined. The office of a minister, we may note in passing, was in some instances hereditary. Thus we are told in A.D. 1382 that Muda Daṇḍēśa inherited his office from his father.³

The history of ministers under Vijayanagara now deserves to be examined. The most popular name which we meet with in early Vijayanagara history is that of Mādha-vāchārya. This name, however, was borne by the celebrated Vidyāranya, the author of the *Commentary on the Vedas*; by Mādha-mantri, scholar, author and minister; by

¹ *My. Arch. Report* for 1918, p. 54.

² Butterworth-Chetty, *Nellore Ins.*, II, p. 637. But here we may observe that this personal salary was granted to him for constructing a tank.

³ *E.C.*, V, P.I., Bl. 75, p. 62.

Sāyaṇa, who, although he did not bear that name, has been sometimes confounded with his elder brother Mādhavāchārya; and Mādhava, the author of *Sarva-darśana-saṅgraha*.¹ The first two were ministers to Bukka I, and the third was the minister of Bukka and Harihara and preceptor of Saṅgama II.² The futility of asserting that Mādhavāchārya Vidyāraṇya was the minister of Harihara I has already been dealt with;³ and it was said that Vidyāraṇya must have been transferred to the capital at some period in the reign of Bukka I from his post at one of the provincial centres. This however is only a conjecture. We cannot find out who really was the prime-minister of Harihara I, although, as we said, we are aware of Kriyāsakti Āchārya being the *raja-guru* of the founders. The earlier notion that Mādhava Vidyāraṇya was the minister of Harihara I, Bukka I, and also of Saṅgama II,⁴ is to be rejected on the authority of Sāyaṇa's *Alaṅkāra Sudhānidhi* which definitely describes the activities of Sāyaṇa as regent during the minority of Saṅgama II.⁵ Sāyaṇa, who was the minister of Bukka Rāya,⁶ continued to be the prime-minister of Harihara II.⁷ In A.D. 1347 we have Mādhava as the prime-minister of Mārappa. The inscription records the following: "Having returned to Chandragutti-pura, he (Mārappa) was there in great glory, when to this great king floating in the ocean of the kingdom there was born (arose?) [ajani] a pilot, who by the power of his wisdom could overreach even Guru (or Brihaspati),

¹ Narasimhachār, *I.A.*, XLV, p. 1, seq.

² Shankar Pandit, *I.A.*, IX, pp. 200, n. (1), 202, op. cit.; *Alaṅkāra Sudhānidhi*, *The Sources*, p. 49.

³ Equally futile is it to maintain with Mr. Subramiah Pantulu that he was a Telugu Brahman of the Bhāradvāja-gōtra born in Panpā. See *I.A.*, XXVII, p. 248. Mr. R. Rama Rao has adduced formidable proof in support of the theory that Mādhavāchārya and Vidyāraṇya are not one and the same person. *I.H.Q.*, VI, p. 702, seq.

⁴ Wilson, *As. Res.*, XX, p. 5.

⁵ *I.A.*, XLV, *ibid.*; *The Sources*, p. 49.

⁶ This is proved by his *Commentary* on the *Saunaki-sākhā* of the *Atharva Veda* in the introductory verses of which he definitely tells us that he was the minister of Bukka Rāya. From the same source we learn that Vidyātirtha and Vidyāraṇya were two distinct persons, that the former was the *guru* of Sāyaṇa, and the latter, a famous scholar. Sankar Pandit, *I.A.*, IX, pp. 200, n. (1), 202. The evidence of Sāyaṇa's *Commentary* on the *Saunaki-sākhā* of the *Atharva Veda* only strengthens our contention that Vidyāraṇya—whom Rice identified with Vidyātirtha—could never have been the prime-minister of Bukka I. See in this connection Narasimhachār, *I.A.*, XLV, pp. 2-3; *My. Arch. Report* for 1916, p. 56; *Supra*, Ch. III.

⁷ Sewell, *For. Emp.*, p. 48.

the great minister Mādhava, whose guru was Kṛiyāsakti, and of such fame that he was himself Triyāmbaka".¹ We suppose that this Mādhava was a Kashmere Brahman from the same inscription which, while narrating the names of several donees from Kashmere, says: "On the advice of the learned Mādhava, he who directed the dharma of the kings and Brahmins of his own country, had this śāsana made".² He has been identified with Mādarasa Oḍeyar, also called Mādhavāṅka, the governor placed over Banavāse in A.D. 1368-9, and the conqueror of Goa.³ The chief minister (styled the head-minister = *śiṛaḥ-pradhāna*) of Bukka I in Śaka 1274 (A.D. 1352-3) was Nāgaṇṇa Daṇṇāyaka.⁴ Whether he is to be identified with Teppada Nāgaṇṇa Oḍeyar, who, along with Tippanṇa Oḍeyar, is called the senior minister of Bukka I in A.D. 1359⁵ cannot definitely be made out. Bukka had another minister called Anaṅtarasa Oḍeyar in Śaka 1286 (A.D. 1364-5).⁶ In A.D. 1368 the great minister of Bukka was Basavayya Daṇṇāyaka, who is called "a light of the Brahman race".⁷

Before we deal with the next great name in the list Vijayanagara ministers, we may note the *mahā-pradhānas* of Kaṁpaṇa, the great son of Bukka. In Śaka 1275 (A.D. 1353-4) the famous general under him was the Brahman Gōpaṇārya, but the talented *mahā-pradhāna* was Sōvappa, who could minister to the needs of the province as well as to those of Sanskrit poetry with equal ease.⁸ This Sōvappa was evidently the same as Sōmappa who figures in other inscriptions.⁹

A more famous name in the line of royal ministers is

¹ E.C., VIII, Sb. 375, p. 66.

² *Ibid.*

³ Weber identified him with Vidyāranya, I.A., VI, p. 162, n. See also I.A., IV, p. 206, and p. 206, n. where Fleet confounded this Mādhavāṅka with Mādhavāchārya Vidyāranya.

⁴ E.C., IX, Dv. 29, p. 77.

⁵ E.C., VI, Mg. 25, p. 63. Teppada Nāgaṇṇa is also styled *sabhāpati* or Lord of the Council of the king, in the same inscription.

⁶ Rangachari, *Top. List.*, I, Ap. 1, p. 1. If this Anaṅtarasa is the same as the person who reconstructed the famous tank called Bukkarāya-samudram, Anantapur district, then he seems to have been known also as Chikka Oḍeyar, Sewell, *Lists.*, I, p. 117.

⁷ E.C., IV, Ch. 113, p. 15.

⁸ 523 of 1906. Sōvappa (or Sōmappa) composed a Sanskrit verse with double meaning on the occasion of the gift of an ornament to the temple at Kadiri by Gōpaṇa.

⁹ 250 of 1901; A.S.R. for 1907-8, pp. 240-41; 89 of 1889; E.C. X, Kl. 203, 222; Mb. 58, pp. 61, 64, 91; *Ep. Ind.* VI, p. 324.

that of Muddappa Daṇḍanātha, the great minister of Bukka in A.D. 1378. An inscription of that date relates that "committing to him (Muddappa) the burden of the world, the king Bukka remained at ease like Vāsudēva".¹ This remarkable administrator remained in power for nearly ten years. In the reign of the next king Harihara I, too, Muddappa was entrusted with the sole responsibility of government, according to an inscription dated A.D. 1379, which repeats the eulogy given to the prime-minister in the times of Bukka thus: "The king Harihara, committing all the burdens of the kingdom to him (i.e., Mudda Daṇḍanātha) was at ease, like Hari who places the burden of the earth on the head of the king of serpents".² We may incidentally note that Harihara II was extremely fortunate in having around him a devoted band of efficient officers.³ Two ministers of Harihara are mentioned in A.D. 1403. They were Saṅkapa and Rāyapa, who belonged to the Bhāradvāja-gōtra.⁴

The Executive officer of Dēva Rāya II, in Śaka 1328 (A.D. 1406-7), is said to have been Nāgappa Daṇḍanāyaka.⁵ He is probably to be identified with Nāgaṇṇa Daṇṇyāka, mentioned by Rice and Sewell.⁶ We cannot determine when this minister was exchanged by Dēva Rāya for Baiche Daṇṇāyaka, who, in A.D. 1444, is spoken of as the great minister of the king.⁷ Nuniz relates the following about Dēva Rāya: "As long as he reigned he had twenty ministers, which is an office that amongst these (people), is (generally) held only by one person".⁸ The chief officers

¹ E.C., V, Cn. 256, p. 232.

² E.C., XI, Dg. 34, j. 42. (For Mudda Daṇḍanātha's descent, see E.C., V, Bl. 75, p. 62); E.C., V, Bl. 63, p. 59.

³ These were Sāyana, Irugapa Daṇḍanātha, Guṇḍapa Daṇḍanātha, Vira Bāchaṇa Oḍeya, Mallāṇa, and Muddappa. *Ep. Ind.* III, p. 117.

⁴ E.C., VI, Kp. 53, p. 87.

⁵ 345 of 1905; A.S.R. for 1907-8. p. 245.

⁶ Sewell, *For. Emp.*, p. 80.

⁷ E.C., V, P. I. Bl. 14, p. 47. His descent is also given in this inscription.

⁸ Sewell, *ibid.*, pp. 302-3. Here we may note what Mr. Srikantha Sāstri says: "Dēva Rāya (II) had the good fortune to possess some of the greatest ministers that would have adorned any court. To mention some of them, Timmaṇṇa Oḍeya (1336), Chandrapparasa Oḍeya (1336), Anṇappa Oḍeya (1358), Nāgaṇṇa Oḍeya (1347), Perumāla Daṇḍa Nāyaka (1351), Baichappa Oḍeya (1329), Auchappa (1347), Lakkappa Daṇḍa Nāyaka, Mādaṇṇa Danda Nāyaka, Sankara Deva (1338), Narasimha Oḍeya (1347), Singaṇṇa Oḍeya (1358), Ballāḷa Dēva (1369), Srigiri Bhūpāla in Marāṭaka Rājya (1346-8), Paṇṭamailāra (1351), Vallabha Dēva (1368)". *I.A.*, LVII, p. 77. How the writer came to assign these dates to the different ministers cannot

of Virūpāksha Rāya in Śaka 1389 (A.D. 1467-8) were the following: Viṭṭharasa Oḍeyar, Śāluva Tirumala Rāya, Śāluva Narasimha, Singappa or Singa Daṇḍanayaka.¹

Inscriptions give us some details about the two famous ministers of the great Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya. These were Śāluva Timmarusayya (also called Pratāpa and Appāji), and Rāyasam Koṇḍamarusayya. It is not unlikely that Sellappar Vira Narasimharāya Nāyakkar may have also held the post of a minister under the same monarch.² Three other names of ministers are also given, although we are uncertain about their identity. These are Tipa-Sōma, son of the *Kandāchāra-Brāhmaṇa* (i.e., the Brahmana of the Military Department) minister Mādappa, in A.D. 1513,³ and the ministers Appa and Gōpa, sons of Timma who was also a minister but who belonged to the *Kauśika-gōtra*, in A.D. 1515.⁴ But the three great persons who may be said to have moulded Vijayanagara destiny in the days of Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya were Śāluva Timma, Rāyasam Koṇḍamarusayya and Vyāsārāya. The monarch about whose obduracy as regards the declaration of war we read in the accounts of Nuniz some time ago, was never more docile to the counsel of his priests and nobles than when on a famous occasion, he vacated his throne in favour of his

be made out. He starts with the statement: "Śaka dates from inscriptions are used for the sake of greater accuracy". Evidently we have to take all the above dates as Śaka dates. This, in the absence of any hint from the writer, we conjecture from the date given to Paṇṇa Mailāra. (Here we may also observe that the reference has been given as *Ins. Mad. Pres.*, Vol. I, p. 1051, when it ought to be Sewell, *Lists*, II, C.P. No. 87, pp. 13-14; Rangachari, *Top. Lists*, I. Nl. 23, A.p. 1051). If we take all the above dates as Śaka dates, we start with Timmaṇṇa Oḍeya who, according to Mr. Sastri, was the minister in 1336 (A.D. 1414-15) and with Chandraparasa, of the same year. This date falls within the reign of Dēva Rāya I. (A.D. 1406-16.) Rice, *Mysore, and Coorg*, p. 112. And Ballāla Dēva, to whom the writer gives 1369 (A.D. 1447-8), comes under Mallikārjuna (A.D. 1446-7). The date which Mr. Sastri gives to Baichappa Oḍeya is 1329 (A.D. 1407-08). If he is to be identified with the Baicheya Daṇḍanayaka we have referred to above, then, it is difficult to explain why the minister of Dēva Rāya I should have appeared again in A.D. 1444. Mr. Srikantha Sāstri makes matters infinitely worse by not giving authorities and references to any of the statements in connection with the ministers—in the passage we have quoted—except in two instances. B.A.S.

¹ The first was made the viceroy of Tuḷuva, the second was placed over Trichinopoly, and the third was the famous usurper. Subramanya Aiyar, *Ep. Ind.*, XVII, p. 196.

² *Ep. Report for 1916*, p. 142.

³ *E.C.*, VII, Sh. 1, p. 2.

⁴ Lüders, *Ep. Ind.*, VI, pp. 111-12.

illustrious *guru* Vyāsārāya. About the minister *Rāyasam* Koṇḍamarusayya, it is doubtful whether or not he was also ordered to conduct a campaign in the east.¹ The career of Sāluva Timma, known, as we said, to history as Appāji,² was as unsurpassed for its magnificence and power at the beginning as it was unequalled for its misery and pain at the end of his eventful political career.³

Sāluva Timma's family was one of the three great families which figured conspicuously in the history of Vijayanagara. The other was that to which Salakka Pedda Timma belonged. In Śaka 1456 (A.D. 1534-5) Pedda Timma seems to have been the prime-minister of Achyuta Rāya.⁴ In Śaka 1477 (A.D. 1555-6) the prime-minister of Sadāsiva Rāya was Gutti Tirumalayya Mahārāya of the famous Āravīḍu family.⁵ It was this family which continued the traditions and rule of the Vijayanagara monarchs for more than three generations after the memorable battle of Rākshasa-Taṅgaḍi.

We may note in passing one or two great names in the list of ministers under the provincial rulers. The chronicles of Madura as well as the inscriptions supply us with one outstanding figure in the days of Viśvanātha Nāyaka and Kumāra Kṛishṇappa Nāyaka. It is that of Ariyanātha Mudaliyar, the contemporary of Akbar and Todar Mall.⁶

We infer that the Vijayanagara monarchs had "assistant-ministers" from an inscription dated Śaka 1450 (A.D. 1528-9) which speaks of Vīra Narasimha Nāyaka, son of Taluvakkṣaindām-bhaṭṭar, as *ubhaya-pradhāni* (or assistant-minister).⁷

The functions and powers of the *rāja-guru* and the *mahā-pradhāna*, at least in some instances, were so indissolubly connected that we may be permitted to discuss here the position of the royal priest in relation to the State in general. The *rāja-guru* has always had a unique standing

¹ S. K. Aiyangar, *The Sources*, p. 114; *infra*, Vol. II, Chapter III *Brahmans*.

² Subramiah Pantulu, *I. A.*, XXVII, p. 297. Sāluva Timma has also been identified with the 'Heemraj' of Frishtah. *Ibid.* But Briggs' *Timra*, mentioned elsewhere, is nearer to Timma Rāja. *B.A.S.*

³ Sewell, *For. Emp.*, pp. 108, 123, 131, 158, 168, 250, 359 and *passim*. See also *Ep. Ind.* VI, p. 109; *I.A.*, XXVII, *ibid.*

⁴ C.P. No. 11 of 1905-6.

⁵ 412 of 1911. There is a Tirumalayya Dēva Mahārāya mentioned as minister in Śaka 1455. Rangachari, *Top. List.*, I. Ap. 10, p. 2.

⁶ Rangachari, *I.A.*, XLIV, p. 62; Taylor *O.H. MSS.* II. pp. 17, 19.

⁷ 233 of 1901; *A.S.R.* for 1908-9, p. 184. *Ubhaya* also means both.

in Hindu history. Apparently in charge of the religious affairs of the royal household and of the State, he has sometimes thrown into the shade the *mahā-pradhāna* or prime-minister. In one or two instances he went even to the extent of commanding the king. From the earliest times the importance of the *rāja-guru* has been recognized by the canonists. This is especially seen in the statement which declared the *purōhita* "to be one-half of the Kshatriya", and the protector of the kingdom.¹ Some canonists however refused to recognize this Brahman view, which seemed to them to over-rate the status of the *rāja-guru*. This perhaps explains why Kauṭilya fails to mention the *purōhita* among the elements of sovereignty,² although he certainly remembers to note that high dignitary in the front rank of State officials.³ Sūkrāchārya likewise gives the priest the first place in his description of the ten departments of a king.⁴ But the extraordinary sanctity given to the priest in the early canons is absent in the later treatises.⁵

Great prominence was given to the *rāja-gurus* in the Vijayanagara times. This was in some measure due to the profound wisdom of the celebrated characters that illumine the pages of Vijayanagara history. The earliest of these, as related above, figure also in their capacity as ministers, although we are uncertain whether the first authentic name of the *rāja-guru*, Kṛiyāśakti Āchārya, can in any way be included among the *mahā-pradhānas*. He seems to have been the head of the Śrīkaṇṭhāgama.⁶ While discussing the genuineness of the copper-plate grant called Mb. 158, we remarked that Kṛiyāśakti Āchārya was probably succeeded by Vidyātūrtha Svāmi of Śrīṅgeri as *rāja-guru*; and that the latter was the predecessor of Vidyāraṇya in the pontificate of that famous *maṭha*. It was also said⁷ that it was difficult to determine the date of the advent of Vidyāraṇya at the court of Vijayanagara.⁷ From A.D. 1378

¹ *Sat. Brah.* P. III. VI, 6, 3, 12, p. 259; Ghosal, *Hind. Pol. Theor.* pp. 51-2. (1st. ed.)

² *Arthśāstra*, Bk. VI, Ch. I, 258, p. 309; Ghosal, *ibid*, p. 89. (1st. ed.)

³ *Arthśāstra*, Bk. I. Chs. IX-X., pp. 15-16.

⁴ *Sukraniti*, Ch. II, ll. 141-4, p. 68.

⁵ For a short account of the importance of the royal priests among foreign nations, see Sarkar, *Pos. Back.*, I, p. 1.

⁶ Gopinatha Rao, *Madhurāvijayam*, Intr. pp. 17-18.

⁷ An inscription dated A.D. 1652 informs us that Vidyāraṇya Sripāda "for the protection of cows, gods and Brahmans performed the coronation anointing of Harihara-mahārāya to the throne". *E.C.* VI, Sg. 11, p. 95.

till A.D. 1399 the royal priest under Harihara II was Kṛiyasākti Āchārya, who has been identified by some with his namesake who was the *guru* of Mādhava-mantri.¹

The influence wielded by these *rāja-gurus* seems to have been considerable. There is no doubt that in their capacity as preceptors of the monarch, they even commanded him to bestow gifts on learned persons. The manner in which Śrikanṭhanātha, the royal priest of Saṅgama II, guided his royal master is thus related in an inscription dated Śaka 1278 (A.D. 1356-7). "Once when (*his*) beloved disciple, Saṅgama (II), waited upon him, the preceptor commanded him (*as follows*), with a glance which was full of great love: 'It pleases me to urge you to bestow some *agrahāra*. Therefore, O King, grant some village!' With folded hands (*and*) bent head, the lord of the rulers of the earth received this command of (*his*) preceptor'.²

Narasimhāchārya is said to have been the priest of the royal household, under Dēva Rāya II, in A.D. 1427.³ An inscription dated Śaka 1438 (A.D. 1516-7) informs us that the *purōhita* of Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya was Raṅganātha Dikshita.⁴ But three years later, in A.D. 1519, the *guru* of king Išvara and king Narasa of the Tuluva line is said to have been Basava Dikshita of the Jāmadagnya-Vatsiya-*gōtra*, Āsvalāyana-*sūtra* and Rik-*sākha*. The epigraph further narrates that he performed all the ceremonies of the *Vāja-pēya* and other great sacrifices for Vīra Narasimha and Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya.⁵ But we know from Sōmanātha's *Vyāsayōgicharitam* that the illustrious Vyāsarāya, at the special request of Śrīpādarāya, had gone to the court of Sālūva Nṛisimha, and that he continued to grace the courts of Sālūva Narasimha (II), (otherwise known as Thammarāya), and Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya for many years.⁶

Since there is no reason to doubt the veracity of Sōmanātha's account, we can only say that both Raṅganātha Dikshita and Basava Dikshita may have acted in the minor capacity of *purōhitas*, while the coveted position of a *rāja-guru* was held by the great Vyāsarāya. He was the disciple of Brahmanyatīrtha. In A.D. 1525-26 he was granted the

My. Arch. Report for 1911-12, p. 48; E.C. V, P.I., Cn. 256, p. 232.

Kṛishna Sāstri, *Ep. Ind.* III, p. 33, and n. (3).

Rangachari, *Top. List.* I, NA 614A, p. 105.

686 of 1922.

E.C. V. P.I., Cn 167, p. 198.

Vyāsayōgicharitam, Intr., pp. lxiv-lxv, 40, 53, 58 and 60.

village of Bettagonḍa, which was renamed Vyāśasamudra after the donee, and Kṛishṇarāyapura, after the donor, Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya.¹ Two years earlier (in A.D. 1523-4) he seems to have received a grant when he was known as *Vaishṇava-Siddhānta-pratiśṭhāpakāchārya*.² How this renowned Vaishṇava teacher won the confidence of the Emperor, even to the extent of occupying the throne to avert a great danger, will be narrated in a subsequent paper.

An equally great name among the *rāja-gurus* was that of the celebrated Tātācharya, the family *guru* of Rāma Rāya. Born in the *Sriśaila-vaṁśa* of the famous Sri-sailanātha, also known as Periya Tirumalai-nambi, the maternal uncle of Rāmānuja, Tātācharya, the son of Srinivasa-*guru*, learned in all the *sāstras*, was the *āchārya* of Rāma Rāya. He accompanied the Emperor to Chandra-giri.³ Tātācharya was the family *guru* of Veṅkaṭa II.⁴ It was he who performed the coronation ceremony of that monarch.⁵ Among the commanding figures of later Vijayanagara history we have the famous Appaya Dikshita and Gōvinda Dikshita, who were in no small measure responsible for the magnificence of the court of Vellore.⁶

Having learnt something about the *rāja-gurus*, we may now turn to the secretaries. The office of the secretary was generally known as *rāyasa*. There is reason to believe that some of these secretaries were well versed in literature. This may account for Rāyasa Veṅkaṭādri being described, in A.D. 1540, as the son of the minister Timmaya, and grandson of the minister Mosalimadūvīrama, distinguished as a student of the Yajur-vēda, and as one who followed the *sūtra* of Āpastamba.⁷ The chief secretary was probably called *rāyasa-svāmi*. This is only a conjecture. But we meet with a *rāyasa-svāmi* in the person of Viṭṭhala, in A.D. 1522.⁸ But about the office of a *rāyasa* we have more

¹ *Ep. Report* for 1905, p. 51.

² *Ibid.*, 74 of 1889.

³ *Prapaṇāṁpitam*, *The Sources*, pp. 202, 203. See also *Ep. Ind.* XII, p. 162, n. (1) The history of the Tātācharyas is given in detail here.

⁴ Gopinatha Rao, *Ep. Ind.*, XII, p. 162 where Veṅkaṭa II, is called Veṅkaṭa I. Heras, *Aravidu*, pp. 300, 304-5, and *passim*.

⁵ *Ep. Ind.*, X, p. 186; Heras, *ibid.*

⁶ *Ep. Ind.*, *ibid.*, p. 345, n. (3); Heras, *ibid.*, pp. 289, 316, 321, 522, 523, 532, 544, 553. On the Jagadguru of Sringeri, see Rice *E.C.*, VI, *Intr.*, p. 24.

⁷ Kielhorn, *Ep. Ind.* III, p. 151.

⁸ *E.C.*, XII, Pg. 69, p. 128.

definite information. *Rāyasa* Veṅkaṭādri, son of Timma Rājayya, evidently the same Veṅkaṭādri mentioned above, and Agent for the affairs of the *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Komāra Koṇḍa Rājayya Dēva Mahā-arasu, in A.D. 1556, granted the village of Tumbala in *Srīraṅgapaṭṭaṇa* for the services of the gods *Tiruveṅgaḍam-Agastyēśvara* and *Guñja-Narasimha*.¹ If our identification is correct, and if during Vijayanagara times a person was permitted to append the title of *rāyasa* only while he was in office, it would appear that *Rāyasam* Veṅkaṭādri was the secretary from A.D. 1540 till A.D. 1556. Here we may note that according to Dr. Krishnaswamy Aiyangar, the designation of *rāyasam* was given to despatch-writers.²

In this connection we have to deal with other offices. We have, for example, in the *Lakshmīvilāsam* by *Rāyasam* Veṅkaṭapati, the office of the *nirvāhaka* (manager) of the *sakalādhīpatya* (the general secretariat functions).³ *Rāyasam* Veṅkaṭapati, who was an officer at the court of *Srīraṅga*, tells us in the same work that he held the office of *nirvāhaka* of the *sakalādhīpatya*. The nature and functions of this as well as the following office cannot be made out. *Avataram* was the name given to an office about which some conjecture has been made. In Śaka 1392 (A.D. 1470-71) we have *Avataram* Aṇṇamarasa Ayyaṇ under *Narasimha*.⁴ *Chandraēśkarayya* was ruling the *Srīsaila-rājya* as *Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya's avasaram* in A.D. 1530.⁵ It is supposed that the Tamil term *avataram* (also called *avasyara* in Telugu, and *avasaram* in some inscriptions) refers to the king's representative.⁶ Among the officers of the secretariat mention must be made of the *karanika* or *lēkhaka* or writer. An inscription of the times of *Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya* found in the *Anantaśayana* temple on the way to Hampi, states that that ruler bestowed the office of accountant (*sthaḷa-lēkhatām adāt*) on some one.⁷

E.C., III, TN. 108, p. 90

Lakshmīvilāsam, The Sources, p. 230.

¹ *Ibid.*

374 of 1917; 166 and 172 of 1918; Ep. Report for 1918, pp. 64-5.

14 of 1915.

Ep. Report for 1918, pp. 164-5.

⁶ *My. Arch. Report for 1920*, p. 37. On a *karanikā* read *Kavicharite*, II, p. 219. Contrast this description with that of a bad clerk given by *Somēśvara* of the *Hoyasla* times. Kittel, *Canarese Poetical Anthology*, pp. 55-6. (3rd ed. 1874.)

SECTION 4. *The Secretariat (continued) General Offices*

There is reason to believe that in addition to the officials described above there were numerous others whose presence was of some consequence in the conduct of government. These officials may be divided into the following—those in charge of the general affairs of the Government, those who looked after the commercial interests of the State, and those minor officials whose functions varied from praising the king to inscribing royal orders on stone and copper-plates.

In the first category there comes the “Agent for the affairs”—the *kāryakarta*—whose duties it is not possible for us, for want of data, to define. In about A.D. 1505 Bukkappa Nāyaka was called the *kāryakarta* of Kṛishṇappa Nāyaka.¹ Since the provincial rulers imitated the Central Government in most matters, we may reasonably suppose that there was under the Emperor also an official called “the Agent for the affairs”. Our surmise is proved by an inscription dated A.D. 1645 which relates that a grant was made by Veṅkaṭādrī Nāyaka to Timma Nāyaka, brother of Kṛishṇama Nāyaka, (son) of Veṅkaṭādrī Nāyaka, Agent for the affairs of the Mahārājādhiraja Sriraṅga Rāya Mahārāya.² In what respects the office of the “Agent for the affairs” differed from that of the *adhikāri* cannot be determined. The existence of the *adhikāri* is proved by an inscription dated A.D. 1566 which speaks of Bidirūr Kēśappa Adhikāri.³ With these officials may be classed some of those whom Nuniz describes as the itinerant officers of the king. “The officers of the King who go about the kingdom are these:—First the minister (*regedor*) of the kingdom, who is the second person in it, then the treasurer, with the scribes of the King’s own lands, the chief treasurer, and the commander of the palace guards (*o porteiro moor*), the treasurer of the jewels, the chief master of the horse”.⁴

“The chief master of the horse” and “the commander of the palace guards” come strictly under the military department, which we shall describe in detail while dealing with the Vijayanagara army. In his capacity as the commander of the army, the *daṇṇāyaka* (or *daṇḍanāyaka*) was not an indispensable element in the government. His

¹ E.C., V. P. I, Hn. 35, p. 11.

² *Ibid.*, Hn. 41, p. 13.

³ E.C., VIII, Nr. 2 and 3, p. 126.

⁴ Sewell, *For. Emp.*, p. 384.

presence, at least according to the Persian ambassador 'Abdur Razzāq, was important in the matter of administering justice.¹ We may note here that some of the *daṇṇāyakas* were deputed to the south as Masters of the Southern Ocean. Thus in A.D. 1415 Iraṇṇa Daṇṇāyaka was called the *dakshīṇa-samudrādhipati*.² A more famous Master of the Southern Ocean was Lakkaṇṇa Daṇṇāyaka, who seems to have been the *dakshīṇa-samudrādhipati* from A.D. 1438 till A.D. 1445-6.³

Under these *daṇḍanāyakas* may be classed other officials, who were called *nāyakas*, *amara-nāyakas* and *paṭṭeya-nāyakas*. It must be confessed that the status of none of these can be determined with any precision, especially in regard to the *nāyakas*, whose functions varied from those of provincial viceroys to those of petty government officials. It may be assumed that the officials called *amara-nāyakas* were in some instances connected with the military department. However that may be, it appears that lands were granted to the *nāyakas* probably as remuneration for maintaining horses for the king or for some administrative work.⁴ Sometimes whole villages were bestowed on them. We are told in an inscription dated A.D. 1495 that Vira Nāyaka, son of Inḍumūra Kasavaṇa Nāyaka, granted to . . . Viraṇṇa Oḍeyar the land and garden (specified) in the Hasare village of the Chiṭṭūr-sīme, granted to him for the office of *nāyaka* by Sōmaṇa Oḍeyar.⁵ But in the generality of cases it was the king who bestowed the lands pertaining to an *amara-nāyakaship* on nobles or officials. Yellappa Nāyaka in A.D. 1510 gave to the god Tirumala of Handarahāl the Handarahāl village belonging to the Rāmanāyakanahallī-sīme granted to him by Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya for the office of *nāyaka*.⁶ Mālēnahallī in A.D. 1515 was given to Triyambakarasa, son of Tipparasa of Sivanasaṃudra, for the office of the *nāyaka* by the same monarch.⁷ Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya the Great also granted the Jājūr-sīme according to an epigraph dated A.D. 1517, to his agent, the minister Malarasa, for the office of *nāyaka*.⁸ Sāluva Gōvinda Rāya

Elliot, *Hist. of Ind.*, IV, p. 108; Major, *India*, p. 25.

E.C. IX, An. 85, p. 119.

141 of 1903; 28 of 1913; 567 of 1904; 100 of 1911.

My. Arch. Report for 1913-4, pp. 48-9.

E.C., VIII, Sb. 554, p. 89.

E.C. XII, Mi. 58, p. 110.

E.C. VII, Sk. 25, p. 44.

E.C. XI, Hk. 70, p. 124.

in A.D. 1522 received from the Emperor a grant of the village called Kōḍihaḷḷi together with its hamlets Anniyūr and Channayanapura in Terakaṇāmbi-sthaḷa of the Kuḍugu-nāḍu, for the office of *nāyaka*. The same epigraph relates that the total revenue from the three villages thus granted amounted to 477 *gadyāna*.¹ The same ruler assigned the village of Bīriṣeṭṭihaḷḷi in Kuruvaṅka-nāḍu, to Krishna Rāya Nāyaka for his office of *nāyaka* in A.D. 1527.² An inscription dated in A.D. 1525 says that that monarch also granted the Tēkaḷ-sīme to Vīraṇṇa-Rāhuta for his office of *nāyaka*.³ Gauḍas were also raised to the rank of *nāyakas*. This is proved by an inscription dated about A.D. 1527 which relates that Tyāgaṇṇa Gauḍa made a grant of Gereṭenebele in Sāviteya-nāḍ belonging to his office of *nāyaka*.⁴ Sivanasamudra-sthaḷa, according to an epigraph dated A.D. 1530, was assigned to Sōlūr Basavappa Nāyaka's son Kṛishṇappa Nāyaka for his office of *nāyaka*.⁵ An inscription dated A.D. 1538 relates that Bematrakal-sīme had been given to Haḍa-pada Potti Nāyaka's son Viṭhalapa Nāyaka for the same office.⁶ Rāyadurga-sīme, according to a record dated A.D. 1556, was granted by Sadāśiva Rāya to the *Mahāmaṇḍal-ēśvara* Rāma Rāju Viṭhala Rāju Tirumalaiya Dēva Mahārāya, for the office of *nāyaka*.⁷ As is related in an effaced epigraph assigned to the year A.D. 1580, or thereabouts, Sadāśiva Rāya bestowed on Mūrti Rāya's (son) Rājaya, for the office of *nāyaka*, Aṇṇapanahaḷḷi . . . in Ballada-sthaḷa. . . .⁸ Another effaced inscription dated A.D. 1584 evidently records a similar grant for a *nāyakaship*. It relates that Niḍugōḍu was given by Śrīraṅga Rāya to Veṅkaṭādri Nāyaka, son of Yeṇa Kṛishṇappa Nāyaka, for his *nāyakaship*.⁹

In addition to these *nāyakas* we have *amara-nāyakas*.¹⁰ Although we are in the dark as to the precise nature of the

¹ E.C., IV, Gu. 1. p. 35.

² E.C. III. Sr. 1, p. 7.

³ E.C. X, Mr. 35, p. 164.

⁴ E.C. IX, An. 56, p. 116.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Bn. 28, p. 8.

⁶ E.C., XI, Cd. 45, p. 12.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Mk. 4, p. 90.

⁸ E.C. X, Sd. 2, p. 178.

⁹ E.C., V, P. I, Bl. 212, p. 110.

¹⁰ Fleet thus writes on the term *amara-nāyaka*: "*Amaranāyakatana*, the nature of this post is not apparent; *amara-nāyaka* is an epithet of Indra as being the leader or chief of the immortals". I.A. IV, p. 329. (n) Perhaps *amara-nāyaka* may mean a governor. We are told in a record the Saka year of which is effaced but which is dated the 7th lunar day of the

work which fell to the lot of an *amara-nāyaka*, yet we have a few facts in connection with his office. We know that some *amara-nāyakas* were styled senior, that they were persons of some consequence and that the post was also held by Brahmans. According to a copper-plate grant dated A.D. 1474, Dēva Rāya seems to have bestowed Sāti-grāma-sthala on Sōvaṇṇa Oḍeyar for his office of *amara-nāyaka*.¹ In A.D. 1478 the same official is called *senior amara-nāyaka*; and the epigraph relates that he was a dignitary who was allowed to have a watchman to guard his house. The watchman was named Maleya Nāyaka.² The *amara-nāyakas* were also granted lands by the Government. Dhanañjaya Rāja Oḍeyar, grandson of the *Daḷavāyi* Aliya Timmarasa, was granted the village of Hāsana-sthala, according to a record dated in A.D. 1516, for his office of *amara-paḍeyā nāyaka*, by Emperor Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya.³

Achyuta Rāya continued the custom of bestowing villages on *amara-nāyakas*. This is evident from an epigraph dated A.D. 1530 which records the granting of Achyutarāyapura, otherwise called Baḷlāpura, to Nārāyaṇa Dēva, son of Timmarasa of the Treasury of Gold, for the office of *amara-nāyaka*.⁴ From the fact that the donee is mentioned as one who belonged to the *Vaśishṭha-gōtra* and the *Āsvalāyana-sūtra*, we suppose that the post of an *amara-nāyaka* was held by the Brahmans as well. The following instance lends support to our surmise. Achyuta Rāya in A.D. 1531 gave the villages of Beḷuvaḍi and Gaṅganarasi in the Marihara-sime belonging to the Uchchaṅgi-vēṇṭhe in Pāṇḍya-nāḍ, to *Avasarada* Dikshita, son of Anṇāji Dēva, of the *Gārgya-gōtra*, the *Āpastamba-sūtra*, and the *Yajus-sākhā*, for his office of *amara-nāyaka*.⁵ In A.D. 1532 the *Sānti-grāma-sime* was assigned by the same monarch to Kerega Timmarasa as an emolument for his *amara-nāyakaship*.⁶ Rāmarāja Ayyaṇ, according to an inscription wrongly dated in Śaka 1485 Krōdhana, (A.D. 1565?), gave to

bright half of Pushya, in the year Krōdhana, that Emperor Sadāśiva Rāya favoured on Rāma Rāju Gāru, son of the *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Rāma Rāju Tirumala Dēva Mahārājayya, the office of the governor (*amaranāyakatana*) of Penugōḍa-sime. *My Arch. Report* for 1925, p. 76.

¹ *My. Arch. Report* for 1911-12, p. 50.

² *E.C.*, V, P. I, Cn. 153, p. 194.

³ *Ibid.*, Hn. 13, p. 7.

⁴ *Rice, My. Ins.* p. 38.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 43, *E.C.* XI, Dg. 31, p. 40.

⁶ *E.C.*, V., P. I, Hn. 115, p. 33.

Visvanātha Nāyaka Tiruvaḍi-deśa as an *amara-nāyakam*, obviously after the successful termination of the war with Travancore.¹

The office of an *amara-nāyaka* may have been related to that of a *paṭṭeya-nāyaka*, and also to that of an *amara-mahale*. An inscription dated A.D. 1533 informs us that Achyuta Rāya had bestowed on Allappa Nāyaka Koppa, otherwise called Timmapura, in the Guṭṭi-durga, as an *amara-mahale*.² This term, the meaning of which cannot be ascertained, may have been connected with an *amara-māgaṇi*. Rama Raju Tirumala Rājaiyya Dēva Mahārasu, according to an inscription dated A.D. 1559, granted the village of Chitagoṇḍanahalli in the Doḍēri-sīme to Hoṭṭeṇṇa Nāyaka as an *amara-māgaṇi*.³ We are also uncertain about the status of a *paṭṭeya-nāyaka*. An inscription dated A.D. 1539 informs us that Vasudhāra-sīme was granted to Tirumala Rāja Oḍeyar, son of Sanaka Rāja Oḍeyar, for the office of *paṭṭeya-nāyaka*, evidently by Emperor Achyuta Rāya. The same epigraph also tells us that Vasudhāre-sīme had been assigned to Raghupati Rāja Oḍeyar, son of Malla Rāja Oḍeyar, as an *amara-māgaṇi*.⁴

We may also observe in this connection that there were other officials called the *paṭṭana-svāmi*, *prithvīśeṭṭi* and the like, who were largely responsible for the co-operation of the Central Government with the local units in commercial matters. These officials will mostly figure in the description of the social institutions of Vijayanagara.⁵ There is one name, however, which may be mentioned here. We meet with a *rāja-śreshṭhi* (royal merchant) in about A.D. 1560 in the person of Āmbavana Śreshṭhi of Kshēmapura, (Gērasoppe).⁶ But the duties and status of this person cannot be determined.

Among the miscellaneous officials were the following—the betel-bearers, the *bhāṭs*, the calendar-makers, the officials who conducted the royal worship, the engravers, and the composers of inscriptions. The office of a betel-bearer was not unknown to ancient times. While describing the marri-

¹ The cyclic year Krōdhana corresponds to A.D. 1565. 17 of 1912; see also Heras, *Aravidu*, p. 150. On Tiruvaḍi, see Venkayya, *Ep. Repori* for 1900, p. 29; also Hultzsch, *I.A.* XIII, p. 153, n. (3).

² E.C., VIII, Sb. 379, p. 67.

³ E.C., XI, Cl. 54, p. 103.

⁴ E.C., VI, Cm. 80, p. 45.

⁵ *Infra* Vol. II., Chapter II, Social Institutions, Sec. 4. Guilds.

⁶ E.C., VIII, Sa. 55, p. 101.

age of Rājyaśrī, Bāṇa tells us the following: "Anon the groom-in-waiting, having entered, introduced a young man of fair exterior, saying—'A betel-bearer, your majesty, by name Pārijātaka, arrived from the bridegroom's presence'."¹ Then again while describing the grief of Rājyavardhana when he met Harsha,—“Then with a piece of moonlight in the shape of a towel presented by the betel-bearer he wiped his face, which the hot tears had scorched”.² Rājyaśrī informs Harshavardhana, through her betel-bearer Patralatā, about her desire to assume the red robes of an ascetic.³ According to Bāṇa, therefore, in the days of Harshavardhana, the betel-bearers were used as royal messengers, royal attendants, and chowry-bearers. And they were divided into two classes—those who were attached to the person of the king, and those, of the queen.

We do not know whether the betel-bearers of southern India continued to do the same work as those of the times of Bāṇa did, but we are aware of betel-bearers in the south appearing in the capacity of warriors. The office of betel-bearer can claim some antiquity in southern India. We have, for example, the following notices of betel-bearers in the Kadam̐ba times. A certain Kīrti or Kīrtiga is described as “a diamond among bearers of the betel-bag” (*haḍavaḷa-hīra*) at the court of the *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Kīrti Dēvarasa (A.D. 1068), ruler of the Banavāse Twelve-thousand.⁴ The Western Chāḷukyas too had betel-bearers. Under Jagadēkamalla Dēva in A.D. 1147 Bamma Dēvarasa is called the betel-bearer *daṇḍanāyaka* (*haḍapava daṇḍanāyakam*).⁵ The official designation of a betel-bearer was *haḍapa*. In the reign of Bīra Dēvarasa in A.D. 1248 *Haḍapa* Jakkeya Nāyaka was attacked by Bommarasa's servant Dureya.⁶ During the reign of the Yādava king Rāmachandra in A.D. 1276, Timma of Sātuvali with the betel-bearers opposed the *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Kumāra Bommarasa.⁷ Coming to the Vijayanagara times, we have in A.D. 1561 Kṛishṇappa Nāyaka, the betel-bearer of Sadāśiva Rāya.⁸

¹ Bāṇa, *Harshacharita*, p. 126.

² *Ibid.*, p. 167; see also p. 202.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 254.

⁴ Barnett, *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 360.

⁵ E.C., VII Sk. 267, p. 143.

⁶ E.C. VIII, Sa. 127, p. 118.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Sa. 69-70, p. 104.

⁸ E.C. XI, Dg. 18, p. 29.

The betel-bearers were perhaps the personal attendants of the king, whose praise was sung by another type of officials called *bhāts*. The *bhāts* or bards are also seen in early history. Under Satyavākya Permmāṇḍi, in A.D. 968, Jaysēna Bhaṭara ruled over the province of Kāreya, the Twelve (?).¹ These *bhāts* or panegyrists were to be found even in Gujarat and Rajputana.² They figure to same extent in Hoysala and Vijayanagara records but their titles "are not easy to translate, and their meaning is unknown even to themselves".³ In A.D. 1317, for example, ". . . the eulogiser (or bard), fearless champion of bards, the maker of eulogies, a stream of sound (or melody) Kīrti Rāya, subduer of secret love (?), . . . supporter of virtue, . . . (?) his belly distorted with flesh obtained and eaten," died in the reign of the Hoysala king Vīra Ballāla.⁴

These *bhāts* are credited with a great deal of social work. One of the most famous *bhāts* in the fourteenth century was Bāchapa, son of Kīrti Dēva. In A.D. 1358 Bāchapa constructed several large tanks, and other works of merit. He also planted lines of trees on the four sides of the tanks, and performed the *upanayanam* or investiture with the sacred thread, to the *pīpal* tree at the four corners.⁵ One of the titles given to Bukka in this inscription of Bāchapa is *śrī-vīra Saṅgameśvarada-rāya-bāhaṭu* representing him as the royal *bhāt* or bard of his father Saṅgama. Even Harihara II is said to have been a royal *bhāt* to his father Bukka Rāya.⁶ From this it is clear that the position which a *bhāt* occupied in the Vijayanagara court was of some consequence. In A.D. 1392 we have the following account of *Bhāṭa* Bāchiyappa: "The golden necklet of royal *bhāts*, the hero of eulogisers, the fearless champion of eulogisers, the beater of time for eulogisers, the promoter of ecstasy which caused the hair to stand on end. . . . born in the Baḍavāravaṁsa (was) the *Bhaṭṭa* Bāchiyappa of Arunahaḷḷi".⁷ In a record of A.D. 1394 we have some more epithets heaped on him: ". . . a head-jewel of the Baḍa-

¹ E.C. III, Nj 192, p. 115.

² D. R. Bhandarkar, *Ep. Ind.* XI, p. 39. Cf. The Bhaṭarājus, a Telugu caste analogous to the *bhāts* of Rajaputana. *Ep. Ind.* XIX, p. 148. See also Wilks, *The Sketches*, I, p. 20, n.

³ E.C. III, p. 56, n. (2).

⁴ *Ibid.*, Ml. 12, p. *ibid.*

⁵ *Ibid.*, Intr., p. 21, Ml. 22, p. 58.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Intr., p. 22.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Ml. 47, p. 61.

vāra-kula, a master of the Gautama-*gōtra*, increaser of the faithful, a garland of love to the royal *bhāṭṣ*, a bee to the virtuous, king of virtue,—fearless champion of eulogisers, an elephant-goad to hostile kings, the illustrious Bāchi-yappa of the *Bhaṭas*''.¹ About A.D. 1487 *bhaṭa-rāja* subjects are mentioned in connection with a grant of money and grain which they received at the hands of the *Mahā-nāyakāchārya* Mukoṇḍa Kadiri Vōbaḷi Nāyini and Kadirapa Nāyini.²

The calendar-makers and authorities on the religious dates of the year, or, as they were called, the *pañchāṅga-davaru*, are to be considered next. As their name implies, they were concerned with the compilation of almanacs. We are made aware of their existence in an inscription dated A.D. 1472 when the temple priests of Bētamaṅgala requested that a grant be made to the *pañchāṅgadavaru*, which was forthwith made by the officer Siṅgarasa.³ If a little district like Bēta-maṅgala could maintain calendar-makers, it is obvious that the Central Government must have had under it almanac-makers as well. These *pañchāṅgadavaru* may have had something to do with minor religious ceremonies and worship. They are mentioned so late as A.D. 1698.⁴

But an official who was of greater consequence than the almanac-maker was the person who was in charge of inscriptions. The commands of the king, the details of public or private benevolence, the news of victory—in fact, everything that was of public interest and that was to be permanent was inscribed on stones and copper-plates. These were the media of public information in those days. The charge of inscription was given to a man well known for his literary attainments. He was officially known as *sāsanāchārya*, while the actual engraver under him was called the *śilpi* or the sculptor. In pre-Vijayanagara days the *sāsanāchārya* seems to have been known also by the name *rāyasūtradhāri*, or the *royal draughtsman*. Sūrōja, for example, held this post in A.D. 1237.⁵ About this

¹ E.C., III, Ml. 42, p. 60, text, p. 181.

² E.C., X, Ct. 22, p. 248. Whether these *bhāṭṣ* or *bhaṭṭṣ* were in any way connected with the *bhaṭṭars* of Srīraṅgam, we do not know. On the *bhaṭṭars* of Srīraṅgam, see Gopinatha Rao *Ep. Ind.* XIV, p. 85, seq.

³ E.C. X. Bp. 19, p. 139.

⁴ E.C., IX; Dv. 15, p. 75. This date however falls outside the province of our subject. B.A.S.

⁵ E.C., V., P. I, Ak. 123, p. 168.

apparently insignificant but nevertheless important official we have some details in records of an earlier date. During the days of Vīra Rājendra I, for example, revenue officers entered matter which was related to land in revenue registers in accordance with the command of the king; and then they had it engraved on copper-plates and stone.¹

The usage in the Karnāṭaka is thus given in an epigraph dated A.D. 1180. "By direction of that muni (Bāla-chandra Munindra)—Boppana Paṇḍita, known as 'a polish to the Kannāḍa poets', (*Kannāḍa-gavi-bappa*), approving of (the proposal to compose) the *sāsana* praising the qualities of Gommaṭa Jīnendra, lord of earth, and having finished it, by Kavaḍamayya Dēva's order, Bāgadage Rudra with affection caused it to be engraved and erected".² There was thus a *muni* or a sage who directed (the thoughts and matter), a poet who approved of the same and who composed it, an officer (probably of the king)³ who ordered its execution, and an engraver who inscribed and erected the stone (or copper) inscription.

The stone and copper-plate epigraphs thus engraved were in accordance with certain recognized rules which have been thus given in an inscription dated Śaka 1291 (A.D. 1369-70). This epigraph gives the characteristics (*lakṣhaṇa*) of a *sāsana* as follows: "Out of the five mystic syllables (*praṇava*) the sacred *bija* (syllable) should be uttered first. One should avoid (the use of the letters) *cha*, *ka*, *ṭa*, *ha*, in the *ṛitu* (6th), *adri* (7th), 10th, and *rudra* (11th) syllables. At the beginning of a composition (the *gaṇa*) *ma*, consisting of three long (syllables and representing) the Earth, brings bliss; *na* with many (i.e., all) short (syllables) which represents *THAT* (brings) wealth; and *ya*, with the first (syllable) short, (and representing) *Water*, (brings) gold; *ja* with the middle (syllable) long, (representing) the Sun, (brings) diseases; *ra* with the middle (syllable) short, (representing) Fire, (brings) fear; *sa* with two short (syllables) in the beginning (representing) *Wind*, (brings) destruction; *ta*, with a short (syllable) at the end, (representing) Space, (brings) lordship; and *bha*

¹ S.I.I., III, P. I. p. 39.

² E.C. II, No. 85, p. 156. (1st ed.) See also No. 234, pp. 100-1 (2nd ed.)

³ Sometimes it was the village citizens who issued an edict. See S.I.I., III, P. I. pp. 20, 22, 24. And at other times, as in those of Pallava Naṇḍivarmma, the royal grant was written by his Majesty's great treasurer S.I.I., II, P. III, p. 346.

with a long (syllable) at the beginning, (representing) the Moon, (brings) happiness. Not having a *visarga* at the end of the first half, absence of compounded words at the beginning, and having a *visarga* (at the end as) *śekhara*: these are the best characteristics of an edict-stanza".¹

The above is as much a specimen of the intimate knowledge of the Vijayanagara composers of the rules of metrical composition as it is of their inveterate conservatism and superstition. But it must be admitted that, so far as literary merit is concerned, the composers, in most instances, were men of exceptional ability. Their opinion, as in earlier times, must have been reckoned to be of great value in literary matters. What praise was bestowed on poets is suggested in the following inscription dated A.D. 1113 relating to Mallikārjunāryya: "So as to win the praise of poets, the poet very clever in composing (*ati-paṭu-kavi*), the servant (*kiṅkara*), of the Sārasvata lord, Mallikārjunāryya, wrote this Sivadharma-śāsana, so as to be a new (model): the universal emperor of mnemonics (*dhāraṇa-sārvaabhauma*), Mallikārjunāryya of Gobbūr, a Shaṇmukha among good chief poets".²

We may not be wrong in asserting that in Vijayanagara times too there were composers (and engravers) who were adepts in the art of composition. In the beginning of Vijayanagara history, however, much praise is not given to the composers or engravers. Hence Dharaṇōja is said merely to have written nicely the stone *śāsana* (*Dharaṇōjam baredam ure śilā-śāsanamum*) of A.D. 1379.³ It is said of Māchī Dēva's son Dharaṇōja, in A.D. 1424, that "by the favour of the god Harihara, he wrote (i.e., engraved, *baredam*) the choice sentences and verses of this *śāsana*—the moon to the ocean Manu-kula, Māchi-deva's son Dharaṇōja".⁴ That the composers wrote verses under orders of the king is proved by an inscription dated A.D. 1538 which speaks

¹ Sukthankar, *Ep. Ind.* XIV, pp. 99, seq. 105-6.

² *E.C.* VII, Sk. 99, p. 67. As regards the definition of a mnemonic we have the following about the same literary marvel: 'If two from two sides should together come writing it down from the end and reading it out, he would arrange the poem so read out, whatever it might be, as a new poem; repeat four stories from hearing them related; and make calculations in any given figures—all this was he (Mallikārjuna Bhaṭṭa in A.D. 1103), able to do by mental effort. *E.C.* VII, Sk. 98, p. 64.

³ *E.C.* XI, Dg. 34, p. 42, text, p. 100.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Dg. 29, p. 38.

of a prominent composer thus : "The Vādhula and Yājusha learned man, born in the Kōṭīśānvaya, Timmaṇārādhyā's son named Mallanārādhyā, made the verses in this śāsana by order of the lord".¹

The composers and engravers of the śāsanas were remunerated in the customary manner. In A.D. 1410 "... to the composer of this śāsana, the Brahmans who were shareholders under the god Harihara's channel, bowing down, granted eight *maṇuvina koḷaga* of rice-land, four from the god (Harihara) and four from the Brahmans—to Bayanācharya, son of Mallikārjunācharya, of the Kāśyapa-gōtra, Yajus-sākhā, and Chala-sampradaya."²

There is every reason to believe that the Vijayanagara monarchs had before them the Hoysala custom of selecting engravers mostly from the community of carpenters and stone-masons. To a certain extent this can be made out from the history of the engravers of the last days of Vīra Ballāḷa III and of those under the early Vijayanagara kings. The skilful Mārōja's son Yādōja was the engraver under Vīra Ballāḷa III in A.D. 1305.³ Sīmōja, son of Babōja, was the engraver in A.D. 1328 under the same monarch.⁴ In A.D. 1331 Nāgalāpura Chaudācharya's son Masaṇācharya, and Daśavidya Daṇḍanātha's son Beṅka-charya were the engravers, while the post of the composer was held by the *joyiśa* Sudhākara Dēva.⁵ The next year saw Eṅgōja's son Bairōja as the engraver under Ballāḷa III.⁶

We have unfortunately no evidence as to whether these engravers of the Hoysala monarchs continued to serve under the new rulers. The earliest name of a Vijayanagara engraver appears in A.D. 1346 when Liṅgōja, son of Chinna Mallōja, is mentioned as the engraver.⁷ The next name we come across is in A.D. 1355 when the śāsana, which was not royal, was written by the *karaṇikas* Dēvaṇṇa and Rēvappa, and engraved by the stone-mason Jaḍeya Rāmōja.⁸ This

¹ E.C. XI, Dg. 27, p. 37.

² *Ibid.*, Dg. 23, p. 32; Rice, *My. Ins.* p. 29. Here Mallikārjunācharya is called Vishṇukarma.

³ E.C., VIII, Sa. 156, p. 122.

⁴ E.C., XI, Cd. 4, p. 3.

⁵ E.C., XII, Gb. 30, p. 22.

⁶ E.C., IX, Bn. 61, p. 13.

⁷ E.C., VI, Sg. 1, p. 92.

⁸ E.C., XI, Cd. 2, p. 2; Rice, *My. Ins.*, p. 4.

engraver is credited with some achievements in the same epigraph: "The workman who made the upper-storey, the pinnacle and the swing, and engraved this *sāsana*, was the stone-mason Jaḍeya Rāmōja. Notwithstanding any letter in defect or any letter in excess, this is entirely genuine". Jaḍeya Rāmōja figures in an inscription of the next year A.D. 1356.¹ In A.D. 1368 the engraver who wrote with his own hand (*sva-hasta-likhitam*) was Lāhi Dēva Bhaṭṭa, son of Rāma Dēva of the *Sārṅgarava-kathas*, while the composer was the learned Phaṇṣītu, son of Viśvanāthārya.²

The vocation of engraving and composing edicts was, therefore, not restricted only to the members of the carpenter and stone-mason classes. Brahmins too seem to have taken to this kind of work. Poets soon make their appearance as composers. In Śaka 1291 (A.D. 1369-70) the composer was the poet Liṅgayya Māchaṇārya (or as he was also known, Māchaṇa, son of Liṅgayya) of the family of Kaustas and a resident of Naṇḍapura.³ Till we come to the fifteenth century information is meagre about the royal engravers. Irugaṇṇa, son of Pedumaṇṇa of Arasanakeṇṇa, seems to have held this post in the times of Bukka Rāya in A.D. 1374.⁴ Dharaṇōja in A.D. 1379, as we have already observed, was the engraver under Harihara.⁵ In the next year we have Akshara-Gōpaṇṇa,⁶ while in A.D. 1381 under Kaṁpaṇa Oḍeyar there was Bayirōja.⁷ In A.D. 1382 the engraver is praised as "the pure one, a jewelled mirror to the face of good poets, of a voice like the roar of a lion, glorious as the rising moon, Nṛsiṁha".⁸ Vīra Bhūpati in A.D. 1386 had under him Muddaṇāchārya.⁹

As related elsewhere, somewhere about A.D. 1488 there appears the *sāsanāchārya* Nāga Dēva. There is nothing improbable in the instituting of an office under a *sāsanāchārya* by the Vijayanagara monarchs about this time, especially when we realize that with the needs of a growing kingdom, they were faced with the

¹ E.C., XI, Cd. 3, pp. 2-3.

² E.C., VII, Sk. 281, p. 147.

³ Sukthankar, *Ep. Ind.* XIV, p. 98.

⁴ E.C., III, Ml. 23, p. 58.

⁵ E.C., XI, Dg. 34, p. 43, op. cit.

⁶ E.C., IV, Ch. 64, p. 7.

⁷ E.C., III, Ml. 18, p. 57.

⁸ *Ibid.* Ml. 21, p. 58.

⁹ E.C., XI, Mk. 31, p. 95.

problem of disseminating royal proclamations in the distant provinces of their Empire. Under Virūpāksha the provincial engraver in Śaka 1312 (A.D. 1390-91) was Viśvanātha.¹ In A.D. 1396 we have Muddaṇāchārya under Harihara.²

Muddaṇa is remarkable in the sense that with him begins a family of engravers who held for generations the post of engravers under the emperors. His name is coupled with that of another person, Mallanārādhyā, the composer, son of Kōṭṭisārādhyā, who had frequently performed sacrifices.³ The connected account of the engravers from Muddaṇa till the end of Vijayanagara times is given in the subjoined genealogical table (Table A). We admit that in some instances, viz., while tracing the descent of Vīraṇa (II) and Gaṇapaya (I), it has not been possible to state definitely their relationship for want of data. This difficulty is heightened by the continual recurrence of the same names, e.g. Mallana, Vīraṇa, etc., which add to the confusion of the question. Nevertheless, we may say that from the beginning of the fifteenth century till the end of the Vijayanagara Empire, excepting in five instances, the post of *sāsaṇāchārya* was retained by the members of the family of Muddaṇa. For some reasons unknown to us the royal engravers in A.D. 1430, 1458, 1538, 1540, and 1639 were chosen from other families.

As regards composers, the same monopoly can be noticed. Till the days of Svayambhū Sabhāpati no family of poets had the sole monopoly of the post of composers. With the advent of that celebrated composer, the family of Diṇḍima of Mullaṇḍrum⁴ soon won for itself the foremost place among the composers of the Empire.

That justice may be done to the names of composers who, in private and public service, helped to spread news and knowledge in the Empire, we have also appended here a list of engravers and composers from 1378 A.D. onwards. (Table B).

¹ Gopinath Rao, *I.A.*, XXXVIII, p. 12.

² *E.C.*, V, P. I, Hn. 86, p. 27. Whether this Muddaṇāchārya is identical with his namesake mentioned under Vīra Bhūpati cannot be ascertained. B.A.S.

³ Venkayya, *Ep. Ind.*, III, p. 126.

⁴ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 237. Here the remarks apply to engravers from Vīraṇa IV onwards. B.A.S.

TABLE B

II. Unofficial Engravers in Public and Private Service

| Date | Engraver | Name | Reference |
|-----------|-----------|--|--|
| 1378 A.D. | Engraver. | Sēnabōva Basavaṇṇa ... | <i>My. Arch Report</i> for 1920, p. 35. |
| 1379 " | " | Nāḍ-Sēnobōva Dēvappa. | <i>E.C.</i> , VIII, Tl. 114, p. 185. |
| 1390 " | " | Dēvarāya Mīśra, (under Yuvarāja Rāmachandra). | Butterworth-Chetty, <i>Nellore Ins.</i> , I, p. 5. |
| 1394 " | " | Narasimha Bhaṭṭa ... | <i>E.C.</i> , VII, Cn. 13 p. 180. |
| 1395 " | " | Piṅgaṇa, son of Pinpaṇa | <i>E.C.</i> , X, Sp. 54, p. 279. |
| 1396 " | " | Savuttam ... | <i>E.C.</i> , X, Mb. 34, p. 77. |
| 1400 (?) | " | Sēnabōva Lachanna, son of Kali Dēva. | <i>E.C.</i> , IV, Ng. 35, p. 122. |
| 1400 | " | Tirumalanātha ... | <i>E.C.</i> , IX, Kn. 97, p. 134. |
| 1401 " | " | Patī-ōja, son of Āchāri Akanāyaka. | <i>E.C.</i> , IX, Dv. 39, p. 78. |
| 1401 " | " | Nāḍ-Sēnabōva Siṅgaṇṇa | <i>E.C.</i> , VIII, Tl. 31, p. 169. |
| 1403 " | " | Varadaṇṇa, son of Anantappa of the Hariti-gōtra. | <i>E.C.</i> , IV, Ch. 45, p. 6. |
| 1404 " | " | Maduvaṅka Nāḍ-Sēnabōva Siṅgarasa. | <i>E.C.</i> , VIII, Tl. 134, p. 190. |
| 1405 " | " | Nāḍ-Sēnabōva Narahari Dēva. | <i>E.C.</i> , VIII, Tl. 22, p. 167. |
| 1406 " | " | Nāḍ-Sēnabōva Dēvappa | <i>E.C.</i> , VI, Sg. 26, p. 99. |
| 1407 " | " | Maduvaṅka Nāḍ-Sēnabōva Kēśavanātha. | <i>E.C.</i> , VIII, Tl. 190, p. 203. |
| 1408 " | " | Stone-mason Mudōja, son of Tīpāji. | <i>E.C.</i> , X, Gb. 60, p. 226. |
| 1408 " | " | Dēvaru-Sēnabōva ... | <i>E.C.</i> , VI, Sg. 25, p. 99. |
| 1409 " | " | Viṭṭhaṇṇa ... | <i>E.C.</i> , VII, Sh. 70, p. 27. |
| 1415 " | " | Śaṅkarayya ... | <i>E.C.</i> , XII, Pg. 88, p. 131. |
| 1415 " | " | Sēnabōva Mallappa ... | <i>E.C.</i> , VIII, Tl. 217, p. 210. |

TABLE B—continued

II. Unofficial Engravers in Public and Private Service—continued

| Date | Engraver | Name | Reference |
|-----------|--------------|---|---------------------------------------|
| 1420 A.D. | Engraver ... | Hariyakopa Dugōja ... | <i>E.C.</i> , VIII, Sa. 74, p. 105. |
| 1420 | „ | Mallara Oḍeyar ... | <i>E.C.</i> , VII, Sk. 288, p. 148. |
| 1424 | „ | Dharaṇōja, son of Māchi Dēva. | <i>E.C.</i> , X, Dg. 29, p. 39. |
| 1427 | „ | Sēnabōva Viṭṭhṭhaṇa ... | <i>E.C.</i> , VI, Kp. 27, p. 80. |
| 1429 | „ | Alōja, son of Sōmanātha | <i>E.C.</i> , XII, Ka. 18, p. 35. |
| 1430(?) | „ | Chennappa ... | <i>E.C.</i> , IV, Hs. 61, p. 90. |
| 1430 | „ | Kalikōja, son of Tam-mōja. | <i>E.C.</i> , VII, Sk. 40, p. 47. |
| 1431 | „ | Pratāpa Kāya, son of Maṅgappa Daṇṇāyaka. | <i>E.C.</i> , IX, Bn. 127, p. 24. |
| 1434(?) | „ | Tirumala ... | <i>E.C.</i> , X, Mr. 2, p. 155. |
| 1441(?) | „ | Kavindra Śaṅkara (?) | <i>E.C.</i> , VIII, Sb. 19, p. 9. |
| 1442 | „ | Majōya ... | <i>E.C.</i> , XI, Hr. 14, p. 106. |
| 1455 | „ | Mantramūrti ... | <i>S.I.I.</i> , II, P.I., p. 119. |
| 1458 | „ | Timmōja, and the writer was Sēnabōva Nāgaṇṇa. | <i>E.C.</i> , VI, Sg. 30, p. 100. |
| 1475 | „ | Timmarasa, son of Aṭhavaṇi (Treasurer?) Dēvarasa. | <i>E.C.</i> X, Bp. 20, p. 140. |
| 1470 | „ | Mallaṇa ... | <i>E.C.</i> , XII, Gb. 29, pp. 23-23. |
| 1473 | „ | Immaḍi Bhairasēndra, son of Bhairāṇṇa. | <i>E.C.</i> , VIII, Sb. 60, 103. |
| 1482(?) | „ | Hiriyāṇṇa ... | <i>E.C.</i> , X, Kl. 15, p. 4. |
| 1491 | „ | Indagarasa ... | <i>E.C.</i> , VIII, Sa. 164, p. 125. |
| 1494(?) | „ | Palahaya ... | <i>E.C.</i> , VIII, Sb. 316, p. 54. |
| 1498 | „ | Nad-Sēhabōva sirṃha Dēva. | <i>E.C.</i> VI, Mg. 86, p. 74. |

TABLE B.—continued

II. Unofficial Engravers in Public and Private Service—continued

| Date | Engraver | Name | Reference |
|------------|----------|---|--|
| 1499 A. D. | Engraver | Timayaṇāchāri ... | <i>My. Arch. Report</i> for 1918, p. 56. |
| 1505 | „ | Carpenter Janārdhana. | <i>E.C.</i> , XII, Gb. 77, pp. 228–229. |
| „ | „ | Composer ... | Do. do. |
| ✓ 1515 | „ | Triyambaka Dēva ... | <i>E.C.</i> , VII, Sk., 25, p. 49. |
| „ | „ | Engraver and Com- poser. Lingōja ... | <i>E.C.</i> , VIII, Sb. 328, p. 87. |
| 1516 | „ | Engraver ... | <i>E.C.</i> , XI, Dg. 107, p. 71. |
| 1521 | „ | „ ... | <i>E.C.</i> , VI, Kd. 91, p. 16. |
| 1521(?) | „ | „ Sēnabōva Śrīraṅga Dēva, son of Kulā- grāṇi Appaya. | <i>E.C.</i> , IV, Ng. 82, p. 133. |
| 1528(?) | „ | „ ... | <i>E.C.</i> , IV, Ng. 68, p. 129. |
| 1530 | „ | „ (?) Vardhamāna-munīndra, relative of Vidyānaṇḍa. | <i>E.C.</i> , VIII, Nr. 46, p. 150. |
| „ | „ | „ Visvanātha, son of Bavachaya who was the son of Voḍeyapaya. | <i>E.C.</i> , V.P.I., Cn. 187, p. 207. |
| 1531 | „ | „ Goldsmith K a r i y a Tipōja, son of Niravi- roj (corrected the śāsana). | <i>E.C.</i> , XI, Dg. 31, p. 40. |
| 1534 | „ | „ Sindāchāri ... | <i>E.C.</i> , XIII, Pg. 11, p. 118. |
| 1535 | „ | „ Gaṇapa ... | <i>E.C.</i> , IX, N1. 2, p. 29. |
| 1509(?) | „ | „ Basavaṇṇa Sōmayāji ... | <i>Rangachari, Top. List.</i> , I, p. 14. |
| 1547 | „ | „ Chauḍappa ... | <i>E.C.</i> , VI, Sg. 10, p. 95. |
| 1549 | „ | „ { Kṛishṇappa, son of Sāṅkara Dēva. Malōja } | <i>E.C.</i> , VI, Ck. 48, p. 40. |

TABLE B—*continued*II. *Unofficial Engravers in Public and Private Service—continued*

| Date | Engraver | Name | Reference |
|------------|--------------|--|--|
| 1551 A. D. | Engraver ... | Lakshmaṇa Bhaṭṭa of the Kandāchāra (i. e., the Military Department). | <i>E.C.</i> , XI, J1. 24, p. 87. |
| 1552 | „ „ | Sēnabōva Siṅgaṇa ... | <i>E.C.</i> , VIII, Nr. 5, p. 127. |
| 1553 | „ „ | Malaparasa ... | <i>E.C.</i> , XI, Mk. 45, p. 102. |
| 1563 | „ „ | Kallayya, son of Lakkana | } <i>E.C.</i> , V, P. I, Hn. 2, p. 3. |
| „ | Composer ... | Nañjappa Upādhyā, son of Nañjappa Upādhyā | |
| 1569 | „ „ | Engraver ... Keñchapa Nāyaka ... | <i>E.C.</i> , XI, Hr. 79, p. 113. |
| „ | „ „ | Annarasa ... | <i>E.C.</i> , VI, Kp. 5, p. 76. |
| 1577 | „ „ | Keñcha Timmayya ... | <i>E.C.</i> , XII, Su. 18, p. 90. |
| 1583 | „ „ | Blacksmith Siddaṇa, son of Chikkaiya. | <i>E.C.</i> , XI, Si. 3, p. 88. |
| „ | Composer ... | Vōbi, son of Mallappa ... | Do. do. |
| 1614 | „ „ | Engraver ... Kuṁbhaliṅga, son of Mahāliṅga. | <i>My. Arch. Report</i> for 1917, p. 57. |

N. B.—How some names, e. g. Pratāpa Rāya, son of Maṅgappa Daṇṇāyaka, came to be associated with those of engravers who were mostly of the carpenter and stone-mason classes, can only be determined by future research. B. A. S.

PART II. FEATURES OF ADMINISTRATION

SECTION I. *Verdict passed on Vijayanagara Administration in General*

The above is a rough sketch of the administrative machinery of the Vijayanagara monarchs. A further examination of the same subject leads us to the interesting question of the problems which faced the rulers and the methods which they adopted to solve them. Before we dwell at some length on them, it may not be improper to note in passing the adverse criticism which has been passed

on the Vijayanagara system of administration. Wilks wrote the following: "The external appearance of the general government was brilliant and imposing; its internal organisation feeble and irregular: foreign conquest was a more fashionable theme than domestic finance at the court of Vijayanuggur".¹ The Rev. Taylor remarked: "... his (i.e., Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya's) conquests were extensive, and his power, nominally at least, very great. It is not certain that internal good government kept pace with external splendour and conquest: probably not so".² The author of *The Madura Country* wrote: "... showy and powerful as it was in appearance, (it) proved to be utterly rotten at the core; and at once fell to pieces on receiving a few heavy and well directed blows . . .".³

That these remarks, which judged Vijayanagara on the strength of the evidence of the chaotic days of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, were the outcome of a lack of knowledge of Vijayanagara history can be seen by citing the opinion of Rice, who writes thus: "It appears that in the time of Kṛishṇa Rāya and Achyuta Rāya the revenues of the Vijayanagar State were first reduced to a regular form, checked by ordinances, and a system of accounts and management introduced, calculated to improve the revenue of the empire gradually in yearly amount without distressing the inhabitants".⁴ To these remarks of writers on Vijayanagara administration we may add those of Dr. S. K. Aiyangar: "The civil administration was so organised over this vast region that the people carried on the administration themselves more or less completely subject to the supervision and control of the great officers of state, who constituted a comparatively small hierarchy touring the country to set matters right, wherever their attention should be called for. This kind of an organisation left the Imperial revenues almost exclusively for the purpose of organising the military resources for the defence of the northern frontier.

¹ Wilks, *The Sketches*, I, p. 20 (1810); I, p. 13 (1869).

² Taylor, *O.H. MSS.*, II, p. 94.

³ Nelson, *Madura Country*, p. 176.

⁴ Rice, *My. Gaz.*, I, p. 471 (1st ed.); p. 578 (Rev. ed.). These words of Rice seems to have guided the Rev. Heras, who writes almost an identical comment on the revenue administration of the two rulers. *Aravidu* pp. 40-1. Rev. Heras also writes about Venkaṭa II, thus: "As to the internal welfare of the country, the twenty-nine years of Venkaṭa's reign were years of prosperity and comparative peace". *Ibid.*, p. 511.

It was necessary on this frontier to adopt the policy of avoiding war by being ever the most ready for it. Such a policy involved a military expenditure which would have exhausted the resources of an ordinary Empire".¹

SECTION 2. *Some Remarks on Administration in Pre-Vijayanagara Days*

The assumption that the Vijayanagara government was "brilliant and imposing" only in external appearance while it was "utterly rotten at the core" makes us inquire whether a government that came into existence on the ruins of the great empires in the Karnāṭaka and Chōḷa lands could really have had no redeeming features in its administration. The fact that the Vijayanagara rulers successfully withstood foreign aggression for at least two centuries is in itself sufficient to make us believe that it must have been conducted on lines approved by the people both in the southern and in the western parts of the Empire. To these regions good government was not entirely an unknown thing; and all trustworthy records agree in ascribing to pre-Vijayanagara rulers both in the Chōḷa and Karnāṭaka lands much of the wealth which characterized southern India in the early ages of her history. It is profitable to note that in the dark days which preceded and followed the Muhammadan invasions of the south in the fourteenth century, the government of the Hindu monarchs was capable of dealing with minute questions relating to land and administration of justice. We shall not set ourselves to the task of examining in detail how government was conducted in pre-Vijayanagara days; but we shall give one or two facts that tell us how careful the rulers were, prior to the rise of the sons of Saṅgama, in exercising governmental authority. Under Rājarāja Dēva III, in about A.D. 1230, according to an inscription of that date found at the *dēvadāna* village of Kulōttuṅga-Sōḷanallūr, the lands of certain persons, who were declared enemies (*drōhin*) of the State, were sold by public auction (*rajarājapperuvilai*), and the price for them being fixed by eight officers of the king, the lands were purchased by some private individuals on payment

¹ S. K. Aiyangar, *Some Contributions*, pp. 301-2, 410-11. For the view that Vijayanagara was essentially a military state, see Iswari Prasad, *Med. Ind.*, pp. 424-6.

of 33,000 *kāṣu* to the royal treasury.¹ In pre-Vijayanagara times, at least so far as Chōlamanḍala was concerned, the king went on a royal tour through his dominions, and thus acquired first-hand information about the actual state of affairs in the country. On one such circuit Rājarāja III paid a visit to the Tiruvorriyūr temple on the occasion of a great festival when, as we shall relate presently, he was present at the musical performance given by one of the dancing-girls of the temple.² Grants were made on such or different occasions to persons of approved merit or to institutions; and these endowments were recorded on stones placed within the precincts of the temple. When such lithic records were wanted or had to be renewed, they were copied, obviously at the instance of the Government.³

The concern with which the Government set matters right is seen in an inscription dated in the 3rd regnal year of an unidentified king who ruled over the Koṅgu-dēsa. This epigraph of Parakēsari Tribhuvana-chakravartin Kōṇērinmaikoṇḍāṇ, king over northern Koṅgu-dēsa, deals with the remission of a tax called *vottachchu* in favour of the Śaiva temples of Koṅgu-dēsa. The inscription relates that the tax *vottachchu* which these institutions were paying (to Government?) in previous days, being found subsequently heavy because of the requirements of daily worship, was altogether abolished. In this connection it was ordered—(a) that in accordance with the agreement with Kuttāḍum Nāyaṇār, the managers of these temples were not to pay further taxes even on the production of the king's order (*ōlai*); (b) that no (frivolous) demands from chiefs who took possession of the district (as governors) were to be noticed; (c) that in remunerating the servants who carried the royal order one *paṇam* was to be paid on orders actually bearing the king's signature, and one *paṇam* on orders which were issued under royal warrant; (d) that the king's messengers might not receive any travelling expenses and food, nor even handfuls of rice; (e) that the two *paṇam* (mentioned above) were to be paid only by such as had been paying already; (f) that when under the king's orders, the 600 *achchu* thus payable to Government (?)

¹ 112 of 1911; *Ep. Report* for 1911, p. 75. See also S. K. Aiyangar, *S. India*, p. 28. For selling land by public auction, see 260 of 1906.

² 211 of 1912; S. K. Aiyangar, *ibid.*, p. 30. See *infra*, p. 321.

³ *Ep. Report* for 1911, p. 75.

together with 100 *achchu* payable to *Toṇḍaimāṇār* were collected, no (additional commission?) was to be paid to those who received the money (into the royal treasury); and (g) that these privileges granted were to be engraved on copper and stone.¹ This epigraph proves not only that the servants of the Government made huge demands on the people but also that the State was prepared to take prompt action into alleged complaints against heavy taxation, and to guard the interests of the people against further encroachments by the officials of the king himself.

Lest it should be surmised that Hindu governments in pre-Vijayanagara days were partial to the Brahmans, we shall give an incident which took place somewhere in the middle of the thirteenth century, during the reign of a certain *Jaṭavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya*, in connection with Brahmans who were found in unlawful possession of arms. It is stated that at *Uttippākam* *alias* *Ādināyaka-chaturvēdimaṅgalam*, the Brahmans, *Āṭakoṇḍavillai*, *Pāmbaṇaiyāṇ*, *Malaivāyakakōṇ*, *Varadaṇ* and *Salvaṇ* and some *Vēllāla Sūdras* gave up the duties legitimate to their caste and following the profession of lower classes, wore weapons (dangerous to human life), murdered Brahmans, cut off (their) ears, insulted the Brahman ladies, committed robbery, destroyed cattle and sold them, to the great distress and terror of the residents of the district. When, on a previous occasion, this matter had been reported to the ruling authorities, the chief *Vikrama-sōḷa-dēva* *alias* *Iruṅ-gōḷāśaṇiyaṇ* *Vāṇarāyar*, *Tirumalaitandār* *alias* *Muṇaiyad-araiyaṇ* and others, who were in charge of the country, had got 'the offenders together, beaten them, fined them, pulled down their houses, and kept them under surveillance(?)'. But as these offenders were not actually imprisoned, and as this leniency in punishment did not contribute to any change in their character, the people again complained of their misdeeds to Prince *Pottappiyarāyar*, who next took charge of the country, and requested him to apprehend the mischievous people. Under orders from this prince, the chief *Vaḷḷuvanāḍālvāṇ* *Iruṅgōḷar* and a band of *Maḷaiyala* soldiers went to capture the rebellious persons, with the result that the criminals escaped to the hills after they had killed (a few of the soldiers that had followed them), pierced some, shot others down with arrows, and robbed the rest of their

¹ 185 of 1910; *Ep. Report* for 1911, pp. 77-8.

weapons. However, Āṭkonḍavillai and Pāmbaṇaiyāṇ were secured and locked up in the prison-house of Tirukkachchūr. After sometime, they were being taken along with some other prisoners, to the king (Ulaḡuḍaiya-Perumāl) at Kaṇṇattūr. On entering the forest of Sāṇūr Araṣippākkam, the northern hamlet (of Uttippākkam?), the three other Brahman brothers, who were still at large, and who, in the meantime, had collected together a number of people, attacked and killed the party which was leading the captive brothers to the king, liberated them and escaped. The news of this action of the rebels having reached the king, he issued stringent orders that they be captured wherever found, and punished according to the rule applicable to the lower classes, that their houses and other hereditary property be sold to the temple and other charitable institutions, that the money thus realized be credited to the treasury in payment of the fine imposed on them, and the balance, if any, be presented to the temples (of Tiruvagattisvaramuḍaiya-Nāyaṇār and Kailāyamuḍaiya-Nāyaṇār at Uttippākkam) as a permanent charity in the name of the criminals. The order of the king was carried out by the people and the money realized by the sale of lands was deposited in the treasury at Tirukkachchūr.¹ This tradition of impartiality² was handed down to the rulers of Vijayanagara, whose administration we shall now examine from the point of view of the divisions of the Empire, the problems which faced them, and the methods that were adopted to solve them.

SECTION 3. *Administrative Divisions of the Empire*

In the year of its foundation it appeared as if the new state of Vijayanagara was to be split on the shoals of divided sovereignty; but in reality, the position occupied by Bukka (I), Harihara (I), Kaṁpaṇa (I), and Mārappa over the eastern-central, western-southern, Nellore-Cuddapah, and Shimoga districts, respectively,³ were rather an indication of the co-operative spirit which prompted the

¹ *Ep. Report* for 1910, p. 98.

² For Chōla administration, see S. K. Aiyangar, *Some Contributions*, pp. 391, *seq.*, 406, 412-41; *A.S.R.* for 1924-5, p. 117. For early Hindu administration, see Rice, *My. Gaz.*, I, p. 572, *seq.* (Rev. ed.). Consult also Nilakantha Sastri, *Studies in Chōla History and Administration*. (Madras, 1932.)

³ *A.S.R.* for 1907-8, p. 237.

enterprising brothers than signs of conflicting elements in the formation of the new administration. Vijayanagara was a unit composed of different provinces from the very commencement of its career. Everyone of these divisions was under a governor, who was vested with great administrative powers, which made it appear as if the different provinces were practically autonomous. But these units were nevertheless linked up with the capital in a manner which, when one realizes the presence of a great number of disintegrating forces both in and outside the Central Government, interests one as much by the devotion with which the distant provinces submitted to the dictates of the capital as by the freedom with which the great city allowed them to run their own course of quasi-independent existence. Although even in the days of the sons of Saṅgama the general limits of the Empire were more or less fixed, yet the precarious position of their kingdom did not permit them to prefix the title of *Mahārājādhirāja* which both as an indication of the final stability of the Empire and as a mark of the growing importance of the new dynasty, was assumed first by Harihara II.¹ There was one arrangement, however, which the five illustrious brothers transmitted to their successors, at least for some years to come, and that was in connection with the status that was to be given to persons of royal rank. In the times of Harihara Oḍeyar and Bukka Rāya I, some of the divisions of their principality were given over to the charge of members of the royal family, while "the others were, apparently, looked after and governed by the rulers themselves".² We shall presently see that there was nothing new in such a procedure. Till the advent of Harihara II, the rulers were content to style themselves by modest titles, one of which, as remarked in an earlier connection, suggested the expansion of the Empire to the seas in the words "Master of the Eastern, Western, Northern and Southern Oceans".³

The new State had to struggle strenuously before it could reach the zenith which it attained under the great Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya. The Karnāṭaka proper shorn of its northern portions, the Tulu country, Nellore and Cuddapha, as related above, may be said to have been the earliest limits

¹ Sewell, *For. Emp.*, p. 48.

² A.S.R. for 1907-8, p. 237.

³ Harihara Rāya II also called himself by these titles. Venkayya, *Ep. Ind.*, III, pp. 125-6.

of the Vijayanagara Empire. With the conquest of *Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam* and *Madura* some of the ancient provinces of *Tamil-nāḍu* passed into the hands of the new rulers. The extent of the kingdom under *Harihara II* is shown by the inscriptions found at *Hampe*, or *Vijayanagara*, in the *Bellary* district, at *Bēlūr*, *Chitaldroog*, *Harihara* and *Hassan* in the *Mysore* State, at *Makaravalli* in the *Hānugal tālūka* of the *Dharwar* district, at *Conjeeveram* and at *Tiruppāsūr* near *Tiruvallūr* in the *Chingleput* district, and at *Srīraṅgam* in the *Trichinopoly* district.¹ About the limits of the Empire under *Dēva Rāya II*, we may be permitted to repeat the evidence of *ʿAbdūr Razzāq* cited in one of the earlier chapters. The Persian ambassador says that the kingdom "extended from the borders of *Saradīp* (*Ceylon*) to those of *Kulbarga* (*Gulbarga*), and from *Bengal* to *Malibār*, a space of more than 1,000 *parasangs*".² The same traveller informs us that "inland his cities and provinces extend over a journey of three months".³ The campaigns of *Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya* the Great brought all southern India under the sway of *Vijayanagara*.⁴ *Paes* relates the following about the extent of the Empire under that monarch. "You must know that this kingdom of *Narsymga* has three hundred *grao*s of coast, each *grao* being a league, along the hill-range (*serra*) of which I have spoken, until you arrive at *Ballagate* and *Charamāodel*, (i.e., *Chōḷa-maṇḍala*), which belong to this kingdom; and in breadth it is one hundred and sixty-four *grao*s; each large *grao* measures two of our leagues, so that it has six hundred leagues of coast, and across it three hundred and forty-eight leagues . . . across from *Batacalla* (*Bhaṭkaḷ*) to the kingdom of *Orya* (*Orissa*).

"And this kingdom marches with all the territory of *Bengal*, and on the other side with the kingdom of *Orya*, which is to the east, and on the other side to the north with the kingdom of *Dakhan*, belonging to which are the lands which the *Ydallcāo* (*Ādil Shāh*) has, . . .".⁵ With the capture of *Koṇḍaviḍu*, the largest part of the kingdom of the *Gajapati* rulers was added to the *Vijaya-*

¹ Venkayya, *Ep. Ind.*, III, pp. 115-16; Sewell, *For. Emp.*, p. 49. See also Rice, *My. Ins.*, p. 269.

² Elliot, *Hist. of India*, IV, p. 105, op. cit.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 103.

⁴ Sewell, *ibid.*, p. 122.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 239.

nagara Empire.¹ The influence of Vijayanagara, in the days of Achyuta Rāya, seems to have reached the great principalities on the western and southern-most coast of India, Calicut, Cochin and Tranvancore.² Nuniz states that even the rulers of Ceylon, Pegu, and Tenasserim paid tribute to the Hindu Emperor.³ Dark clouds were hovering over the Empire because of its wealth and extent.⁴ It suffered diminution, as we have already remarked, after the battle of Rākshasa-Taṅgaḍi, in the north, where "several petty chiefs and governors of the North of the Empire, either through fear of the Muhammadans, or on account of their own ambition, proclaimed themselves independent in their cities or fortresses".⁵ The only other example of a chieftain withdrawing his allegiance in the south was, according to Heras, the Kalasa-Kārkaṣa ruler.⁶

We shall presently see what effect this great battle had on the administration of the Empire. In A.D. 1574 the Empire judged by the Maredapalli grant of Srīraṅga II, seems to have included Koṇḍaviḍu and Vinukoṇḍapura. If it can be proved that the statement referring to the reduction of Chaurāśidurga, supposed by Mr. Natesa Aiyar to be the eighty-four hill-forts of Mahārāshṭra, is true, then Srīraṅga may have retrieved, to some extent, the lost prestige of Vijayanagara.⁷ The earliest signs of the dismemberment of the great Empire were seen when Rāja Oḍeyar was permitted to possess the territory of Mysore, the chief city of which, Srīraṅgapaṭṭaṇa, he had occupied about A.D. 1610;⁸ when the Nāyakas of Madura and Tanjore assumed

¹ Sewell, *For. Emp.*, pp. 317-8.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 384-8.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 302.

⁴ Manucci gives the following account of the extent of the Empire under Rāma Rāja: "His empire was so extensive that it reached to the river Narmadā, which divides the lands of Hindūstān from those of the Dakkhin, as I have already said. This was the northern frontier; that on the north-east was Jagannate (Jagannāth) on the coast of Gergelim (Ginjili) ('Ginjili coast=it lies between Orissa and Masulipatam')."

"In addition, he was the lord of all the coast of Choromandal and the Pescaria coast (Fisher coast) as far as Cape Comeris (Comorin), including the said cape, of all the coast of Travancor (Travancore) and Canara as far as Surat". From the following account of the Deccan principalities among "his (Rāma Rāja's) servant and slaves", it is evident that Manucci's remarks are to be taken into account with great caution. *Storio do Mogor*, III, pp. 97-8, 98 n. (2). (*Irvine*, 1907.)

⁵ Heras, *Araṇḍu*, op. cit.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ Natesa Aiyar, *Ep. Ind.*, XI, p. 328.

⁸ Heras, *ibid.*, p. 421.

the status of independent rulers in A.D. 1602;¹ and when the Bednore chiefs, about the same time, especially under Chikka Saṅkaṇṇa Nāyaka, laid the foundations of the powerful principality of Ikkēri.²

Whether over their large Empire the Vijayanagara monarchs introduced any gubernatorial changes can be made out by acquainting ourselves with the administrative divisions in the pre-Vijayanagara days. In about A.D. 1150 the territorial divisions, following the conventional standard, were these in the ascending order—*grāma*, *nagara*, *khēḍa*, *kharvaḍa*, *maḍamba*, *paṭṭaṇa*, *drōṇāmukka*, and *śimhāsana*.³ That the conception of these divisions was common in the western parts of India is proved by an inscription dated A.D. 1181 which speaks of the *gramas*, *naguras*, *khēḍas*, *kharvaḍas*, *maḍambas*, *drōṇāmukkas*, *ṭuras*, and *paṭṭaṇas* of Lāta, Gaula, and Karṇāṭaka.⁴ Some idea of the general classification of the territories in the Tamil land is gathered from an inscription dated in the thirty-ninth regnal year of a king (Kulōttuṅga Chōla I ?), when a village called Uppanelli is spoken of as having been in Mudukuṟukki in Vaḍa Puli-nāḍu, a subdivision of Perumbāṇappāḍi in Nigarili-Chōlamanḍalam.⁵ Another inscription dated in the fifteenth regnal year of Chōla Rājarāja Dēva mentions a village known as Tirukkachchūr in Seṅguṇṇa-nāḍu a subdivision of Kaḷattūr-kōṭṭam, in Jayaṅgoṇḍa-Chōlamanḍalam.⁶ Further, a similar record dated only in the tenth regnal year of Rājendra Chōla Dēva gives the name of Puṇṇai *alias* Parukalāntaka Chaturvēdimaṅgaḷam in Valla-nāḍu, a district of Dāmar-kōṭṭam, in Jayaṅgoṇḍa-Chōlamanḍalam.⁷ The village called Mūkaivāḍi, according to an epigraph dated only in the third year of Parākramavarman *alias* Uḍaiyar Śrī-Adhirājendra-dēva, was situated in Puli-nāḍu, a subdivision of Perumbāṇappāḍi in Paḍavūru-kōṭṭam, a district of Jayaṅgoṇḍa-

¹ Sewell, *For. Emp.*, p. 220.

² Heras, *Aravida*, p. 423.

³ E.C., VII, Sk. 118, p. 118, *ibid.*, n. (1); Rice *My. Ins.* p. 123. For a general account of the terms used in Vijayanagara times, see Rice, *My. Gaz.*, I, p. 472 (1st ed.), I, p. 574, (Rev. ed.). It is highly doubtful, however, whether some of the pre-Vijayanagara territorial divisions given below were in actual practice.

⁴ E.C., VII, Sk. 119, p. 90; Rice *My. Ins.*, p. 120.

⁵ 568 of 1906.

⁶ 262 of 1909.

⁷ 292 of 1906.

Chōlamanḍalam.¹ From the above examples one may venture to suggest the corresponding divisions in the Karṇāṭaka and Tamil lands:

In the Karṇāṭaka

Grāma.
|
Nagara
|
Khēḍa
|
Kharv(v)aḍa
|
Maḍamba

In the Tamil Land

| | | |
|----------|----|----------|
| Village | | Village |
| | | |
| Nāḍu | | Nāḍu |
| | or | |
| Kōṭṭam | | Pāḍi |
| | | |
| Maṇḍalam | | Kōṭṭam |
| | | |
| | | Maṇḍalam |

Patṭaṇa or Drōṇāmukka
| |
Drōṇāmukha Pura
| |
Simhāsana Patṭaṇa

Evidently the territorial divisions in the Tamil land were not so numerous as those in the Karṇāṭaka where, at least according to tradition, the *pura* seems to be an interchangeable term for the *simhāsana*.

Under the above general divisions, there were smaller units called the *kampana*, *vāḍa* or *bāḍa*, *vēṇṭhe* and *chāvaḍi*.² These were confined mostly to the Karṇāṭaka. In the south the Brahman villages were sometimes called

¹ 573 of 1906.

² Fleet has explained some of these terms thus: "I have shown that '*kampana*' is a convertible term with '*bāḍa*' in its second meaning of a circle of towns constituting an administrative post . . . '*Bāḍa*' is a Tadbhava corruption of the Sanskrit '*vāḍa*', enclosure of a town or village, fence, wall, hedge, etc., occurs here in its first meaning of a town; it occurs frequently as '*vāḍ*' as the termination of modern names of villages. '*Kampana*' is probably another form of the Canarese '*kamṣa*', '*kamṣi*', a cluster, heap, assemblage, multitude....." I.A. IV., p. 211, n.; see also p. 329, n. Dr. L. D. Barnett suggests the following as regards Fleet's interpretation of '*bāḍa*'. "This may be doubted. बड is certainly used in Sanskrit and may be from the root बृ; but the ending णट is more likely to be from Dravidian *pāḍu*, and is commonly turned into Sanskrit पाटक."

the *agrabrahma-dēśa*, the agricultural villages, *vēlāṇvūr*, and the towns, *nagara*.¹

The Vijayanagara monarchs maintained, on the whole, these ancient divisions.² This we infer from inscriptions discovered both in the southern and western parts of the Empire. We shall first enumerate these subdivisions and then classify them. In A.D. 1346 we have the village, the *nāḍu*, and *prānta*.³ The village called Miṭṭaligana-katte granted to the astrologer Rāmaṇṇa-Jōyisayya by Bukka Rāya in A.D. 1354-55 was included in the township of the city of the god Harihara, which was in the *vēṇṭhe* of Uchchaṅgī which belonged to the *chāvaḍi* of Kōṭṭūru.⁴ Karaikōṭṭu Brahmadēśam, a village in Śaka 1285 (A.D. 1363-4), is said to have been in Dāmal-nāḍu, a subdivision of Dāmal-kōṭṭam, in Jayaṅgoṇḍa-Chōlamanḍalam.⁵ The temple Aḷuḍaiyār-Tiruppanaṅgāvuḍaiya-Nāyinar at Tiruppanaṅgāḍu, was, according to an inscription dated Śaka 1303, (A.D. 1381-82), situated in Brahmadēśapaṇṇu, a subdivision of Kaḷimmala-nāḍu in Kāliyūr-Kōṭṭam, a district of Jayaṅgoṇḍa-Chōlamanḍalam.⁶ The village of Nallūr, in Śaka 1321 (A.D. 1399-1400), was a part of Mēguṇā-vaḷanāḍu (or also called Nalaṭuripālem-simā) which belonged to Paiyūri-kōṭṭa, which was a subdivision of Chandragiri-mahārājya.⁷

In A.D. 1406 certain specified villages formed a part of a Bhānuvatipattāṇa which was in Kōṭṭūru-simhāsana, which belonged to Uchchaṅgī-vēṇṭhe.⁸ In A.D. 1420 a village or *halli* is said to have been in a *chāvaḍi* which was in a *nāḍu* belonging to a *vēṇṭhe* that formed a division of the province.⁹ This order however is reversed in an inscription dated Śaka 1349 (1350) [A.D. 1428-9] which mentions Sunepuha-nalūr in the Mēlmuri of the Maḷa-nāḍu as a subdivision of the Rājarāja-vaḷanāḍu which belonged to the

¹ *Ep. Report* for 1910, p. 97. The *agrabrahma-dēśa* may be compared to the *agrahāras* of the *Kaṛṇāṭaka*. A still minuter subdivision of the villages was into *vṛttis*. See *My. Arch. Report* for 1926, p. 38. The term *vṛtti* appears in numerous grants. B.A.S.

² They seem to have preserved even the old terms like Banavāse 12,000 etc. which referred to the number of villages that comprised a kingdom. See Fleet, *J. Bom. R.A.S.*, XII., p. 377.

³ Hultzsch, *Ep. Ind.*, III, p. 40.

⁴ Fleet, *J. Bom.*, B.R.A.S. XII., p. 350.

⁵ 272 of 1915.

⁶ 241 of 1906.

⁷ Venkayya, *Ep. Ind.* III, p. 119.

⁸ *E.C.*, XI. Dg. 108, p. 71.

⁹ *E.C.*, VII, Śk. 288, p. 148.

Tiruchchirāpaḷḷi-rājya or *chōvāḍi*.¹ In a record dated only in the cyclic year Parābhava, (Śaka 1348) [A.D. 1426-7], we have a Chaturvēdimaṅgaḷam (a village granted to Brahmins) in a *nāḍu* which was in a *paṛṇu* or district that formed a division of *kōṭṭam* in Jayaṅgoṇḍa-Chōḷamaṇḍaḷam.² In Śaka 1431 (A.D. 1509-10) a village granted by Narasayya Dēva Mahārāja of the Vasishṭha-gōtra and the Sūrya-vaṁśa is said to have belonged to the Pulivindala-sthala in Mulikīnāṭi-sīmā, which was a subdivision of the Ghaṇḍi-kōṭa, a district of the Udayagiri-rājya.³ According to an inscription dated Śaka 1432 (A.D. 1510-11) Araśūrkiḷpaṛṇu was in the Veṇṇaiyūr-nāḍu which was in the Rājādhirāja-vaḷanāḍu that belonged to the Bhuvanēkavīraṇpaṭṭaṇa-sīrmai.⁴ Fourteen years later (Śaka 146=A.D. 1524-5) Muliki-nāḍu is spoken of as a subdivision of the Ghaṇḍi-kōṭa-sīmā which formed a part of the Udayagiri-rājya.⁵ An inscription dated Śaka 1451 (A.D. 1529-30) locates the village called Kaḍalāḍ in the Paḍaivīḍu-mahārājya that was in the Jayaṅgoṇḍa-Chōḷamaṇḍaḷam in Phalgunnakōṭaka in Pangala-nāḍu.⁶

The ancient divisions seem to have been still preserved in the Kārṇāṭaka even in Śaka 1452 (A.D. 1530-1) as can be made out from the grant by Nārāyaṇa Dēva, son of Timmarasa of the *chinna-bhaṇḍāra* (i.e., gold treasury), of two shares to the god Harihara, in the village of Baḷḷōpura which was a *vāḍa*, and was also surnamed Achyutarāya-puram, within the boundaries of the town of Harihara that belonged to the district of Pāṇḍya-nāḍ within the *vēṇṭhe* of Unchchaṅgi which was included in the *chōvāḍi* of Kōṭṭūru.⁷ The territorial divisions in the reign of Achyuta Rāja in the Tamil land remained unchanged. We infer this from an inscription dated Śaka 1457 Dūrmukhi (A.D. 1533-6) which speaks of Vaḷaikuḷam in Vēlūr-nāḍu which was in Nārāyaṇapura-paṛṇu in Kuṇṇvaratana-kōṭṭam of the Chandragiri-rājya in Jayaṅgoṇḍa-Chōḷamaṇḍaḷam.⁸ This uniformity is however at variance with that given in another inscription dated Śaka 1461 (A.D. 1539-40?) according to

Ep. Ind., XVII, p. 111. Cf. Below. *I.A.*, IV., p. 329.

319 of 1911.

491 of 1906.

323 of 1913.

326 of 1905.

Venkatesvara-Visvanatha, *Ep. Ind.*, XIV, p. 313.

Fleet, *I.A.*, IV, p. 329.

27 of 1911.

which Perumbarrappuliyūr was in Vaḷudalam-baṭṭu-uśāvaḍi that formed a subdivision of Veṇṇaiyur-nāḍu in Rājājadhi-rajavalanāḍu.¹

Sometimes the inscriptions mention merely one or two subdivisions. Thus the village of Suttamalligai that was granted by Rāmappa Nāyaka in Śaka 1471 expired, Śaumya (A.D. 1549), is said to have belonged to Meygunṇada-valanāḍu *alias* Naripallināḍu in Magadai-maṇḍalam on the southern bank of the river Pennār.² Raudakuṇḍi-sīmā was in Keḷavaḍi-nāḍu which was a part of Hastināvati-valīta, in Śaka 1473 (A.D. 1551-2).³ This term *valīta* seems to have been given to the district in which the capital city was situated. Kurugōḍa-sīme in Śaka 1478 (A.D. 1556-7) was the subdivision of Mūganāḍa-vēṇṭhe which was a part of the Hastināvati-valīta.⁴ But it is possible that other districts may also have been called by that name. An inscription dated Śaka 1501 (A.D. 1579-80) informs us that the village of Kuṇṇattur was situated in Perrumbākka-sīrmai which belonged to Tirukkaḷukkuṇṇapaṇṇu in Mugan-dūr-nāḍu, a subdivision of Āmūr-kōṭṭam, a district of Paḍaiviḍu-rājya in Jayaṅgoṇḍa-Chōḷamaṇḍalam.⁵ This order however is not seen in an inscription dated Śaka 1514 (A.D. 1592-3) which mentions Tirupputkūḷi in Dāmar-kōṭṭam which formed a part of Dāmar-nāḍu in Solingapura-panṇu, a subdivision of the Chandragiri-rājya in Jayaṅgoṇḍa-Chōḷamaṇḍalam.⁶ From the above we gather the following about the territorial divisions in the Karṇāṭaka and Tamil provinces of the Vijayanagara Empire :

| <i>Divisions in the Karṇāṭaka</i> | | <i>Divisions in the Tamil lands</i> | |
|-----------------------------------|--|-------------------------------------|--|
| Sthaḷa | | Village | |
| | | | |
| Village(?) | | Nāḍu or Sīmai | |
| | | | |
| Sīma or Nāḍu | | Paṇṇu or Valanāḍu ⁷ | |
| | | | |
| Valīta or Vēṇṭhe | | Kōṭṭam | |
| | | | |
| Rājya(?) or Chāvaḍi | | Maṇḍalam or Rājyam | |

272 of 1913. The cyclic year Viṣṇu does not correspond.

104 of 1906.

C.P. No. 1 of 1914-15.

212 of 1913.

255 of 1909.

208 of 1916.

Whether the term *valanāḍu* was used outside Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam has yet to be ascertained. B.A.S.

Foreign travellers, who could not have been familiar with the detailed divisions of the Empire recorded in the inscriptions, have left to us some account of the larger provincial areas of the Hindu State. Paes relates the following: “. . . Since he (the Emperor) has so many and such great lords in his kingdom, who, the greater part of them, have themselves revenues, I answer thus: These captains whom he has over these troops of his are the nobles of his kingdom; they are lords, and they hold the city, and the towns and villages of the kingdom; there are captains amongst them who have a revenue of a million and a million a half *pardaos*, others a hundred thousand *pardaos*, others two hundred, three hundred or five hundred thousand *pardaos*, and as each has revenue so the king fixes for him the number of troops he must maintain, in foot, horse and elephants”.¹ It is evident from this that there was some system of gradation among the highest officials, and that the king was the master of all land. This is further corroborated by the evidence which Nuniz gives: “These nobles are like renters who hold all the land from the King . . .”.² Then again: “During his feasts and the almsgiving to his temples all these captains, who are thus like renters, must always attend the court, and of those whom this King always has about him and by whom he is accompanied in his court there are more than two hundred . . . These nobles are never suffered to settle themselves in cities or towns because they would there be beyond reach of his hand; they only go thither sometimes”.³

Nuniz here seems to contradict Paes about the position which the nobles occupied in the political organization of Vijayanagara. Paes, as we have just remarked, informs us that the lords held “the city, and the towns and villages of the kingdom” and that, therefore, they could command immense revenues. Nuniz, however, is of opinion that the nobles were “never suffered to settle themselves in cities or towns”. If we are inclined to believe Nuniz, we cannot account for the fact that, as he himself says, the nobles paid to the Emperor “every year sixty *lakhs* of rents as royal dues”.⁴ Then, again, Nuniz mentions the King of

¹ Sewell, *For. Emp.* p. 280, op. cit.

² *Ibid.*, p. 373.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 374.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 373.

Bengapor (Baṅkāpur), the King of Gasopa (Gērasoppe), the King of Bacanor (Bārakūr) the King of Calecu (Calicut?), "and he of Batecal" (Bhaṭkaḷ); and then he speaks of the "captains and lords of this kingdom of Bisnaga".¹ In the detailed list of "the officers of the King who go about the kingdom", Nuniz gives eleven names of the lords of Vijayanagara.² But in another connection he affirms that there are "nine principal captains in the kingdom".³ Further he writes: "In this way the kingdom of Bisnaga is divided between more than two hundred captains who are all heathen, and according to the lands and revenues that they have so the King settles for them the forces that they are compelled to keep up, and how much revenue they have to pay him every month during the first nine days of the month of September".⁴ Evidently Nuniz confounds the tributary kings with the provincial viceroys, and these again with the minor nobles who were merely officials in the Government. This is clear from the manner in which he concludes about the "captains, who are thus like renters". "But a concession is granted to the kings that are subject to him, namely they do not go to court unless they are summoned, and from their own cities they send to him their rents or tributes; yet the King of Bengapor (Baṅkāpur) is obliged to be always in camp, and he goes to court twice in the year".⁵

Since the narrative of Nuniz does not enlighten us on the question of the exact provinces into which the Vijayanagara Empire was divided, and on the topic of the tenure of office of the various provincial governors, we shall have recourse to the inscriptions which contain some useful details about the viceroys of Vijayanagara. But before we note them we may observe the remarks of two other travellers, which are also meagre, on the provincial divisions of Vijayanagara. Barbosa writes thus: "Beyond this river (called 'Aliga') commences the kingdom of Narsinga, which contains five very large provinces, with a language of their own. One province is along the coast, and is called Tulinat (Tuḷu-nāu); another has the name of Legni (Teliṅga?) which confines with the

Sewell, *For. Emp.*, p. 374.

Ibid., p. 384, *seq.*

Ibid., p. 376.

Ibid., p. 389.

Ibid., p. 374, *op. cit.*

kingdom of Tissa (Orissa?); another is Canari (Karnāṭaka?), in which is the great city of Visenagar (Vijayanagara), and the other is Cholmendel (Chōlamanḍalam), a kingdom which they call Tamul".¹ In A.D. 1639 Mandelslo observed that the kingdom was divided into three provinces. "This Country was heretofore divided into three Kingdoms, that is, *Coromandel*, *Narsinga*, and *Bisnagar*; but at present 'tis all subject to one Prince, who resides sometimes at *Bisnagar*, sometimes at *Narsinga*".²

According to the computations of the late Mr. H. Kṛishṇa Sāstri, who has given us a most complete account of the Vijayanagara governors,³ there were six principal provinces in the Vijayanagara Empire. These were the following—the Udayagiri-rājya; the Penugonḍa-rājya which included within it the Gutti-rājya; the Araga-rājya or Male-rājya, or Chandraguṭṭi-rājya; the Muḷuvāyi-rājya; the Bārakūru-rājya, or Tuluva-rājya; and, finally, the Rājagambhīra-rājya.⁴ With the aid of this classification, on which we have based our remarks on the provincial organization of Vijayanagara, we may ascertain a few details about the viceroys, especially in connection with their tenure of office. The northern provinces, because of their proximity to the Muhammadan kingdoms, were naturally of greater importance, although in point of revenue it may be doubted whether they could vie with the more fertile regions of the southern or those of the western parts of the Empire. Udayagiri always claimed the greatest attention on the part of the rulers. When Tirumala in A.D. 1542 was given the charge of that province, it was called, according to Rev. Heras, the chief fortress under the royal throne of Vijayanagara.⁵ Paes has some interesting details as to how these frontier fortresses were guarded. "In these passes on the frontier the king of Narsymga has a captain with a quantity of troops, but on the side of (Portuguese) India

¹ *Barbosa*, Stanley, pp. 78-9; *Dames I*, pp. 182-3. Here the river is called *Ligua*. *Ibid.* p. 181.

² Mandelslo, *Travels* Lib. II, p. 94. (1669, 2nd ed.) There was no Vijayanagara city in the days of Mandelslo. He probably refers to Vellore and Penugonḍa: See *supra*, Ch. III, B.A.S.

³ A.S.R. for 1907-8, p. 235, *seq.*

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 235, *seq.*

⁵ Heras, *Aravidu*, p. 29. The reference given here (to *My. Arch. Rep.* for 1920, p. 39) is wrong. The information relating to Tirumala cannot be traced in the *My. Arch. Report*. B.A.S.

he has none, except as I have said".¹ The greater part of these northern provinces, as narrated above, was lost to the Hindus after the battle of Rākshasa-Taṅgaḍi. It was once assumed that the Vijayanagara Empire about that period was divided into six provinces, as a result of the fatal defeat. These were, according to Mr. Richards, Āndhra, Kārṇāṭa, Madura, Chandragiri, Gingee, and Tanjore.² But Tirumalarāya in his *Chkikadēvarāya Vamśāvali* gives us the territorial divisions of the Empire after the death of Rāma Rāja. The author tells us that Yeṛa Timma Rāja, the younger brother of Rāma Rāja, made himself the ruler, setting aside the nominal sovereign Sadāsiva Rāya. After some time he changed his capital from Vidyānagara to Penu-ḡoṇḍa. Of his three sons Srīraṅga Rāya was the viceroy of the whole Telugu country with his headquarters at Srīraṅgapattāṇa; and Veṅkatādri, the third son, over the Tuṇḍira, Chōla and Paṇḍya countries, with Chandragiri as his centre.³

Without dwelling at length on the history of any of these provinces, we may ascertain one or two details about the tenure of office of a viceroy. The province of Āraga affords us some insight into this question. Āraga as a provincial seat comes into prominence from the earliest days of Vijayanagara history. It was called, as we have said, the Āraga or the Chandraguṭṭi or the Male-rājya. It comprised the modern Shimoga district of the Mysore State and portions of North Kanara. Mārappa, brother of Harihara Oḍeyar, was in charge of this province in A.D. 1347.⁴ There is reason to believe, therefore, that Āgarā-rājya was at first under a prince of the royal family. Virūpaṇṇa Oḍeyar, also called Yadugiri, Udayagiri, and in one inscription Vandagiri, was the viceroy over Āraga in A.D. 1362.⁵

The history of the viceroyalty of Virūpaṇṇa Oḍeyar brings us to the second feature of the office of a provincial governor. This was the long tenure of office, presumably because of some unspecified political reasons or because of the inherent efficiency of the governor. There are at least

Sewell, *For. Emp.* p. 244.

Richards, *Salem Gaz.* I, p. 67.

Chkikadēvarāya Vamśāvali, *The Source*, pp. 302-3. See Heras, *Ara-vidu*, pp. 255-7 for some observations on this point.

E.C., VIII, Sb. 375, p. 65.

Ibid., Tl. 37, p. 170.

two instances of the prolonged career of a viceroy placed over Āraga—that of a royal prince and that of a minister-general who belonged to a famous line of administrators. Yadugiri Virūpaṇṇa, son of Bukka Rāya, continued to be the viceroy over Āraga from A.D. 1362 till about A.D. 1380.¹ Another well known example of a ruler who continued to govern over Āraga for about the same period is that of Viṭṭhaṇṇa Oḍeyar, (A.D. 1402-17), a Brahma-Kshariya, son of Bamma Rāja and Virūpāmbikā, of the lineage of Saṅkappa and Rāyappa.² But in these two instances it may be noted that, although both of them exercised jurisdiction for nearly eighteen years, yet the names of other viceroys continually appear within the period of their vicerealty. Thus Mādarasa in A.D. 1369, and again in A.D. 1377.³ Sōvaṇṇa Oḍeyar in A.D. 1369,⁴ Chikka Rāya, the son of Harihara, in A.D. 1379 and A.D. 1381,⁵ and Vīra Vasanta Mādhava in A.D. 1379 and A.D. 1380,⁶ ruled over Āraga. We can only suppose that some of these were merely deputies of the viceroy, although it appears strange, that the provincial ruler should have found it expedient to change his deputies in A.D. 1369 and in A.D. 1379.

However that may be, Āraga was placed under governors whose families could boast of having held some of the highest posts in the kingdom. To such a family belonged Rāyaṇṇa Rāja, whose descent is thus given in an inscription dated A.D. 1431: "Formerly, under Bukka Rāya (omitting laudations) was the great minister Baichapa-daṇḍanāyaka; whose son was Maṅgappa-daṇḍādhipa; his son, famous as the king of Māhishmatī, was Baichapa-daṇḍanāyaka; whose son was Rāyaṇṇa-Rāja" who ruled over the Āraga kingdom, the Hanagavāḍiya-Bhāgada-nāḍ of Ānavēri-nāḍ, and the Hoysala Honnūru-nāḍ.⁷ Another instance of a family which supplied hereditary governors was that of Rāyappa from whom, as related above, was descended Viṭṭhaṇṇa. To this family of Rāyappa be-

¹ E.C., VIII, Intr., p. 12; Tl. 107, p. 206; Tl. 28, p. 169; Tl. 125, p. 187; E.C., VI, Kp. 30, p. 81; E.C., VIII, Tl. 114, p. 185; Tl. 167, p. 197.

² E.C., VI, Kp. 52-4, pp. 87-8; E.C., VIII, Tl. 133, p. 190; Tl. 130, p. 189; Tl. 148, p. 192.

E.C., VI, Kp. 6, p. 77; E.C., VII, Sk. 35, p. 46.

E.C. VIII, Tl. 132, p. 189. Sōvaṇṇa Oḍeyar is called the son of Vīra Mārappa.

E.C. VII, Hl. 84, p. 175; E.C., VI, Kp. 31, p. 81.

E.C. VII, Hl. 84, p. 175; E.C., VIII, Sb. 152, p. 22.

E.C. VII, Sh. 71, p. 27.

longed Śrīgīrinātha, who was also viceroy over Āraga for about eighteen years (A.D. 1420-37).¹ Since in A.D. 1432 Śrīgīrinātha calls himself a Brahma-Kshatriya and the son of Rāyappa Oḍeyar,² we may presume that he apparently a brother of Viṭṭhaṇṇa Oḍeyar.³ There is an epigraph which has been assigned to about the year A.D. 1450 by Rice.⁴ If this could be accepted, Śrīgīrinātha must have had an unusually long tenure of office as viceroy over Āraga-Guṭṭi Eighteen Kampaṇa. However that may be, Śrīgīrinātha's eldest son Dēvappa Daṇḍādhipa was the "protector of the great Āraga kingdom" from A.D. 1463 till A.D. 1468.⁵ In A.D. 1550, in the reign of Sadāśiva Rāya, "by his order, Keladi Sadāśiva Rāya Nāyaka was ruling the Āraga kingdom".⁶ This governor had already come into some prominence in about A.D. 1524 in the Banavāse Twelve Thousand,⁷ and in about A.D. 1545 seems to have been appointed as viceroy over Āraga in conjunction with Rāma Rāya Nāyaka.⁸ But from A.D. 1550 till A.D. 1566 he was the sole governor over Āraga.⁹ If his joint-rule over Āraga from A.D. 1545 is also taken into account, Sadāśiva Rāya Nāyaka's viceroyalty over that important province extended over a period of about eighteen to twenty years. The family of Sadāśiva Rāya Nāyaka is another example of a line that gave governors to the Vijayanagara Empire.

But this system of enlisting members from select families was fraught with great danger to the Empire. The Keladi family itself proves our assertion. Till the year A.D. 1566 the epigraphs describing the charitable activities of the viceroys are remarkable for their tone of submissiveness to the Central Government. Thus in an inscription dated A.D. 1566, we are told that "when (with titles) Sadāśiva Rāya Mahārāya was in Vidyānagari called Hastināvatī, ruling the kingdom. . . . And by his order

¹ E.C., VIII, Tl. 216, p. 210; Tl. 2, p. 161; Tl. 14, p. 165; Tl. 33, p. 169; Tl. 23, pp. 167-8; Tl. 175, p. 199; E.C., VI, Kp. 27, p. 80.

² E.C., VIII, Tl. 23, p. 168.

³ *Ibid.*, Intr., p. 12.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Tl. 155, p. 193.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Tl. 206, p. 209; Tl. 143, p. 191.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Nr. 77, p. 160.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Sb. 35, p. 7.

⁸ *Ibid.*, Tl. 15, p. 166.

⁹ *Ibid.*, Tl. 103, p. 184; Nr. 1, p. 120.

Immaḍi Sadāsiva Rāya Nāyaka was ruling the Āraga kingdom as his *māgaṇi*. . . .”¹ The same is mentioned in an earlier inscription dated A.D. 1560². But in A.D. 1577 his grandson Rāma Rāya Nāyaka, ruling “the Āraga-Guṭṭi Sime, Bārakūru, Maṅgaḷūru, and other kingdoms developed in succession”, gave expression to the new spirit which was kindling in the hearts of the Keḷadi governors, in his account of the same *māgaṇi* which in A.D. 1566 Sadāsiva Rāya Nāyaka is said to have ruled by the order of the Emperor Sadāsiva Rāya. “When (with titles) king Sadāsiva being in Vidyānagari . . . the follower of his orders, by his command—the Yādava—Murāri, Kōṭe-Kōlāhala establisher of the Visuddha-Vaidikādvaita-siddhānta, destroyer of his opponents, devoted a Siva, Sadāsiva Rāya Nāyaka, born in Keḷadi, celebrated in the world by the place name Keḷadi, having taken possession of the Guṭṭi-sime, the Āraga Eighteen Kampaṇa, Bārakūru, Maṅgaḷūr, with their districts was ruling them . . .”³ The change in the nature of fief expressed in the phrase “having taken possession” of the various principalities and in the string of titles appended to the name Sadāsiva Nāyaka, must have come as an inevitable result of the battle of Rākshasa-Taṅgaḍi. Rāma Rāya Nāyaka was discreet enough to proclaim that he ruled over the Āraga-Guṭṭi and other kingdoms “devolved in succession”, under the hand of the Rājādhirāja Rāja-paramēśvara, Vīra Pratāpa, Vīra Śrīraṅga Rāya Dēva, Mahārāya;⁴ but it must have been apparent even to the latter that the province of Keḷadi had outgrown the loyalty of the days of Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya the Great, and that viceroys like Rāma Rāya Nāyaka, who showed signs of outward submission, had in fact encroached to a very large extent on the authority and name of the Vijayanagara Emperor. Indeed, or the principality of Keḷadi, which thus originated in a fief, lived beyond the days of the great Hindu Empire, the traditions of which it carried on long after the descendants of Śrīraṅga Rāya had relapsed into insignificance in their parent city of Āneguṇḍi. But the origin and growth of Keḷadi afford to later history one more example of the fundamental defect in the provincial organization of Vijayanagara.

¹ E.C., VIII, Nr. 1, p. 126.

² *Ibid.*, Tl. 103, p. 184.

³ *Ibid.*, Tl. 5, p. 162.

⁴ *Ibid.*

SECTION 4. *Some Problems of the Vijayanagara Monarchs and how they were solved*

There have been two schools of thought, as already remarked,¹ about the administration of Vijayanagara. To steer clear of these divergent sets of opinions it is necessary that one should review very briefly a large range of Vijayanagara activity in purely political matters, and examine the problems which confronted the Hindu rulers and the methods to which the monarchs had recourse to solve them.

Of all the questions which the sons of Saṅgama and their successors had to solve,² that which was fraught with the greatest danger, at least so far as internal administration was concerned, was the continual recurrence of civil wars, usurpations, and rebellions on the part of the princes and potentates placed over the different provinces of the Empire. A satisfactory settlement of the paramount problem of guarding the northern parts of the Empire³ was frustrated, to a great extent, by the fear of interminable civil wars. Internal strife was not uncommon during certain periods of Vijayanagara history. The earliest signs of such civil commotion are seen in the years immediately following the reign of Harihara Rāya II, under whom the kingdom seems to have reached the utmost limits and to have been firmly secured.⁴ The late Mr. T. Gopinatha Rao was the first to draw attention to the confusion which prevailed in the year A.D. 1404-5 when Bukka II and his brother Virūpāksha were both represented as ruling from the capital city. According to Mr. Gopinatha Rao, since the reign of Virūpāksha (in A.D. 1404) "overlaps that of Bukka II", "it is not easy to explain how Virūpāksha could have reigned in the same period, except on the supposition that either Virūpāksha was acting as a regent, or that he seized the throne from his brother Bukka II, ruled for a short time, and was dethroned by the partisans of

¹ *Supra*, Sect. 1. Verdict passed on Vijayanagara Administration in General.

² *Supra*, Ch. I, Sec. 2. The Needs of the Times. We shall not deal with the question of imperial defence which falls within the purview of political history, nor with that relating to the preservation of Hindu Dharma, since some phases of it will be discussed in the subsequent pages of this treatise. B.A.S.

³ See for example, how the Gajapati king Kapilēśvara with the aid of the Muhammadans and Pāṇḍyas invaded Vijayanagara in S. 1391, (A.D. 1469-74). *Ep. Report* for 1906, p. 64; A.S.R. for 1907-8, p. 252.

⁴ A.S.R. for 1907-8, p. 242.

Bukka II. This latter may have been in his turn ousted from the government by Dēvarāya I. Hence we might conclude that after the death of Harihara II there was a rapid succession of kings one after another, thus: Bukka II, Virūpāksha, Bukka II, once again, and Dēvarāya I".¹ Sewell, relying on the testimony of Nuniz, speaks of a period of confusion in Vijayanagara after the death of Dēva Rāya II.²

This unhappy state of things was renewed on the death of Achyuta Rāya when the powerful Rāma Rāja, the leader of the opposition, elevated Sadāsiva Rāya to the throne.³ The reign of Achyuta Rāya himself has been characterized by Nuniz as an age of decadence.⁴ Things in Vijayanagara must indeed have been deplorable after the death of a king whom Firishtah calls "Shew Ray" since the Hindus were compelled to seek the aid of Ibrāhim 'Adil Shāh I.⁵ Firishtah evidently refers here to the confusion that prevailed in the capital on the unjustifiable death of the Emperor, Sadāsiva Rāya, at the hands of the intriguing brothers. Caesar Frederick confirms the evidence of Firishtah in these words: "... it is many years ago, since they got any there (i.e., diamonds found in a place 'sixe dayes journey from Bezeneger') for the troubles that have been in that Kingdome. The first cause of this trouble was, because the sonne of this Temeragio had put to death the lawful King whom hee had in Prison, for which cause the Barons and Noblemen in that Kingdome would not acknowledge him to be their King, and by this means there are many Kings and great division in that Kingdome . . ."⁶

Without commenting on the incompatibility of the evidence given by Caesar Frederick according to whom "the sonne of this Temeragio had put to death the lawful King", and that supplied by Firishtah, who says that "Timraj poisoned him" (i.e. the lawful king), it is apparent that the capital was split into rival camps and that consequently there was some confusion in the kingdom.

Gopinatha Rao, *Ep. Ind.*, VIII, p. 300; *Ep. Ind.*, XV, p. 13.

Sewell, *For. Emp.*, p. 96; S. K. Aiyangar in Satyanatha, *Nayaks*, Intr. p. 6.

A.S.R. for 1911-2, pp. 177-8.

Sewell, *ibid.*, pp. 367-8.

Firishtah, Briggs, *The Rise*, III, pp. 80-4.

Caesar Frederick, *Purchas*, X, p. 97.

The anonymous author of the life of St. Xavier relates the following: "There were several wars over the question of the succession to the throne; for there was no more issue of the royal family, and various nobles and leading chiefs of the kingdom did not acknowledge the one who is ruling at present".¹ The shadows of civil war cast a gloom over the Empire. On Veṅkaṭa Dēva Rāya's death in about A.D. 1614 there was again disturbance in the kingdom. This we gather from Barradas, who writes that "Jaga Rāya", "Maca Rāya" and "Tima Naique" refused to swear allegiance to the new Emperor, and that they were mainly instrumental in plotting against the latter in favour of the son of Jaga Rāya.² Jaggaya, the Gōbūri chief, the Nāyakas of Madura, and Gingee, the Pāṇdyas of Tinnevely and the Portuguese on one hand, and Prince Rāma with the faithful Yāchama Nāyaka on the other, drowned the land in civil strife.³

The second aspect of this question is in connection with usurpations. The most conspicuous instances of usurpation are those of the Sāluva chief Nṛisimha and of his general Narasa Nāyaka. According to Nuniz, Sāluva Nṛisimha, whom he calls "Narsymgua", was responsible for the overthrow of the first dynasty. "One of his (of the king, whom Nuniz calls 'Padearão') captains who was called Narsymgua, who was in some manner akin to him, seeing his mode of life, and knowing how ill it was for the kingdom that he should live and reign, though all was not yet lost, determined to attack him and seize on his lands; which scheme he at once put into force".⁴ Relying on the strength of the statement in an inscription of Immaḍi-Nṛisimha, the son of Sāluva, Nṛisimha, that the latter "with the aid of his sword defeated all" and became a *sārvabhauma* or emperor, Mr. J. Ramayya Pantulu concludes that it points "unmistakably to his usurpation of the Karṇāṭa throne".⁵ The same writer characterizes the usurpation by Sāluva Nṛisimha and Narasa Nāyaka, the Tuluva general, as double usurpation.⁶ It is generally accepted that Narasa

¹ Heras, *Aravidu*, p. 252.

² Sewell, *For. Emp.*, pp. 218, 224 *seq.*

³ S. K. Aiyangar in Satyanatha, *Nayakas*, Intr., p. 19.

⁴ Sewell, *ibid.*, p. 306.

⁵ *Ep. Ind.*, VII, p. 79. See also Venkoba Rao, *Vyāsayōgicharitam*, Intr., pp. lxxxv-lxxxvi, 44.

⁶ *Ep. Ind.*, *ibid.*, pp. 78-9.

Nāyaka supplanted the dynasty of the Sāluvas by a line of kings of a purely Tuḷuva stock.¹ The remarks of Wilson in this connection still hold good, although it cannot be maintained with him that the illustrious Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya also usurped the throne.² Another instance of usurpation is that already referred to by Caesar Frederick in his description of the tyrant brothers who kept the rightful king (Sadāśiva Rāya) in prison and who ultimately ushered in the Āravīḍu dynasty in Vijayanagara history.³

A third turn which this thorny question took was in the shape of rebellion. A united front against foreign enemies was an imperative necessity, but such a common line of defence meant the unification of the various conflicting elements in the land. This was however incompatible with the power and prestige of the ancient families, some of which could trace their annals to the early ages of south Indian history. There were also the demands of unruly tribes that had occupied various parts of the country, especially those areas covered with jungle and mountains in the western parts of the Vijayanagara Empire. A locality which was geographically an ideal centre for the forest tribes was the Āraga or Male-rājya mentioned above. Here during the reign of Dēva Rāya I there was a serious Bēḍar incursion. We shall presently describe how it was quelled. On Narasa Nāyaka's death there seems to have been a widespread disaffection in some quarters. The Tuḷuva province was almost in revolt; the Gajapatis of Orissa had besieged Koṇḍaviḍu and Udayagiri; the Sultan of Bijapur had launched an attack on the northern frontier; and a powerful Hindu ruler within the Vijayanagara Empire had raised the standard of revolt.⁴ This last chief was the Gaṅga Rāja of Ummattūr, one of whose titles was "chief lord of the Hoysala kingdom".⁵ Evidently the Ummattūr chieftains considered themselves as the only protectors of the Hoysala-*vaṁśa*, and, therefore, could not tolerate the imperialistic designs of the Vijayanagara monarchs. The Gaṅga Rāja rebelled in about A.D. 1510. In the reign of Achyuta Rāya the growing strength of the Vijayanagara Empire must have been as much a matter of

But read Saletore, *I.A.*, XLII, pp. 1-11.

As. Res. XX, pp. 10-11.

Caesar Frederick, *Purchas*, X, p. 93.

A.S.R. for 1908-9, p. 173.

E.C., IV, Ch. 192, p. 23.

annoyance to some of the southern governors who were thinking of aggrandizement as it was a source of fear to some of the ancient royal families on the Malabar coast. This is evident from the expedition which was led in the times of Achyuta Rāya against the recalcitrant viceroy Vīra Narasimha, and the subsequent campaigns so successfully conducted in the Tiruvaḍi-rājya or Travancore country.¹ While the monarch's attention was thus diverted in the south, a powerful party led by three brothers, who claimed to be sons-in-law of Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya himself or of his third brother, Raṅga, was sowing seeds of dissension in the capital.²

The reign of Sadāśiva Rāya was an era of the most fatal complications. Firstly, there were the incursions by the ruler of Travancore into the ancient Pāṇḍyan territory. Then there was the menace of a great danger on the Fishery Coast of the south where the Portuguese, committed to a policy of conquest for the sake of the Cross, were coming into conflict with the political and religious stability of the Hindu Empire. Thirdly, as narrated above, there was the fact of the rise of the same powerful leaders of the rival parties in the capital, whose proud demeanour with foreign ambassadors was in no small measure responsible for the spark that kindled the smouldering fires of Hindu-Mohammadan antipathy into the greatest and saddest catastrophe ever witnessed in the history of southern India. This was the last and the most extraordinary disaster in the reign of Sadāśiva Rāya—the battle of Rākshasa-Taṅgaḍi. Whether the poor monarch was in any way responsible for the subversion of the Hindu Empire cannot be determined with certainty. Although it is not possible to agree with Sewell when he says that the nobles proclaimed their independence in the anarchy which followed that great conflict,³ yet it cannot be gainsaid that the battle of Rākshasa-Taṅgaḍi shook the Hindu Empire as no other terror had done in its history. This great battle forms a subject by itself, and we intend to discuss and describe it in a separate dissertation. Meanwhile we may be permitted to recount the effect it had on the fate of the Vijayanagara Empire.⁴

¹ S. K. Aiyangar in Satyanatha, *Nayaks*, Intr., pp. 11-12.

² *Ibid.*, p. 12.

³ Sewell, *For. Emp.*, p. 209.

⁴ *Supra*, Chapter III.

What the relatives of the gallant old Hindu Regent did on hearing the reports of the great disaster is told to us, as already remarked, by Caesar Frederick in A.D. 1567. They fled, taking with them as their prisoner the Emperor Sadāśiva.¹ We have likewise dwelt on the revolt of the northern provinces of Adōni, Baṅkāpur, Dhārwar, Jerreh, Chandragutti, Karūr and Tirukal, and on the rebellion of the chieftain of Kārkala in Tuluva.² The insecurity which prevailed over some parts of the Vijayanagara Empire is shown in the deplorable fate that befell poor Caesar Frederick on the outskirts of Aṅkōla in A.D. 1567.³ That same eye-witness, as we have seen, relates the dishonest though dire methods to which the Hindu monarch had recourse in raising a force of cavalry. Finally, we saw the administrative changes which Tirumala undertook to revive the stability of the Hindu Empire.

The new Government, however, unwittingly added to the number of its problems by the murder of the innocent Emperor Sadāśiva Rāya. This political blunder is as difficult to account for as the other grave error they made in transferring the headquarters "from the front line at Vijayanagara to the second at Penukoṇḍa".⁴ We confess that the political reshuffling of the Vijayanagara provinces was a measure which was not entirely without its own advantages. To their exultant enemies it was a sign of the vigour that was still left in the Hindus; to the latter it was another opportunity of consolidating the shorn glories of their Empire. Tirumala's division of the provinces gave up all hopes of the northern districts, which had proved to be the bane of the Hindu rulers, and made it appear as if the ruler had consciously redistributed the areas with an eye towards the linguistic affinities of the people. The Rev. Heras says in this connection: "The division being naturally made according to the three great different races of the Empire, a great administrative success in each part could reasonably be expected; and the Viceroys being of the royal blood, and in this case sons of the Sovereign himself, the fear of rebellion was reduced, since they were bound to be very loyal to the Emperor their father".⁵ But

¹ Caesar Frederick, *Purchas*, X, p. 93, op. cit.

² Heras, *Avanidu*, p. 243, op. cit.

³ Caesar Frederick, *ibid.*, pp. 99-100, op. cit.

⁴ S. K. Aiyangar in Satyanatha, *Nayaks*, Intr., p. 15.

⁵ Heras, *ibid.*, p. 257.

it may be doubted whether it was ever so, since we have no evidence to prove that the Hindus in or about A.D. 1567 were swayed to such an extent by motives of racial fusion in the wake of a political disaster. Tirumala's arrangement was "justified at the time but was pregnant with consequences fatal to the unity of the Empire".¹

The fact that the viceroys at the inception of the classification were of royal blood is in itself no justification for defending Tirumala's threefold division. His times were certainly not those in which Harihara Oḍeyar and Bukka Rāya I lived: *then* the motive force which drove out all ideas of insubordination from the minds of the powerful viceroys, who were, in most instances, princes of the royal family, was the fact that it was impossible to rise against the sons of Saṅgama and their successors who had creditably withstood the attack of their enemies; *now* in A.D. 1569 their subordinates were conscious of the plain fact that the Vijayanagara monarch had ignominiously failed to defend the honour of their country against the descendants of the very same enemies. Heras in defending Tirumala's action further says: "But this apprehension (i.e., of rebellion on the part of the viceroys) was never realised, since the viceroys ceased to exist after half a century".² It is difficult to follow the meaning which the learned writer wants to convey: the disappearance of the viceroys after half a century, and, we may incidentally add, the growing strength of the rulers like the Nāyaks of Madura and Tanjore, are in themselves a proof of the inadequacy of the new arrangement to meet the demands of the times. This threefold division of Tirumala, as will be made clear in the short review of rebellions which will follow, plainly indicated that his Government had failed to grasp the keynote of the whole situation—the need for levelling down the authority of the various viceroys placed over the different provinces, and centering it in the hands of the monarch at the capital. In fact, Tirumala's political experiment struck at the root of that centralization which had been the characteristic feature of the government of Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya the Great. The reverses which the Hindus suffered on the battlefield of Rākshasa-Taṅgaḍi had indeed

¹ S. K. Aiyangar in Satyanatha, *Nayaks*, Intr., p. 16.

² Heras, *Aravida*, p. 257.

changed the nature of the times, and unfortunately clouded the political sagacity of the Hindu rulers.

The spirit of unrest soon manifested itself in Mysore, where the Vijayanagara viceroy was confronted with a rebellion. "In A.D. 1571 Heri (Hiriya?) Chamaraj succeeded to the government of the State. He was probably one of these princes of Kanara who did not pay homage to the new dynasty on account of the murder of Sadasiva. It is stated that he evaded payment of his tribute to the Viceroy of Seringapatam". He drove out, Heras continues, the collectors of the royal tribute from Mysore, but was fortunate enough to evade arrest at the hands of the royal emissaries, and "continued with impunity to withhold all payment of tribute".¹

"In the reign of *Periya-Virapa Naicker* (A.D. 1516) the king of *Mavalivanam* came with hostile intent, placed a fortified camp before *Manamathurai* and *Kalaiyar-covil*",² but, as we shall presently relate, the Vijayanagara viceroys were still loyal and powerful enough to defend the interests of the Empire against unruly chieftains. The troubles in the reign of Raṅga Rāya I, were many: there was the revolt on the west coast, the rebellion of the Maṣavar and Kallar tribes in the south, and the Muhammadān danger in the north.³ Veṅkaṭapati Dēva I's reign was also pregnant with grave problems in the shape of the rebellion of Virappa Nāyaka, the ruler of Madura, and the defection of Tirumala, the eldest son of Rāma, and his march to Śrīraṅga-paṭṭaṇa.⁴ The Nāyaka of Gingee, Kṛishṇappa Nāyaka, also added to the trouble by revolting against Veṅkaṭapati Rāya II.⁵ The Tanjore Nāyaka showed unmistakable signs of insubordination in about A.D. 1595.⁶ Finally the Nandyāla chief called Kṛishṇa Rāja raised the banner of revolt.⁷

The reigns of Raṅga Rāya I and Veṅkaṭapati Rāya II, therefore, witnessed the fundamental defect of Tirumala's

¹ Heras, *Aravīdu*, p. 202.

² Taylor, *O.H.MSS.*, II, p. 25. Heras speaks of the king of Mavalipuram, and places the event in about A.D. 1583. *ibid.*, pp. 284-5.

³ *A.S.R.* for 1911-2, pp. 183-5; Heras, *ibid.*, pp. 267-9.

⁴ S. K. Aiyangar, in Satyanatha, *Nayaks*, Intr., pp. 17-18; Heras, *ibid.*, p. 308.

⁵ Heras, *ibid.*, p. 403.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 308.

⁷ *Rāmarājīyam*, *The Sources*, pp. 243, 248; Heras, *ibid.*, p. 309.

political reorganization. It may not be far wrong to say that as yet there was no sign of an actual dismemberment of the Vijayanagara Empire. About the beginning of the seventeenth century, the greatness of the Empire was noticed even by foreigners. In A.D. 1608-11 William Finch remarked thus: "Alongst the seaside towards the Cape is the mightie king of Bezeneger (Vijayanagar), under whom the Portugals hold Saint Thome and Negapatan, but are not suffered to build a castle".¹ But the political shiftings of the great feudatories in the southern and central parts of the Empire² told sadly on its future life. In A.D. 1614 the Government was again faced with the problem of revolt. This time it was, as we have remarked above, the Gobbūri chief who rose against the Emperor.³ To Tirumala's administrative changes alone can we attribute the insubordination of Tirumala Nāyaka and the ruler of Mysore in the reign of Srīraṅga Rāya,⁴ which eventually led to the disappearance of the Vijayanagara monarchs from the political stage of south Indian history, relegating the old line of kings to the position of petty chieftains in the city of Anegundi.

These were the problems which the Vijayanagara rulers had to solve since the time when they had assumed the reins of government as the Hindu *Suratrāṇas* (Sultans) of the south. That they continued to wield undisputed authority for more than two and a half centuries is a fact which is to be attributed, among other things, to the methods which they adopted to combat the above mentioned grave dangers to the Hindu State. These methods may now be enumerated. The first problem with which we have to deal, excluding that which refers to the foreign policy of Vijayanagara, concerns the civil wars and wars of succession. This recurring evil was to a large measure obviated by the two-fold means of appointing princes of the royal blood as viceroys and by a system of joint-rule. In appointing princes as governors over distant provinces, the Vijayanagara rulers unintentionally gave expression to the precept of Sūkrāchārya which runs thus: "He (the king) should station them (the heirs and princes) in various quarters by

¹ William Finch in Foster, *Early Travels in India*, p. 182.

² S. K. Aiyangar in Satyanatha, *Nayaks*, Intr., p. 20.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 18-9, op. cit.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 22.

paying them one-fourth of the royal revenues or make them governors of provinces".¹ We cannot, however, determine the revenue that was assigned to the viceroys of Vijayanagara, although we have, as related elsewhere, cited the evidence of Nuniz as to the income of some of the powerful lords of the kingdom.

The other turn which this method took was singular in the sense that it won the confidence not only of princes but of the people as well. There are some famous examples of joint-rule in Vijayanagara history. The first relates to the early years when the sons of Saṅgama gave public demonstration to the spirit of solidarity which characterized the Hindus in the face of common danger. An inscription in Tamil dated A.D. 1346 gives us the following information: "Then Mahāmaṇḍalēśvaras, subduers of hostile kings, champions over kings who break their word, śrī-Vīra Ariyappa Uḍaiyar and Bukkaṇṇa Uḍaiyar were ruling the Earth".² Another inscription of the same date, also in Tamil, begins thus: "The following is the order with the royal seal issued by (with titles) śrī-Hariyappa Uḍaiyar and Muttanṇa (i.e., Bukkaṇṇa) Uḍaiyar to the inhabitants of Tēkkal-nāḍu".³ An inscription dated A.D. 1386 records the same titles and continues to state that "Vīra Hariappa Oḍeyar Bukkaṇṇa Oḍeyar was ruling a secure kingdom".⁴ Mr. Kṛishṇa Sāstri has discussed the question of Vijaya's having been co-regent with his father Dēva Rāya I for two or three years prior to Śaka 1343 (A.D. 1421-2); and of Vijaya's joint-rule with his son Dēva Rāya II from Śaka 1342 (A.D. 1421-2) till Śaka 1346 (A.D. 1424-5)⁵. According to him Virūpāksha Rāya also "appears to have continued to rule jointly with his son 'Padea Rao' almost until the actual usurpation of the throne by the minister Sāḷuva Nṛsimha Rāja".⁶

From the following inscription, dated A.D. 1524, in which two officials assign the customs of a village for the merit of Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya and of the heir-apparent Prince

¹ *Sukranīti*, I, ll. 697-8, p. 47.

² *E.C.*, IX, Bn. 59, p. 12. See Kṛishṇa Sāstri, *A.S.R.* for 1907-8, pp. 237, n. (2), 249.

³ *E.C.*, X, Mr. 39, p. 165.

⁴ *E.C.* IX, Bn. 139, p. 26.

⁵ *A.S.R.* for 1907-8, pp. 247-8.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 253.

Tirumala, it may reasonably be concluded that the Emperor must have associated his son with himself as joint-ruler in about A.D. 1524. The epigraph records: "... for the service of jewels of (the god) Tiruveṅgaḷēśvara of Māgaḍi, —in order that merit might be Kṛishṇa-rāya-mahārāya,— Tirumarasa of that *maṭha* granted (the customs and tools in god's villages) for the god's treasury (specified details) . . . And seeing this, Timmaṇṇa-danṇāyaka . . . granted (specified) customs and tolls that had previously been paid, for the same god's treasury, in order that merit might be to Tirumala Rāya".¹

This seems to prove, on the whole, Nuniz's observations to the effect that Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya ruled together with his son (Prince Tirumala) for some time. Nuniz however does not give us the name of the prince but relates the following: that the great Emperor after his brilliant victory over the Muhammadans, "desiring to rest in his old age and wishing his son to become King when he died, he determined to make him king during his lifetime, the boy being six years old and the King not knowing what would happen after his death. Whereupon he abdicated his throne and all his power and name, and gave it all to his son, and himself became his minister, and Salvatinica who had held that office became his counsellor. . . . And so far did King Crisnarao go that after he had given the kingdom to his son, he himself did obeisance to him. With these changes the King made great festivals which lasted eight months, during which time the son of the King fell sick of a disease of which he died".² But Nuniz contradicts himself when in a later passage he tells us that the prince was "only one of the age of eighteen months".³

Closely allied to these methods of combating the fears of civil wars and wars of succession were two other measures directed specially against the dangers of usurpation. These grouped round the important questions of appointing the *yuva-rāja*. In the *Sukraniti* we have the following about the crown prince: "The ruler should select as Crown Prince the offspring of the legally married wife who can perform the tasks of the State without idleness. He may select as Crown Prince his uncle younger than himself or

¹ E.X., IX, Ma. 6, pp. 51-2.

² Sewell, *For. Emp.*, p. 359

³ *Ibid.*, p. 367.

younger brother, or son of his elder brother, his own son, or one treated as son, or an adopted child, or daughter's son or sister's son successively according to failure".¹ The importance of the crown prince has been thus summed up by the same authority: "The Crown Prince and the Body of Councillors are the hands of a monarch. They are also known to be his eyes and ears, in each case right and left respectively".²

We have no data which could enable us to compare Vijayanagara theory with that of the mediaeval canonist on this particular point, but we know that the monarchs of the south appointed members of the royal family as crown princes. An inscription dated A.D. 1378, after tracing the traditional descent of the sons of Saṅgama, says that the eldest Hariappa, "appointed his younger brother Bukka Rāja as *yuva-rāja*".³ It is not impossible that Bukka I appointed his son Chikka Kaṁpaṇa Oḍeyar as *yuva-rāja*. This is inferred from the following considerations: an inscription from Chāmarājyanagara describes Bukka I thus: *Bukkaṇṇa-voḍeyaru prithvīrājyava māḍu-vakāladalu*. It is dated *Saka-varusha 1290 neya Kīlaka-saṁvatasarada Vayaśaka (Vaiśākha)—Ba. 5 Sō. Śravaṇa-nakshatrada-śubha-yōgadalū*.⁴ This corresponds but for the week-day to Sunday, the 7th May, A.D. 1368.⁵ At the same time we have Vīra Bukkaṇṇa Oḍeyar's son Chikka Kaṁpaṇa Oḍeyar *prithvī-rājyam-geyvutt-iddalli*. This epigraph is also dated *Saka-varusha 1290 neya Kīlaka-saṁvatasarada Jēshṭha-śu. 10 lu.*⁶ (A.D. 1368, May, Saturday 27th).⁷ Since Bukka Rāja I was still ruling in A.D. 1369,⁸ and since there is no evidence of dissensions among the founders or their near relatives, it may be concluded that Chikka Kaṁpaṇa is mentioned in A.D. 1368 in the capacity of *yuva-rāja*. As regards the reign of Dēva Rāja I, Wilson re-

¹ *Sukranīti*, II, ll. 29-31, pp. 57-8.

² *Ibid.*, I, 23, p. 57.

³ *E.C.*, V, P. I, Cn. 256, p. 232.

⁴ *E.C.*, IV, Ch. 113, text, p. 43.

⁵ Swamikannu, *Ind. Eph.*, IV, p. 338.

⁶ *E.C.*, III, Nj. 117, p. 201. (Translit.). This inscription is not given in Kannaḍa. B.A.S.

⁷ Swamikannu, *ibid.*, IV, p. 338.

⁸ As indicated by an inscription dated *Saka-varusha 1290 neya Kīlaka-saṁvatasarada Māgha ś. 10. Bu.* which evidently stands for *expired 1290. 1290 neya Kīlaka*=Thursday, 18th January A.D. 1369. *E.C.*, VI, Kp. 6, text, p. 297; Swamikannu, *ibid.*, p. 340. Bukka I's last date is of course A.D. 1377. Rice, *My. & Coorg*, p. 112.

marked long ago thus:—" . . . his grants begin three years before those of his predecessors terminate. This circumstance recurs in the succeeding reign, making it probable that the practice prevailed, which was common in the remote periods of Hindu history, of a monarch's associating with him towards the close of his reign, his son and successor as *Yuvaraja* or *Caesar*".¹ About later Vijayanagara history we are told in the *Vasucharitamu* that Srīraṅga Rāya was nominated *yuva-rāja* by Tirumala Rāya.²

The *Vasucharitamu* also incidentally informs us of the other method adopted by the Vijayanagara monarchs to avert the dangers of civil war. And that was in connection with abdication. After making his second son (Raṅga II) his heir-apparent, Tirumala eventually retired altogether from politics. "This abdication by Tirumala is also hinted in the *Srutirañjani*, a commentary on *Gītāgōvinda*, of which Tirumala was himself the supposed author. We are here told that Tirumala placed the heavy burden of administration on his four sons of high character and (retired from the kingdom) in order to keep company with the best of the learned and their learning".³ In the provincial governments, too, this method was imitated by the viceroys. On the abdication of Achyuta Nāyaka of Tanjore, his son Raghunātha Nāyaka was crowned by Gōvinda Dikshita.⁴

How Veṅkata II, in about A.D. 1614 appointed Prince Raṅga as his successor is described by Barradas: "Three days before his death, the King, leaving aside, as I say, this putative son, called for his nephew Chica Rāya, in presence of several of the nobles of the kingdom and extended towards him his right hand on which was the ring of state, and put it close to him, so that he should take it and should become his successor in the kingdom. With this the nephew, bursting into tears, begged the King to give it to whom he would, and that for himself he did not desire to be king, and he bent low, weeping at the feet of the old man. The King made a sign to those around

¹ Wilson, *As. Res.* XX, pp. 8-9.

² *Vasucharitamu*, *The Sources*, pp. 217, 221; Heras, *Aravidu*, pp. 260, 263.

³ Krishṇa Sastri, *A.S.R.*, for 1911-12, pp. 181-2. The evidence from *Srutirañjani* invalidates the remarks of Heras that "none of the contemporary sources say that Tirumala appointed his four sons to the several governorships of the kingdom, as it has often been asserted". *ibid.*, p. 254, n. (9).

⁴ *Sāhityaratnākara*, *The Sources*, p. 273; Heras, *ibid.*, p. 399.

him that they should raise the prince up, and they did so; and they then placed him on the King's right hand, and the King extended his own hand so that he might take the ring. But the prince lifted his hands above his head, as if he already had divined how much ill fortune the ring would bring him, and begged the King to pardon him if he wished not to take it. The old man then took the ring and held it on the point of his finger, offering it the second time to Chica Rāya, who by the advice of the captains present took it, and placed it on his head and then on his finger, shedding many tears. Then the King sent for his robe, valued at 200,000 cruzados, the great diamond which was in his ear, which was worth more than 600,000 cruzados, his earrings, valued at more than 200,000 and his great pearls, which are of the highest price. All these royal insignia he gave to his nephew Chica Rāya as being his successor, and as such he was at once proclaimed. While some rejoiced, others were displeased".¹

A fifth method meant to minimize the miseries of civil war refers to the appointing of a regent. Firishtah speaks of *Timraj* as managing the affairs of the State, evidently in his capacity as regent, during the regency of a certain "Shewa-Ray" in about A.D. 1491-92.² The rule of a regent was sometimes marked by severe repression. Salaka Timma, for instance, seems to have inaugurated such a policy.³ But a Vijayanagara regent could also be liberal. Rāma Rāja was, for example, a regent of this type. Niccolao Manucci in his *Storia do Mogor* (A.D. 1653-1708) has the following interesting remarks to make in connection with Rāma Rāja's generosity: "It seems to me that the reader will be pleased if I insert some account of the empire of Narsinga (Nar Singh), of the Hindū race, whose court was in the Karnātik. More than two hundred years ago there reigned an emperor called Ramrajo (Rām Rājah), who was so generous that it is remarked in the chronicles that he never refused any favour asked. He confirmed any grant he made by a record on golden plates. Up to this day the Portuguese preserve one of these plates for a gift to them by the said Rām Rājah of the city of Saã Thome.

¹ Sewell, *For. Emp.*, pp. 223-4.

² Firishtah, Briggs, *The Rise*, II, p. 538; III, p. 80. On this name see Sewell, *ibid.*, p. 111, and n. (2).

³ Heras, *Aravidu*, pp. 6, 8.

Owing to the liberality of this emperor his fame spread, and many men of different nations resorted to him and entered his service, principally foreigners. He gave them pay, and confined to them offices of profit".¹

But it is not to be imagined that the liberality of the regents sometimes did not take the shape of material aid which they gave to their relatives. The reign of Rāma Rāja was eventful in many ways. The fact that even Manucci, whose narrative is mainly concerned with the Mughals, was struck by the rather extravagant stories of Rāma Rāja's granting gifts on plates of gold suggests that the fame of the Hindu ruler might have travelled beyond the limits of his worst enemies, the Sultans of the Dekhan, into northern India. This popular conception of the generosity of the great Regent is, we admit, not altogether incredible. But at the same time we have to remember that Rāma Rāja, according to Firishtah, aimed at giving the highest honours to members of his own family. Firishtah says the following: "By degrees raising his own family to the highest rank, and destroying many of the ancient nobility, Ramraj aspired to reign in his own name, and intended totally to extirpate the race of Shew Ray".² This explains the rise to power of Rāma Rāja's nephew, *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Kōmara Koṇḍarājayyadēva Mahā-arasu; of the Regent's cousin Viṭṭhala, who became the viceroy of the south; of Jillella Raṅgapati Rājayyadēva Mahārāja, who was related to the Regent on his mother's side, and who became the governor of Rāmadurga-simā; of Siddhirāja Timma Rāja, also a nephew of Rāma Rāja; and of Rāma Rāja's own son Kṛishṇarājayyaṇ, who ruled over Tanjore.³ In view of the fact that, as we have seen, the sons of Saṅgama themselves had set an example of elevating their relatives to high rank in the government, and that it was an age in which the personal element counted for much as regards the success or failure of a ruler, Rāma Rāja's desire to strengthen the position of the house of Āraṇḍu by bringing in the forefront members of his own family may, perhaps, to a certain extent be justified.

¹ Manucci, *Storia do Mogor*, III, p. 97; Heras, *Aravidu*, p. 36.

² Firishtah, Briggs, *The Rise*, III, p. 81.

³ 129 of 1905, 104 of 1911; *Ep. Report* for 1911, p. 86; *Ep. Report* for 1912, p. 82, seq.; *Ep. Ind.*, IV, p. 4; *The Sources*, p. 211. See also Heras, *Aravidu*, pp. 35, 36, 40.

We now turn to the other great problem with which the Vijayanagara monarchs had to deal. This was rebellion. From the examples we have already cited¹ of the stringent measures passed by Rājārāja III, in A.D. 1230, and by an unidentified Jaṭavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya as regards traitors to the State and Brahman rebels respectively, it is obvious that the State took the counsel and aid of the people, and that it assigned to the village temples fines realized from culprits and from the sale of their property. We cannot determine to what extent the monarchs of Vijayanagara maintained the tradition of the Tamil rulers of assigning to the treasury of local temples money which the State got from offenders. There is nothing strange in Vijayanagara kings ignoring this custom when we remember that their age was practically one of centralization—at least till the days of the great conflict—, and that they themselves, as well as their subordinates, gave munificent grants to the temples which may have made extraneous gifts in the shape of fines from guilty persons unnecessary.

However that may be, we have the fact of the people helping the Government in suppressing great disturbances. Thus, for example, according to a *viragal* which may be assigned to the reign of Dēva Rāya I,² there was much excitement in the Āragarājya which was then under the jurisdiction of Viranṇa Oḍeyar. "A leading man there, Boḷeya Mummey-Nāyaka, having slaughtered all over the country, carried off prisoners, and was causing many and great disturbances and famine in the kingdom, the king being anxious about the disturbances thus created, gave an order saying: 'the Bēḍa must be brought to proper order (*ā-Bēḍarige takka ājneyanu māḍuvudu eṇḍu nirūpavanu chittayisidar*). Viranṇa Oḍeyar raising the army and coming against that Bēḍa, gave order in Anevari-nāḍ to assemble any number of horse and foot . . . Aṅgada-Rājammalla-mahā-prabhu, the Haḷḷināḍ Keyūru-nāḍiga (with various epithets) and the people of Hara-tālu, Modūr, Kallūr, Keḷale, Dānamūla, with Haritāla-Mēdi-gauḍa's son Muda-gauḍa, and Bomma-dēva-gauḍa's younger brother Tiraka-gauḍa, assembling horse and foot,

¹ *Supra*, Part II, Section 2, of this Chapter.

² The date of this *viragal* is Saka-varusha 1129 *neya Sarvajitu-saṁvatsarada Māgha Su. 10. Ādivāradallu. E.C., VIII, P. II, Nr. 29, p. 355.* This is obviously a mistake for Saka 1329, expired. Saka 1329, expired, Māgha Su. 10, Ādivāra corresponds to A.D. 1408, January, Sunday 8th. Swamikannu, *Ind. Eph.*, V, p. 18. B.A.S.

went and presented themselves before Virappa Odeyar, and said: 'We are not breakers of the word we have given; Vira Pratāpa Harihara-mahārāya's great minister Guṇḍapa-danṇāyaka gave us the title of Champion over the three kings (*mūvaru-rāyara-gaṇḍa*)'. 'So that this title shall be sung (in songs) in such manner will I break and put down the Bēḍa's force,'—thus saying (on the date specified) Tiraka-gauḍa, taking sword and shield, broke and put down the hostile force, slew and knocked down the leaders, and himself gained *svarga*'.¹

Boḷeya Mummeya Nāyaka was a Bēḍar chieftain, and as such might have been naturally expected to create commotion in the Āraga-rājya. But the Vijayanagara monarchs had to deal with persons who committed graver offences of the type of those made by Kāchapa Nāyaka of Ādavāni, a subordinate of Śāluva Narasiṅga, who is supposed to have made common cause in Śaka 1420 (A.D. 1498-9),² with the Muhammadans; or of those perpetrated by the powerful vassals of Mysore and of the south, whom Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya the Great brought to reason soon after. The two chiefs Nāgama Nāyaka and Vira Narasimha Sellappa were apprehended and reduced to subjection,³ although it must be admitted that with the latter the forces of Vijayanagara were not completely successful. The rebel leader managed to escape into the state of Travancore. Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya, however, as related elsewhere, crushed Naṅja Rāja Odeyar, the chief of Ummattūr, by storming the fortress of Sivanasamudra. According to Dr. Lüders "the taking of Sivanasamudra, at any rate, appears to have been the first military success in Kṛishṇarāya's career".⁴

The complications brought about by the flight of Vira Narasimha Sellappa into Travancore and the encroachment of the ruler of that state on the Pāṇḍya country already referred to, could only be solved by sending an expedition against both of them. Hence we have Rāma Rājayya Viṭṭhala's campaigns in Travancore for about ten years.⁵

¹ E.C., VIII, Nr. 29, p. 132, text, p. 355. See also *Ep. Ind.*, XV, p. 14.

² *Ep. Ind.*, XIX, p. 90; 719 of 1917. See also Firishtah, Briggs, *The Rise.*, III, p. 348.

³ S. K. Aiyangar in Satyanatha, *Nayaks*, Intr., p. 11.

⁴ Lüders *Ep. Ind.*, VII, p. 18; See also *My. Arch. Report* for 1914-15, p. 60; Sewell, *For. Emp.*, p. 130.

⁵ S. K. Aiyangar, *ibid*, Intr., p. 14; Heras, *Aravidu*, p. 118.

We have no definite evidence about the method by which the Hindus combated the other great problem—the Portuguese peril, particularly in the south, where the Christian missionaries were actively engaged in the conversion of a large number of the Pāravars of the coast.¹ It may be doubted whether the Hindu rulers in their anxiety to maintain friendly relations with the Portuguese had not gone beyond the bounds of political prudence in allowing them too great a latitude in the south, especially when we realize the fact that the monarchs of Vijayanagara, since the days of the sons of Saṅgama, had unequivocally stood for the maintenance and preservation of the Hindu Dharma. This, we confess, is a debatable point, and it falls within the scope of the foreign policy of Vijayanagara.

We can only remark here that the Hindu rulers have left no proof of how they understood and solved the question of the powerful Portuguese in the south. Their attitude towards rebellious chieftains, even after the reign of Kṛṣṇa Dēva Rāya the Great, was, however, not so indecisive. A prominent example of a chieftain being punished is that of Kempe Gauḍa of Beṅgalūru. This chief in about A.D. 1558 was imprisoned by Rāma Rāja for exceeding the powers of a feudal lord and coining *Bhīre-Dēva-pagodas*.² Rebellion was sometimes followed by forfeiture of the fief. Thus in A.D. 1516 the territory of the Pāleyagāra of Māvalivanam was annexed to the province of Madura by Vīrappa Nāyaka.³ The troubles in the reign of Raṅga Rāya I entangled that monarch in a series of complications with foreign rulers. For the time being, the dangers during the days of Veṅkaṭapati Dēva II were bridged by the reassertion of governmental authority over Madura, the formation of the viceroyalty of Srīraṅgaṭṭaṇa under Rāja Oḍeyar, and the timely assistance which Raghunātha Nāyaka gave to the State in averting an invasion by the Sultan of Golkonda.⁴

Rebellions were to a certain degree prevented by the periodical tours of the rulers. The Chōḷa king had already set this example, and the Vijayanagara monarchs continued

¹ S. K. Aiyangar, in Satyanatha, *Nayaks*, p. 14; Heras, *Aravidu*, p. 119, and *passim*.

² Puttaiya, *Q.J.M.S.*, XIII, p. 724 *seq.*; Heras, *ibid.*, pp. 183-4.

³ Taylor, *O.H. MSS.*, II, p. 25, *op. cit.*, Heras, *ibid.*, pp. 284-5, *op. cit.*

⁴ S. K. Aiyangar, *ibid.*, *Intr.*, pp. 17-18; Heras, *ibid.*, pp. 308-9, 403.

it.¹ During these tours the rulers rarely failed to visit the famous temples. As related elsewhere, Rājarāja III in A.D. 1235 visited the Tiruvoṛṇiyūr temple on the occasion of the Tiruvāvanittirunāl festival (held in August-September), when he was present at the music by one of the dancing-girls in the style called *agamārgam*.² In Vijayanagara history we have some well known examples of rulers who went on tours. Sāluva Vīra Nṛisimhēndra, who "was equal to his father (Sāluva Nṛisimhēndra) in liberality," we are told in an inscription dated A.D. 1506, visited a great many temples in his Empire. Many gifts did he make in Kana-kasadas (Chidambaram, South Arcot district), in the temple of Virūpāksha (at Vijayanagara), in the city of Kālahasti (North Arcot), in Veṅkaṭādri (near Tirupati, North Arcot), in Kañchi (Conjeeveram), in Srīsaīlam (Kurnool), Sōṇāsāīlam (i.e., Tironamalee, in South Arcot), Harihara (in Mysore), Ahōbala (Kurnool), Saṅgama (near Raichur), Srīraṅga (near Trichinopoly), Kumbhagōṇa (in Tanjore), in the great Nandi-tīrtha, the remover of darkness (in Kurnool), in Nivṛitti (also in Kurnool), in Gōkarṇa (North Kanara), and Rāmasētu (in Madura).³ These temples are also mentioned in connection with Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya the Great.⁴ Such royal visits must have brought the sovereigns into closer touch with their subjects, since, over and above the religious purposes which they served, they were also directed towards political ends. This is proved by an inscription dated A.D. 1347 which describes Vīra Mārappa, one of the five famous brothers, "protecting his subjects in good ways, with a contented mind" and which says that "in order to enquire into the welfare of the people, he set out on an expedition".⁵ Soon after the battle of Rākshasa-Taṅgaḍi, the Emperor Sadāsiva Rāya seems to have made a tour throughout his southern dominions.⁶ It is said in the *Annals of Haṇde Anantu-*

¹ These tours were by no means confined only to the Chōla and Vijayanagara rulers. They may have formed a part of the policy of Hindu kings. B.A.S.

² 211 of 1912, op. cit.; S. K. Aiyangar, *S. India*, p. 30, op. cit.

³ E.C., VIII, Nr. 64, p. 155. n (11).

⁴ E.C., VII, Sh. 1, p. 2.

⁵ E.C. VIII. Sb. 375, p. 66.

⁶ Gopinatha Rao Raghaviah, *Ep. Ind.* IX, vv. 44-5, p. 340; Heras, *Aravīdu*, pp. 243-4. Rev. Heras writes:—"Precisely in the year 1568, the Emperor Sadāsiva made a tour through the South of his Empire...." I cannot understand how one could assert this statement with certainty on the strength of the Kṛishṇāpuram Plates of Sadāsiva Rāya. B.A.S.

puram that Raṅga Rāya II also set out on a royal tour.¹

There were other dangers besides those of rebellion, and the Vijayanagara monarchs met them with some measure of success by allowing members of the old royal families to continue in their ancestral possessions, and by appointing conquered princes of alien houses as viceroys or governors over provinces. The Pāṇḍyas, whose history can be traced back to the early centuries of the Christian era, were permitted to hold sway over some of the southern regions, presumably in some manner subservient to the Vijayanagara viceroys of the south. It is true that we are uncertain as to the nature of relationship that existed between the great viceroys of Vijayanagara and the descendants of the Pāṇḍya rulers. The latter, as their inscriptions show, continued to rule from A.D. 1365 till about A.D. 1615.² Another ancient family which was likewise left to manage its own affairs was that of the Chōlas. One of the feudatories of Sāluva Narasiṅga Rāya was Rāmaya-Sōla Mahārāja, son of Uṇaiyūr Chōla Pottaya Sōlan Mahārāja of the Solar race.³ Two feudatories of Achyuta Rāya claimed descent from the Chōlas. One of them was the *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Chōlakulatilaka Uṇaiyūr-Puravṛādhīśvara Bōgaiya Dēva Mahārāja, son of Tipayadēva Mahārāja, mentioned in a record found at Elvānāsūr in the South Arcot district.⁴ And the other was Kaṁchchirāju Raṅgaya Dēva Chōḍa Mahārājulu, spoken of in a record at Gōpavaram, Cuddapah district.⁵ That these descendants of the Chōlas were under Vijayanagara is clear not only from what has been said above but also from the fact that, as for example, in the instance of one of the Chōla chieftains mentioned in the preceding lines, they made grants for the merit of the Vijayanagara monarch (Achyuta Rāya) under orders from one of his subordinates.⁶

To Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya the Great are to be attributed the two most famous instances of a monarch's generosity to conquered princes. After his brilliant victories in Orissa,

¹ *The Annals of Hindu Anantāpuram, The Sources*, p. 232; Heras, *Aravidu*, p. 239.

² *Ep. Report* for 1910, p. 100; *Ep. Report* for 1906, pp. 54-5. See also Caldwell, *History of Tinnevely*, p. 53.

³ *Ep. Report* for 1907, p. 89; 94 of 1906.

⁴ 174 of 1906.

⁵ 479 of 1906.

⁶ *Ep. Report* for 1907, p. 89.

he appointed the captive prince Virabhadra, son of the Gajapati king Pratāpa Rūdra, as ruler over the Maleya-Bennūr country. Virabhadra as Nāyaka over this province is given, in A.D. 1516, the titles of *Draviḷa-maṇḍalēśvara* and *Mahārāya*.¹ The Vijayanagara monarch was also benevolent toward other conquered chieftains. After having quelled the Ummattūr rebellion, he seems to have allowed that principality to be governed by a member of the royal family.² Admitting that we are lacking in evidence as to the treatment that was meted out to the ruler of Ummattūr, yet Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya's treatment of Prince Virabhadra seems to have been more generous than that which Śukrāchārya would accord to conquered princes. The mediaeval canonist has the following to say on the subject: "When a territory has been acquired the king should grant maintenance beginning with the day of capture (to the conquered king) half of it to his son and a quarter to his wife. Or he should pay a quarter to the princes if well qualified, or a thirty-second part. . . . The king should maintain the dispossessed princes for the display of his own majesty by the bestowal of honours if well behaved but punish them if wicked".³

There were some special features of Vijayanagara rule which may be here mentioned. The most prominent of these was the despotic will of the monarch. This showed itself in those acts of absolutism which were perhaps inevitable in an age when the monarchs stood forth as the embodiment of might and power. Those were times when the ruler could dispose at will of the estates of a high official, as it happened in the case of Ambūr Khān, who fought a duel with Ibrāhim Qutb Khān. It is Nuniz who relates this in his *Chronicle*.⁴ Whether the fact of the Paravars of the Fishery Coast having sought the protection of the Jesuits and the Portuguese was in any way due to the tyranny of Muttu Kṛishṇappa Nāyaka⁵ or to the

¹ E.C. XI, Dg. 107, p. 71; A.S.R. for 1908-9, p. 178, op. cit.

² Ep. Report for 1911, pp. 84-5.

³ *Sukraniti*, IV, vii, ll. 801-4, 808-9, p. 257. For Manu's injunctions as regards the treatment of conquered princes in their own territory, *Manu*, VII, 220, p. 249. See also Kautilya, *Arthasāstra*, Bk. VII, Ch. XVI., 313, p. 368; and Vishnu, III, 47-8, p. 18.

⁴ Sewell, *For. Emp.* p. 189.

⁵ Heras; *Aravidu*, p. 354. Here a strong case is made for the Jesuit intervention in the affairs of the Paravars.

theocratic designs of the former is a point which, for want of independent evidence, cannot be definitely determined.

Despotic as the Hindu rulers to some extent were, they managed to secure the good will of the people. This is proved by the unstinted praise which poets and people bestowed on the rulers. Chandra Kavi, who lived about A.D. 1430, thus wrote about Dēva Rāya II :

ಜಲನಿಧಿ ಸೀಮೆರಾಜ್ಯವಿಭವಕ್ಕೆ ದಿಟಂ ಗಜವೇಂಟಿ ಸೀಮೆ ಮಾ |
 ಬಲಕಯಿವತ್ತುನಾಲ್ಕು ಕಳೆ ಸೀಮೆಯಭಿಜ್ಞ ತೆಗಬ್ಬ ಜಾಂಡದು ||
 ಜ್ವಲವೃತ್ತಿ ಸೀಮೆ ಕೀರ್ತಿಗೆನೆ ಸೋಮಕುಲ ಕ್ಷಿತಿಪಾಲರಲ್ಲಿ ವೆ |
 ಗ್ಗೃಹಿಸಹನೇಲ್ಗೈಯಿಂ ವಿಜಯರಾಯತನೂಭವ ದೇವಭೂವರಂ ||
 ಜನಪತಿಮಾತ್ರಮೇ ಗುಣದೊಳೀಕ್ಷಿ ವೊಡಯ್ದನೆಯಂಬು ರಾಶಿಯಾ |
 ಲಿನೆಯ ಸುಪರ್ವಭೂಮಿರುಹ ಮೇಲಿನೆಯಗ್ಗ ದ ಚಕ್ರವರ್ತಿ ಯೆಂ ||
 ಟನೆಯ ಕುಲಾದ್ರಿಯೊಂಬತನೆಯೊರ್ವ ದಿಶಾಪತಿ ಪೇರಿಲೇನೊ ಪ |
 ತನೆಯ ಎರಿಂಚಿಯೆಂಬುದು ಜಗಜ್ಜನಿತಂ ಗಜವೇಂಟಿಕಾಯಿನಾ || ¹

From the chronicle of Nuniz one can gather that Sāluva Nṛshimha Rāya was also a popular monarch. “. . . So that a captain of the army of this Narsymgua arrived at the gates of Bisnaga, and there was not a single man defending the place; and when the King was told of his arrival he only said that it could not be . . . And after that Narsymgua was raised to be king. And as he had much power and was beloved by the people, thenceforward this kingdom of Bisnaga was called the kingdom of Narsymga”.² As regards the esteem in which Kṛṣṇa Dēva Rāya the great was held by the people, it is not too much, we believe, to say that he was perhaps the most beloved of all Vijayanagara monarchs. As an example of an appreciation from Kaṇṇāṭaka, the following verses composed by Timmaṇṇa (circa 1510) may be found interesting :

ಶಿವನು ನಾರೀಕವಚಿ ಕೀರಿಯಾ |
 ದವನು ಪನ್ನ ಗರಾಜ ತರದ ||
 ಭುವನದೇತಕ್ಕೆಣಿಸಲದು |
 ಜೀವನವ ದಿಟ್ಟಿಪುದು ||

¹ *Kavicharite*, II, p. 83.

² Sewell, *For. Emp.*, p. 307.

ಸವನೆನಗದಾರೆನುತಲತ್ಯು |
 ತ್ಸವದಿ ನರಸಯ ಕೃಷ್ಣರಾಯನ ||
 ಧನಕ ಕೀರ್ತಿ ಸುಧಾಂತು |
 ಗರ್ವಿಸುತಿರ್ಪದನವರತ ||

Then again—

ಹೆಲಿವನೆಲಿಯದೆ ಬೆಳಗಲಾವುದೆ |
 ನಳಿನಮಿತ್ರನ ತೇಜವನಿಲನು ||
 ಸುಲಿದು ಹೆಚ್ಚಿ ಸದಿದೊಡ್ಡುಂಟೇ ವಹ್ನಿಯಾಟೋಪ ||
 ತಿಳಿಯೆ ತಾನಸಹಾಯಯಾಗು |
 ಚ್ಚಳಿಸಿ ನರಸಯ ಕೃಷ್ಣರಾಯನ |
 ಲಲಿತ ಭುಜತೇಜಃ ಕೃಶಾನುಪ್ರಭೆ ವಿಜೃಂಭಿಸಿತು || ¹

Even Achyuta Rāya, whom Nuniz has pictured in the darkest colours, was to some extent fortunate in securing this eulogy from the engraver in A.D. 1538: "Who else is there like the king Achyuta in quickly granting relief, for by nature he gives *mukti* to those who are not his friends (that is, he slays his enemies) whereas Hari who is also Achyuta gives *mukti* even to Vyāsa and others his friends only after service and desire for a long time".²

Sometimes the rulers of Vijayanagara thought themselves secure only when they had received the support of the people. So late as A.D. 1602 we have an example of the concern the people felt in the matter of selecting their ruler. This is surmised from a Jesuit letter dated A.D. 1602 which runs thus: "After the demise of this Prince's (i.e., of the Viceroy Tirumala of Srīraṅgapaṭṭaṇa) father, the kingdom was given by the unanimous vote of all the classes to the brother of deceased, that is the one who is ruling at present, rejecting the rights of the deceased's children, who on account of their age, were not able to rule over a kingdom".³ If this Jesuit letter could be corroborated by independent evidence, Veṅkaṭapati II might indeed be declared to have also been a popular monarch. In the case of some provincial governors, too, the support of the nobles and ministers

¹ Kavicharite, II, p. 191.

² E.C., XI, Dg. 27, p. 37.

³ Heras, Aravidu, p. 301.

was considered to be of great consequence. The *History of the Carnatic Governors*, while describing the reign of Muttu Virappa Nāyaka, informs us that on Tirumala's death, "the people of the palace at Madura, the lords, and executive ministers, having all assembled, held a deliberative council, and crowned *Sri-Muttu-Virappa Naicker* the son of *Tirumali-Naicker*".¹

If it is permissible to view the activities of the Vijayanagara monarchs through the vista of ages, one may venture to say a few words on their central administration in general. Although it is not possible to agree with the opinion of the late Mr. Kṛishṇa Śāstri, who, while writing about Vijayanagara, remarked that "it is well-known that the touch between the ruler and the ruled was not very close in ancient Indian kingdoms" and that "Indian history is mainly the story of feudatory families rising into power when the time was opportune",² yet it must be admitted that the liberty which was allowed to the Vijayanagara viceroys was to no small extent responsible for the weakening of the authority of the Central Government, which only could successfully solve the problems relating to the domestic and foreign affairs of the State. In addition to this vital defect, which, we confess, might have had its own advantage in some periods of those mediaeval times when provincial rulers could better handle questions of local importance, there was another shortcoming in the administration of Vijayanagara. It is their failure to foster sustained commercial enterprise and to establish a system of efficient competition which might have been reasonably expected of a people whose kingdom possessed, according to 'Abdur Razzāq, 300 ports, every one of which was equal to Calicut, one of the greatest centres of commerce in those days. "This failure" as Dr. Krishnaswamy Aiyangar rightly says, "proved a vital defect in the imperial career of Vijayanagar, and made a permanent Hindu Empire in India impossible".³ How sadly his want of vision on the part of the Hindu rulers and people told on the later history of the land is a point which we may not discuss for the present. Finally, it may reasonably be doubted whether

¹ Taylor, *O.H. MSS.* II, p. 183. This Muttu Virappa Nāyaka is also called the elder brother of Tirumala, *ibid*, p. 179.

² *A.S.R.* for 1907-8, p. 235.

³ S. K. Aiyangar, *Some Contributions*, p. 390.

the Vijayanagara kings were not suffering from an imperfection which may be said to be the worst blemish in Hindu administration—that elasticity of temper and judgement which conduce to the production of a policy responsive to an ever changing environment.

This may have been in some measure due to that excessive zeal for the standards of scriptures which cast an ineradicable influence on the minds and actions of the mediæval monarchs. Perhaps this was not unnatural, especially when we remember that the Vijayanagara age was essentially an epoch of Hindu revival. Judged from the Hindu standpoint, the administration of the Hindu rulers was not without its advantages. Sōmēśvara, a poet who lived in the times preceding those of the rise of the sons of Saṅgama, voiced the popular conception of good government thus :

ಒಡೆಯಂಗುತ್ತ ಹಮಾಗಿ, ಸರ್ವಜನ ವಾನಂದಂಬಡಲ್, ರಾಜ್ಯಜೀಂ |
 ಕೊಡನೋಲ್ ತುಂಬಿ ತುಳುಕೆ, ನಿಜ್ಜ ಫಲ ಪೈರಿಂದೂರ್ವಯಂ ಬಲೈನಲ್ ||
 ಗಡಿದುರ್ಗಂಗಳು ಭದ್ರಮಾಗಿ, ಧನಧಾನ್ಯಂ ತೀವೆ ಭಂಡಾರದೊಳ್, |
 ನಡಿಸಂ ಭಾಗ್ಯದ ಕರ್ತನಯ್! ನರನೆಲಾ, ಕೇಳೊಡ್ವುದೀ ಬುದ್ಧಿಯಾ || ¹

A growth of public spirit resulting in patriotism; an economic self-sufficiency leading to the material prosperity of the people; and an efficient force to guard the frontier fortresses and the interests of the State,—these were the attributes of good government according to the current notions of the times. The first of these we shall explain in a subsequent connection; and the last, as already mentioned, forms the theme of the foreign policy of the kings of Vijayanagara. But we have noted some facts in connection with the general prosperity of the Empire, especially as recorded in the chronicles of foreign travellers. Even in the troublesome times of the Emperor Sadāsiva Rāya, Rāma Rāja's régime was marked by benevolence as the remissions of taxes on behalf of different sections of people clearly show. Some of the provincial rulers too, as, for example, the Nandyāla chief, Timmaya Dēva Maharāja,² maintained the traditional standards of liberality. If one desires to judge Vijayanagara administration as characterized

² Sōmēśvara, Kittel, *Anthology*, Preface, pp. xii, 99.

³ A.S.R. for 1908-9, p. 198.

by the government of Rāma Rāja, one may find the following epigraph dated A.D. 1551 of some importance. For, according to it, Rāma Rāja's rule was an age of righteous administration: *aliya Rāma (Rājaya-mahā) arasugalū dharmma-pārūpatyada mēle*.¹ Another consideration may also be noted in our estimate of the government of Vijayanagara. If it is true that the superior quality of the literature and philosophy of a people are the expressions of the energies of its soul, and if these could emanate from a people who have tasted the fruits of good administration, then, the monarchs of Vijayanagara may indeed lay claims to efficient rule, since it was only a benevolent government like theirs which made it possible for great men like Vidyāraṇya, Allasāni Peddanna, and Tātāchārya, to name only three out of a galaxy of brilliant men, to add to the ancient heritage of the land in the fields of literature and philosophy. Making all allowance for the demerits of the Hindu rulers, we may agree, on the whole, with the late Mr. Kṛishṇa Sāstri in his opinion that the rulers of Vijayanagara, especially of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, "following closely in the footsteps of their illustrious predecessor the great Kṛishṇarāya, . . . seem to have upheld a liberal policy which conduced towards bringing peace and plenty into the kingdom".²

CHAPTER VI. ADMINISTRATION (*Continued*)

PROVINCIAL AND LOCAL ADMINISTRATION WITH SOME REMARKS ON CORPORATE LIFE IN POLITICAL MATTERS

SECTION I. *Provincial Government*

THE credit of conducting the Central Government to meet the greater issues of the State may be attributed to the wisdom of Vijayanagara rulers; that of continuing the administration of the local units to solve the smaller questions of the *nāḍu* or province and the village may be ascribed to the joint-action of the people. The reason why such latitude was given to the local bodies was that the rulers were sincere in their desire to preserve what they thought constituted the "ancient constitutional usage" of the country. To understand something about this "former

¹ E.C. XI, Mk. 1. text, p. 243; A.S.R., for 1908-9, p. 198 n (4).

² A.S.R. for 1911-12, p. 177.

custom", we may rapidly review some of the main activities of the local units. But here one may be allowed to qualify one's statement. The fact that the Vijayanagara monarchs paid much respect to ancient custom did not prevent them from superimposing on the machinery of the local bodies their own officials, who, as we have seen in the previous pages, were vested with great powers of internal administration. A treatise like this, which aims at picturing the life of the people, ought to elucidate to some extent the provincial administration under the monarchs of Vijayanagara. This, however, is a matter which cannot be satisfactorily dealt with for the present for want of reliable data. The meagre information that is available on the subject is based on the *History of the Carnataca Governors*, the evidence of which can in no sense be declared to be trustworthy till it is confirmed by notices in extraneous sources.

On one point, nevertheless, the *Pandyan Chronicle* and epigraphs agree, and that is, in connection with the designation of the provincial rulers. They were called *nāyakas*. This name was given to the great viceroys as well as to the petty collectors of customs;¹ but it is apparent that the provincial governors were also commonly known by that appellation. Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya the Great, for example, on acquiring the eastern parts of Karnāṭaka appointed Tubaki Kṛishṇappa Nāyaka over the region which extended from Nellore to the river Coleroon with his headquarters at Gingee; Vijaya Rāghava Nāyaka over the land watered by Kāvērī, with his chief city at Tanjore; and Veṅkaṭapa Nāyaka over the southern parts with his centre at Madura.² Some of the important feudatories, in the north-western and central parts of the Empire were also called *nāyakas*, as, for example, those of Bednore, Basavapaṭṭaṇa, Chitaldroog, Balam, and Hāgalavāḍi. Here we may observe that the chiefs of Yelahaṅka and Sugaṭūr were called *gaṇḍas*, while those of Mysore, Kaḷale, Ūmmattūr, and Yelanāḍu were known as *oḍeyars*.³ Much has been written about the administration of these, and especially of the later Nāyakas

¹ A military commander, as we have often remarked, also called *Danṇāyaka* or *Danḍanāyaka*.

² Taylor, *Cat. Rats.* III, p. 39; Heras, *Aravidu*, p. 112.

³ Rice, *My. Gaz.*, I, p. 234. (1st ed.); I, p. 357 (Rev. ed.)

of the south, which cannot be corroborated by independent evidence.¹

Although it is not possible to dwell in detail upon the internal administration of the *nāyakas*, yet it is permissible, we believe, to ascribe to a certain extent the confusion which prevailed in southern India in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries to the effect of the Nāyaka rule.² It is not that the Nāyaka system of administration was without its merits. The final reduction of the south, with its numerous forests-chiefs and members of ancient families, was solely the work of remarkable rulers whom the Central Government deputed to the south. Men like Viśvanātha and Ariyanātha were needed to bring order out of chaos in the south.³ The magnitude of their task was indeed great. Viśvanātha Nāyaka was confronted with almost insurmountable difficulties: there were his own dependents, who, on coming to a more fertile region, naturally craved for rewards; there were the old Tamil hereditary chieftains and rulers jealous of the newcomers; and there were the discontented adherents of the Paṇḍyas.⁴ Some of these descendants of the Paṇḍyas soon joined together against Viśvanātha;⁵ and the political prospect grew worse when Travancore refused to pay tribute to the Imperial Treasury. Then came the complications that followed the avowal of a policy of protection which the Portuguese, with the desire

¹ Nelson, *Mad. Country*, P. III, pp. 93, 147, 158; Satyanatha, *Nayaks.*, pp. 238, 241; *passim*; Rangachari, *I.A.*, XLIV., p. 113, *seq.*; Iswari Prasad, *Med. Ind.*, p. 429. Cf. The provincial administration under Vijayanagara with that under the Guptas. Radha-Govind Basak, *Ep. Ind.*, XV., p. 127. As regards two points there seems to be some similarity between the provincial governments of the two periods; members of the royal family were appointed as viceroys over provinces, both under Vijayanagara and the Guptas; and the provincial rulers under the mediaeval monarchs as well as those under the Guptas were privileged to use grandiloquent titles which, in some instances, were the same as those used by the kings themselves. (e.g. In Vijayanagara, the *birudus* of *mahāmaṇḍalēśvara*, *mūgu-rāyara-gaṇḍa-mahārāja*, and *mahā-arasu*). B.A.S.

² For an estimate of the defects of the Nāyaka rule, read Satyanatha, *Nayaks.*, p. 258, *seq.*; Nelson, *ibid.*, pp. 142, 144, 147; Heras, *Aravidu*, pp. 350, 352.

³ Nelson, *ibid.*, p. 93. Even so late as A.D. 1662 John Nieuhof noted the popularity of the officials of the Nāyakas. He says that the Nāyaka of Madura had many districts under him, each of which was governed by a particular governor; and that "each Village has two judges who are much respected by the Inhabitants". John Nieuhof, *Churchill, Voyages*, II, p. 297; Satyanatha, *Nayaks.*, p. 331.

⁴ Nelson, *ibid.*, p. 98.

⁵ Taylor, *O.H. MSS.*, II, pp. 17-12.

of gaining control over the Pearl Fishery Coast, extended to the Paravars.¹ The despatch of an imperial army under Rāma Rāya Viṭṭhala seemed to suggest that the Central Government had realized that Viśvanātha had failed to cope with the imminent dangers around him.

But it was the endeavour of that able administrator to "reconcile the conflicting interests of all these classes, to smooth away difficulties, and to conciliate affection".² And in the course of six and twenty years³ of efficient rule, Viśvanātha had inaugurated a number of measures the most prominent of which, while it relieved the political tension for one or two generations, came to stay in the country as the most potent factor of internal disorder. This was the Pāleyagāra system, which was introduced and maintained by Viśvanātha and Ariyanātha.⁴ An account of the origin and nature of this system brings us to the interesting question of the corporate activities of the people of Vijayanagara, and to the equally interesting details about the administration of villages under the Hindu rulers. But before we deal with either of these, we may note in passing some of the redeeming features of the rule of the Nāyakas. These concern their tolerant attitude towards the Muhammadans,⁵ their eagerness to construct public buildings,⁶ and their endeavours to promote the cause of Hinduism.⁷

SECTION 2. *Some Details about Village Administration*

A. *Sketch of Local Administration in Pre-Vijayanagara Days*

The history of the activities of the village units forms a small but significant chapter in the account of the political life of the Vijayanagara people. From the earliest times of

¹ For an account of the Portuguese and the Paravars, see Heras, *Aravida*, pp. 140, 352.

² Nelson, *Mad. Country*, p. 98.

³ Taylor, *O.H. MSS.*, II, pp. 15-17, 23. See also Heras, *ibid.*, p. 123. This was the second vicereignty of Viśvanātha, his first having extended over a short period of two years and four months. Taylor, *ibid.*, I, p. 38.

⁴ Satyanatha, *Nayaks*, p. 58.

⁵ S. R. Aiyangar, *Cat. of C. P. in Mad. Museum*, No. I, p. 28; Kuppuswamy Sāstri, *A Short History of the Tanjore Nayaks*, p. 4; Heras, *ibid.*, pp. 167-8, 174.

⁶ Heras, *ibid.*, p. 174.

⁷ Taylor, *O.H. MSS.*, II, pp. 15, 17, 21; Sewell, *Lists*, II, C.P. No. 10, p. 2; *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 305; Heras, *ibid.*, p. 167.

Indian history down to our days, village organizations in some shape or other have figured in the annals of the country. According to some the village *sabhās* effected a powerful control over the central *samitis* in early ages.¹ The activities of the village communities of southern and western India are by no means inferior to those of northern India.² But in describing some salient features of the village administration of pre-Vijayanagara days, we shall have recourse to the details in contemporary epigraphs rather than to those left to us by writers of our own days.³ On the whole it may be said that village administration in southern India was characterized by a remarkable spirit of co-operation among the people. This, we admit, was a common feature of village life in the north as well as in the south.⁴ But since much of the stability of the Vijayanagara Empire is to be traced to the hitherto unnoticed vigour of the local units, and since the nature and powers of these had already been shaped in early Tamil and Kārṇāṭaka times, it is only proper that we should deal with some of the main features of village administration in the early ages of south Indian history.⁵

In about the ninth century A.D. there were three kinds of village assemblies in southern India. One of these was composed entirely of Brahmans. The other two kinds were made up of cultivators, merchants, and men who belonged to other professions. Some of the rules laid down for membership of, for example, the *brahmadēya* or Brahman villages are interesting. The Uttaramallūr inscriptions of the times of Parāṇṭaka I contain some details about this

¹ Majumdar, *Cor. Life*, pp. 113-25, 132, *seq.*, 139 *seq.*

² For an account of village communities read Altekar, *Village Communities in Western India*; Baden Powell, *Indian Village Community*. Also his *Land Systems of British India*, (3 Vols. Oxford, 1892); Pietro della Valle, *Travels*, II, p. 207, *seq.*; Acharya, *Dicty of Hind. Arch.*, pp. 184-5; Havell, *Ancient and Med. Arch.*, p. 8, *seq.*, 13, 170; Anand Coomaraswamy, *Indian Craftsmen*, p. 129; Bāṇa, *Harshacharita*, pp. 190, 198; Radhakamal Mukerjee, *Democracies of the East*, P. III, pp. 162, *seq.*, 258 *seq.*, 295, *seq.*, (1931).

³ Buchanan, *A Journey*, I, p. 266, *seq.*; II, p. 109; III, p. 449; Wilks, *The Sketches*, I, p. 117, *seq.* (1810); I, p. 73. *seq.* (1869) Rice, *My. Gaz.* I, pp. 467-9 (1st ed.); I, p. 574; (Rev. ed.); Hemingway *Tanjore Manual*, pp. 193-4; Nelson, *Mad. Country*, p. 148. See also Iswari Prasad, *Med. Ind.*, p. 429.

⁴ S.I.I., III, P. I, pp. 1-22; Majumdar, *ibid.*, p. 156.

⁵ The importance of village assemblies in purely revenue matters has been discussed above in Chap. IV, Sec. 5, *Land Revenue Settlement*. A. Theory and Practice in Pre-Vijayanagara days. See S. K. Aiyangar, *Ancient India*, pp. 158 *seq.* for some remarks on this subject.

question. The information supplied by these inscriptions is confirmed by earlier epigraphs dated in the thirty-fifth year of the reign of Mārañjaḍaiyan (circa ninth century). It is stated that of the children of share-holders in the village, only one, who is well behaved and has studied *mantra-brāhmaṇa* and one *dharma* (i.e., Code of Law), may be on the village assembly (*maṇṇu*) to represent the share held by him in the village; and only one of similar qualifications may be on the village assembly for a share purchased, received as present, or acquired by him as *strīdhana* (through his wife); (2) that (shares) purchased, presented, or acquired as *strīdhana* could entitle one, if at all, only to full membership in the assemblies; and in no case would quarter, half or three-quarters membership be recognized; (3) that those who purchased shares must elect only such men to represent their shares on the assembly, as had critically studied a whole Vēda with its *pariśiṣṭas*; (4) that those who did not possess full membership as laid by rule (2) could not stand on any committee (*vāriyam*) (for the management of village affairs); (5) that those who satisfied the prescribed conditions should in no case persistently oppose (the proceedings of assembly) by saying 'nay, nay' to every proposal brought before the assembly; and (6) that those who did this together with their supporters would have to pay a fine of five *kāṣu* on each item (in which they had so behaved) and still continue to submit to the same rules.¹

The assemblies of the other residents which existed side by side with Brahman organizations, were known by the names *ūr* and *nagarottōm*. As regards the rules concerning membership of these two kinds of assemblies, we have unfortunately not many details; but "it is not unlikely that all the conditions pertaining to membership in the Brahmanical *sabhās* prevailed, except perhaps the knowledge of the Vēdas".²

¹ *Ep. Report* for 1913, p. 98. See also A.S.R. for 1904-5, pp. 131-45.

² *Ep. Report* for 1913, *ibid.* From Dr. L. D. Barnett's unpublished MS. styled *The Ancient Tamil Township and Village*,—which he was pleased to place at my disposal,—I append the following: "The Assembly of the Brahmans bears names of Sanskrit origin: usually it is called (1) *Sabhai*, or more vernacularly *Savai*, from *sabhā*, a term that is as old as the Vedic times, often in combination with other words, as *mahā-sabhai*, and *peruṇ-guṇi-sabhai*, or (2) *paraḍai* or *paraḍa*, from the Sanskrit *parisad* or *parṣad*, which sometimes appears in continuation as *mūla-paraḍai*, 'Fundamental Assembly'. The Assembly of the humbler classes, the Town in

Inscriptions, however, contain some information about the composition and sessions of the village *sabhā*. The epigraphs found in Chingleput, for example, refer to the hall (*chatussālā*) known as *Rājēndrasōḷaṇ* in the village of Nattam where the *sabhā* held its session; to the various committees, as, for example, the annual committee (*sarvāt-sara-vāyam*) which met from and after the month of Tūlā (October); and to the number of members who composed these committees. The Annual Supervision Committee, for instance, comprised twelve members, and it formed a part of the great assembly (*mahā-sabhā*). The Committee which was made up of village officers, and which was called by the name of *ūr-vāriyam*, looked after the questions of cultivation and produce of the village. Here it has to be noted that members who comprised these committees had to change every year.¹ The assumption that it was not unlikely that the assemblies of the Brahmins of a village were governed by rules similar to those given above, is proved by an inscription which refers to the village assembly of Uttama-Chōḷa-chaturvēdimāṅgaḷam. It was laid down here that only those who were capable of reciting the *mantra-brāhmaṇa* were eligible for membership to the *ūr-vāriyam* (i.e., the village supervision committee). Further, it was stipulated that those among them who were guilty of misappropriating the property of Brahmins or of other heinous crimes, were to be denied that privilege.²

It was not only in the halls built by kings, and called, as related above, by the name *Rājēndrasōḷaṇ* or, as in other places, by the name *Sembeyanmahādēvi-pperumaṇḍapam*,³ that village assemblies held sessions. They sometimes gathered under the shade of a tamarind tree or in the local

our modern sense, appropriately gives itself the Tamil title *ūr*, which literally means 'town'. Each body forms a distinct corporation, and acts as such. Very likely the purely Vēllāṇ villages were attached as 'Town' to same way as the Vēllāṇ communities that were attached as 'Town' to the Brahman 'Town'. Their Assemblies also bore the title of *ūr*, and handled similar business". *The Ancient Tamil Township and Village*, p. 21. I am deeply indebted to Dr. Barnett for this and other passages from his book, *B.A.S.*

¹ *Ep. Report* for 1913, p. 98. For some great committees of the village assemblies, see *S.I.I.*, III, P. I, pp. 2, 5, 9; P. II, pp. 235, 327. See also 393, 394, 395, and 396 of 1905; *Ep. Report* for 1899, p. 23, seq.; 449 of 1906.

² *A.S.R.* for 1921-2, p. 117.

³ *Ep. Report* for 1916, p. 116.

temples.¹ In the reign of Rājarāja Dēva III (who ascended the throne in A.D. 1216), the assembly of Nālūr, Tanjore district, met under a tamarind tree, and decided that the residents of their village should not do anything against the interests of their village nor against those of the temple of Tirumayāṇam-Uḍaiyār.² From another epigraph we know that the name *Rājēndrasōḷaṇ* was by no means confined to the halls. For, according to this inscription, the assembly of the *brahmadēya* village Pāvikkudī alias Nittavindōda-chaturvēdimaṅgaḷam met under a tamarind tree which was also called *Rājēndrasōḷaṇ* on the bank of the channel Suttamalivāyakkāl.³

An inscription dated in the sixteenth year of Rājarāja I (A.D. 1001) supplies us with the interesting details of how village assemblies were summoned. The members of the assembly of Kilinallūr, (mod. Kīḷyanūr, S. Arcot district), a *brahmadēya* village in Oymā-nāḍu, were called together by the blowing of a trumpet, and the herald was entitled to get daily two *sōṟu* from the village.⁴ Another epigraph informs us that village assemblies transacted business even at nights, though in the generality of cases, it is found that business was conducted during day time.⁵

The powers and privileges of these village assemblies, which sometimes were composed of eighty prominent men,⁶ were clear and well defined. The sphere of their jurisdiction has been given thus: "We shall not be entitled to levy any kind of tax from this village. We . . . shall not be entitled to claim, at the order of the assembly, forced labour (*veṭṭi*), *vēḍilai* and *vāḷakkāṇam* from the inhabitants settled in this village. (If) a crime (or) sin becomes public, the god (*i.e.* the temple authorities) alone shall punish the inhabitants of this village (for it) . . . If we utter the untruth that this is not (*as stated above*), in order to injure (*the charity*), we shall incur the sins committed between the Gaṅgā and Kumārī".⁷ They settled some questions concerning land in their townships; they received money (in return for taxes in grain, etc); they maintained the revenue

Ep. Report for 1910, p. 94; Majumdar, Corp. Life, pp. 154-5.

Ep. Report for 1911, p. 75.

Ep. Report for 1910, p. 90.

156 of 1919; Ep. Report for 1919, p. 95.

180 and 186 of 1919; Ep. Report for 1919, p. 95.

S.I.I., III, P. III, p. 253. See also Majumdar, *ibid.*, p. 264.

S.I.I., P. I, p. 20. See also S.I.I., III, P. III, p. 253.

registers; they dealt with minor judicial questions of importance; they decided cases concerning tanks and irrigation; and they guarded the rights of the *māhēśvaras*. The members of the assembly authorized the *māhēśvaras* “(the right to) levy, in case they chose (to do so), to be credited to the council of justice (*dharmāsana*) a fine of these two hundred *kāṇam* on each of the persons that show (any such tax) (in the books)”.¹

In some instances the village assembly settled disputes concerning the waste land in the village.² The judicial powers of the local bodies can be determined by noting the method in which they dealt with grave crimes. An epigraph dated in the fourth year of Rājakēsarivarman Rājādhirāja (II) records a deer hunt and the death of a man by accident. It states that in order to decide the question of expiation which was to be prescribed for the offender,—so “that he may escape the possible mischief of the revengeful soul of the victim”,—the Brahmans of the village assembly of Olakkūr, the residents of the main division and those of the subdivisions met together, and decided that the guilty person had to present a lamp to the shrine of Vātāpi-Viṭaṅkar in the Tiruvagattisvara temple at Ulakkaiyūr, South Arcot district.³ The village assemblies sometimes also fined the culprits. Three kinds of fines were levied by them. These were called *maṇṇupāḍal*, *daṇḍa*, and *kuṟṟam*.⁴

The village assembly was empowered to dismiss any of its officials. In A.D. 1234-5 in the reign of Tribhuvana-chakravartīn Rājārājadēva, the assembly of the village called Rājasundari-chaturvēdimangalam (mod. Kaḷḷa-Perumbūr) in the Tanjore district, dismissed a village accountant who had cheated the villagers. It also debarred his descendants and relatives from holding the appointment.⁵ In some instances the property belonging to the village accountant was sold by public auction. Thus, according to an inscription dated in the forty-eighth year of Rājakēsarivarman *alias* Tribhuvanchakravartīn Kulōttuṅga Chōḷa

S.I.I, III, P. III, p. 253.

Ibid., p. 327.

Ep. Report for 1910; p. 95; Majumdar, *Corp. Life*, pp. 151-3.

S.I.I, III, P. I, pp. 38, n. (5), 43; see also 282 of 1906.

583 of 1904, *Ep. Report* for 1905, p. 46.

Dēva, the village *sabhā* (of Elavānasūr, S. Arcot district) sold the land belonging to two absconding accountants.¹

These regulations may also have governed the conduct of the village organizations in the Kārṇāṭaka. We can only conjecture this, since information about them is very meagre. We have, for instance, a few details about the manner in which they regulated the affairs of the ancient *agrahāra* of Sōraḍe during the times of the Kadāmbas. "All the inhabitants of the ancient *agrahāra* of Sōraḍe (now Choraḍi) devoted to the observance of Prāṇāyama and other Yōga practices, all assembled in thousands, made a gift of a wet and a dry field together with the remission of house-tax and family-tax to Chīladaḷāra Bopadaḷāra (modern taḷāra, police, watchman) in appreciation of the victory he won against royal cow-lifters on their way to make a raid of cows of the village. Whoever takes away the gift will be cast out of the country".²

Whether in the Kārṇāṭaka or in the Tamil land it is not to be supposed that the village assemblies which enjoyed considerable autonomy in revenue and judicial matters, were free from the control of the Central Government. The affairs in the village of Siṛriyāṛrūr in Maṇaiyil-nāḍu, a subdivision of Maṇaiyil-kōṭṭam, may serve as an example. That village had been granted as a *dēvadāna* and *brahmadēya* estate in the twenty-first year of the Chōla king Toṇḍaimānāṛrūr-tuṇjina-Uḍāiyar, to the *sabhai* of Puduppākkam, also a *bhramadēya* village in Purisai-nāḍu, of the same *kōṭṭam*. The condition of the grant was that the donor should make over a fixed quantity of the produce of the village and a certain amount of gold every year to the temple of Mahādēva at Tirumālpēru. In the twenty-second year of the same reign (i.e., of Toṇḍaimānāṛrūr-tuṇjina-Uḍāiyār) the boundaries of the village were determined and a document (*sāsana*) was drawn up. But the village was not entered in the accounts as a *dēvadāna* and *bhramadēya* estate. This mistake was rectified in the fourth year of Parakēsarivarman, "who took Madira and Iḷam", and the *sabhā* of Puduppākkam made over the stipulated

¹ 164 of 1906. As regards lands held in common by the villagers, see S.I.I., III, P. III, p. 339; S.I.I. II, P. III, p. 112. About the question of villagers asserting their occupancy rights, S.I.I. III, P. III, p. 226. For an account of the administration of the south under the Pāṇḍyas, read Nilakanṭha Sāstri, *The Pandyan Kingdom of Madura*, p. 215, seq. (1929).

² *My. Arch. Report* for 1923, p. 74.

produce and gold to the temple. In the thirty-sixth year of Parakēsarivarman (with titles), an additional item (specially omitted from the original grant) was made payable from the village of Sirriyārrūr to the temple at Tirumālpēru and entered into the accounts. The village assembly of Puduppākkam were misappropriating this item and the temple authorities made a complaint to the king while he was at Conjeeveram. The king sent for both the parties, and, after due enquiry, satisfied himself that the village assembly of Puduppākkam had been misappropriating the revenues assigned to the Śiva temple at Tirumālpēru. The village assembly was fined and the grant restored in the fourteenth year of the king's reign.¹

The above instance of the interference of the State in village administration together with the other details we have enumerated give us a glimpse into the life of the village assemblies in pre-Vijayanagara days. If the claims of the rulers of Vijayanagara to have been promoters of ancient constitutional usage are granted, then, it may be allowed, that a good deal of the early village activities must have continued uninterrupted in mediaeval times. This brings us to the topic of local administration under Vijayanagara.

B. Village Life

(i) Assemblies

All "ancient constitutional usage" (*pūrvada maryāde*) was confirmed by the Hindu monarchs and their subordinates in what was called a *dharma-sāsana*. About A.D. 1545 Sadāśiva Nāyaka and Rāma Rāya Nāyaka, as already narrated, gave to Benakappa Setṭi, Dēvappa Setṭi, Bommaṇa Setṭi and others (*muntāda prajegaḷige*) of Āraga a *dharma-sāsana* confirming the *dharma* made by Harihara II for the Āraga city as regards the fixed rent and combined dues of that place. We saw that certain specified remissions were also made in the same charter by the ruler.² It has to be admitted that the above *dharma-sāsana* was

¹ *Ep. Report* for 1907, p. 71.

² *E.C.* VIII, Tl. 15, p. 166, op. cit. Rice interprets *pūrvada-maryāde* (or *pūrvamaryāde*) as "former custom." But in this treatise Dr. Barnett's interpretation (*Ep. Ind.* XIV, pp. 189-90) has been followed. B.A.S.

given to the city of Āraga. But it seems that such a *dharma-sāsana* was also given to a village, as the following instance proves. An inscription dated A.D. 1565 relates that during the reign of Rāma Dēva Mahārāya, "the Agent for his affairs (*kāryakke-kartarāda*), promoter of the Pūvala-vaṁsa, Hanumi Nāyaka's sons Billappa Nāyaka and Keṅgappa Nāyaka, caused to be written and given to Lingaṇa (descent stated) a *dharma-sāsana* as follows: You having stated that—'We are old residents, and preserving the places obtained by our ancestors, have been your dependents, the offices of *sēnabōva* and *jyōtisha* of the country since brought under *śist* should be granted to us',—and the former residents affirming that the offices of *sēnabōva*, *jyōtisha*, *purōhita* and others in all the villages belonging to the Saṅte-Bennūr-sīme in the Uchchangi-ēṇṭhe, were held by you,—we therefore grant them to you, as a gift to Rāma, to be enjoyed by you, your sons, grandsons, and posterity in regular succession; and you may take possession of the dues and rights (specified) belonging thereto in the Saṅte-Bennūr-sīme", according to ancient constitutional usage. (*ā-Saṅthe-Bennūra-sīme sthaḷada sēnabōvavikēnu barakoṇḍu ā-sīme-jyōtishya-dharmavannu-naḍasikoṇḍu pūrvva-mariyādeyalli svāsthi umbali vartane hola gadde beddalu kāḍāraṁbha āya-svāmya suvarṇādāya sarva-tēja-svāmyavanu anubhavisi-koṇḍu bāhiri*).¹ The grant, it may be noted, is repeated three times. Three conclusions may be deduced from the above inscription: Firstly, that the village offices of *sēnabōva*, *jyōtisha*, etc. were hereditary; secondly, that the claims to such offices were made after the locality had been brought under *śist* (*yitalāgi śistu māḍida sīme sthaḷada sēnabōvike* etc); and finally, that the officers of the Central Government confirmed the hereditary offices only after they had received the opinion of former residents of the locality about the validity of the claims put forward by the applicants (*pūrvva-sthaḷadavaru ahudu yāmbidariṇḍa*).

¹ E.C. VII, Ci. 62, pp. 189-90, text, pp. 458-9. This inscription is dated *Sālivāhana-śaka varuṣa 1487 neya Raktākshi-saṁvatsarada Māgha Su. 15 Saumyavāra Chandrōparāga*. This corresponds but for the week-day to A.D. 1565, January 16th, Tuesday. (Swamikannu, *Ind. Ep.*, V, p. 332). The general opinion is that Rāma Rāja lost his life in the battle of Rākshasa-Taṅgaḍi on the 25th of January of the same year. If that is so, there is no reason to doubt the veracity of the inscription which will be one of the last records we have of that great ruler. B.A.S.

Before we mention the names of other village officials, we may note some details about the composition of a village assembly in Vijayanagara times. A village assembly was sometimes called a *mahā-sabhā*. The great assembly (*mahā-sabhai*) of Kāviriippākkam, North Arcot district, is mentioned in Śaka 1381 (A.D. 1459-60).¹ The assembly of Tiruvāṇḍārkōyil, Pondicherry, French Settlements, in Śaka 1327 (A.D. 1405-6) consisted of 4000 members.² A record of Virūpāksha Rāya I, found at Kuṇṇāṇḍarkōyil, Pudukkoṭṭai State, dated only in the cyclic year Bhāva, refers to an assembly composed of certain specified groups of people (*kūṭṭam*) such as those attached to Tiruvaraṅgam (Śrīgaṅgam) and Tiruvāṇaikkāval (Jambukēśvaram), of the three recognized classes of *paṭṭis*, of the four or six subdivisions of professionals, of artisans (*rathākara*), and of other castes and caste-leaders living in the three districts.³ The heads of the commercial groups and corporations, as can be made out from an inscription of a later date (A.D. 1664), seemed to have formed an integral part of the village assemblies also in the Kārṇāṭaka. Here, in the same year, a village assembly is said to have been composed of *gavuḍas*, *sēnabōvas*, *setṭis*, and *paṭṭaṇsvāmis* of Agali, Maduvidi, Raṇṭavallu and other villages.⁴

The assemblies sometimes met in a temple. The great assembly of Rājarāja-chaturvēdimaṅgalam assembled, in Śaka 1408 (A.D. 1558-9), in the *Kulaśēkhara-maṇḍapa* underneath the pandal called *Udayamārtāṇḍaṇ* in front of the god of the temple who was seated on the *pīṭha* called after Viśvanātha Nāyaka, the Agent of Rāma Rāja.⁵ The activities of village assemblies are seen especially in connection with questions relating to land. A village assembly could sell land, obviously on behalf of the village, to the local temple or to the people. According to a record dated only in the cyclic year Sukla (i.e., Śaka 1312=A.D. 1390-1), the assembly of Tirumaliṣai, Chingleput district, sold land to the temple of Jagannātha Perumāl of the same locality.⁶ The village of Itṭigaipattu was sold for 400 *paṇam* to cer-

¹ 392 of 1905.

² 217 of 1917; *Ep. Report* for 1918, p. 163.

³ 368 of 1914; *Ep. Report* for 1915, p. 106.

⁴ *My. Arch. Report* for 1918, p. 54.

⁵ 385 of 1916. The inscription was found in the Gōpālasvāmī temple at Mannārkōyil, Tinnevely district.

⁶ 10 of 1911.

tain individuals by the assembly of Ukkal in Pāgūru-nāḍu, in Śaka 1304 (A.D. 1382-3).¹ The same village assembly had sold the village of Araśāṇipālai to an individual of Sērrūr in Tenkarai in Śaka 1294 (A.D. 1372-3) for 600 *kaṣu*.² Similar records dealing with the sale of land by the village assembly of Ukkal inform us that that village was also called Vikramābharāṇa-chaturvēdimaṅgaḷam.³ The village assemblies also confirmed the rights of temples over lands. The assembly of Āṇaimēlagaram *alias* Nagarīśvara-chaturvēdimaṅgaḷam, in the Tanjore district, in Śaka 1321 (A.D. 1409-10) in the times of Virūpaṇṇa Oḍeyar, confirmed the rights of the Mārgasahāyēśvara temple over lands which had already belonged to it, those which had been gradually added on, and those which once belonged to the god Kalakūttar, whose temple had been destroyed by fire.⁴ In some instances the assemblies gave a village as a gift to temples. The hamlet of Karuvēppampūṇḍi, in Śaka 1356 (A.D. 1434-5), was given as a *tirunāmattu-kāṇi* to the temple of Tiruppulivaṇamuḍaiya-Nāyiṇār by the assembly of Uttaramēru *alias* Rājēndra-Sōḷa-chaturvēdimaṅgaḷam.⁵

The villagers sometimes enacted that lands could be sold only to one who was a resident of the village. An undated inscription of the times of Dēva Rāya II informs us that the villagers of Māṅgāḍu, in the Chingleput district, agreed among themselves "that any owner of land (in the village of Māṅgāḍu) (desirous of) selling (his land), must sell it to a land-owner within that village and not to any outsider, nor could he give (even) as dowry (*strīdhana*) (lands in the village) to an outsider".⁶ Finally, we may observe that village assemblies were empowered to confiscate lands belonging to guilty (village) officials. Such lands were, however,—as is evident from the custom prevailing in the Pāṇḍya country,—granted as gifts to local temples. The village assembly of Tirupperundurai, in the Tanjore district, in Śaka 1308 (A.D. 1386-7), gave as *tirunāmattu-kāṇi* to the local temple of Sōḷa-Pāṇḍya-Viṇṇagar Emberu-

¹ 358 of 1923. Pāguru-nāḍu was situated in Kāliyūr-kōṭṭam in Jayaṅḡḇa Sōḷa-maṇḍaḷam.

² 389 of 1923.

³ 350 and 359 of 1923.

⁴ 21 of 1925.

⁵ 202 of 1923.

⁶ 354 of 1908; *Ep. Report* for 1909, p. 116.

māṇār land which it had confiscated from a certain Āṇḍāṇ-Pillai of Tirupputtūr on account of some fault (*kuṭai*) committed by him.¹

Mr. Venkoba Rao, in his *Annual Report on Epigraphy for the year 1926*, comments thus on the above epigraph: "I have stated in my Report for 1924 (paragraph III) that these village assemblies which had very considerable powers of self-government during the previous periods gradually ceased to exist after the conquest of the country by the Vijayanagara kings and their functions were taken over by the emperor or his representatives. The transaction recorded in the present inscription is another late instance of the vestiges of power wielded by the village assembly".² On what grounds the assertion that the village assemblies "ceased to exist after the conquest of the country by the Vijayanagara kings and their functions were taken over by the emperor or his representatives" rests, is not at all clear. We believe that the Vijayanagara monarchs did not introduce measures by which the powers of the local bodies lapsed to the central authority. On the other hand, we may be permitted to repeat, that as "promoters of the *pūrvada-maryāde*" (ancient constitutional usage), it was their endeavour to preserve the old order of things, and to allow the ancient officers to continue under the new government, although, as related elsewhere, they showed their discretion by placing over the local bodies officers of the Central Government.

Pūrvada-maryāde as regards the villages and the *nāḍus* continued even in the latter half of the sixteenth century. This is proved by the inscription dated A.D. 1565 which has been already cited, and which deals with the confirmation of the dues and rights of the Saṅte-Bennūr-sīme, according to former custom, on Liṅgaṇa, younger brother of Appā Bhaṭṭa by Billappa Nāyaka and Keṅgappa Nāyaka.³ That the Vijayanagara monarchs maintained even the primitive village corporations is evident from an epigraph dated A.D. 1544 which, while recording the *sāsana* given to the barbers by Rāma Rājayya Dēva Mahā-arasu, informs us that in addition to the tax, tribute, alms and the five dues which he had formerly remitted to them, he granted

¹ 509 of 1925.

² Venkoba Rao, *Ep. Report* for 1926, p. 110.

³ E.C. VII, Ci, 62, op. cit.

“along with the twelve Āyagāra in the country”, a *svāmya* under a tank.¹

(ii) *Officials under the Local Administration*

Although it is true that the ancient machinery in the villages and *nāḍus* remained undisturbed to a great extent in the Vijayanagara age, nevertheless we have to admit that the materials discovered so far do not enlighten us on such questions as the differentiation in the functions of the officials appointed by the king or by his viceroys and those employed by the people themselves in the villages. Thus, for example, we are unable to ascertain the duties of a *kāryakarta* (Agent for the affairs of the Emperor) and those of a *pārupatyagāra* (Chief Manager of the *sīme*?). We have already seen that officials called *kāryakartas* figure to some extent in inscriptions. As regards the other official, we are told that Lakkarāja Timmapayya was the *pārupatyagāra* in A.D. 1532 over the Būdhāl-sīme.² It is difficult also to decide the relationship between the *kāryakarta* and the *pārupatyagāra* on the one hand, and the superintendent over the *nāḍu* (*taṅgaḷ-nāṭṭu-nāyagan-jevvar*) on the other. If one may hazard an explanation of the status of these three kinds of officials, one may suggest that the *kāryakarta* was the executive officer of the provincial governor who ruled over the *rājya*; the *pārupatyagāra*, the official over the *sīme*; and the superintendent was a dignitary who was in charge of a *nāḍu*. These three officials may have been appointed by the viceroys on behalf of the king.

This supposition is based on an inscription dated A.D. 1346 which informs us that Harihara Oḍeyar and Bukkaṇṇa Oḍeyar granted to Vaiyaṇṇan Kōmuppan, the Superintendent over the Tēkkaḷ-nāḍu, Mādaraisanpalli belonging to the same *nāḍu*, as a *kuḍaṅgai* exempt from taxes. The grant further relates that he was to grow any crop he pleased on all the dry and wet lands of the village, excluding former gifts, and that he was entitled to receive all the

¹ E.C. XII, Si, 41, p. 96, n. (1). ‘Ayakara or Ayagara—a village servant or officer, one entitled to the Aya, or proportion of the crop for his services to the community’. Wilson, *Glossary of Indian Terms*, p. 40. The twelve hereditary offices called *āyagāra* in Kanarese and *bāra balūti* in Hindustani, are given in detail by Rice, *My. Gaz.* I, p. 472. (1st ed.) I., p. 579 (Rev. ed.) They were authorized to sell or mortgage their offices when in distress. Rice, *ibid.*, p. 474. (1st ed.).

² E.C., VI, Kd. 126, p. 23.

villages (specified) in perpetuity.¹ From this it appears that the rulers permitted an official to grow any crop on all the dry and wet lands of a village. But we have already seen that village assemblies, even in later times, were zealous about their ancient rights, especially those relating to land. The instance in question seems to be a violation of those privileges which the villages had enjoyed since the earliest times, and especially of the claims put forward by the rulers of Vijayanagara as champions of ancient custom. It may be that the clause relating to former gifts made sufficient provision for the rights of the village of Mādarai-sanpalli; or it may as well be that this grant is an instance of a flagrant breach of the respect which the members of the new family usually showed for the constitutional usage of the land. A third assumption is that there was perhaps a rule that the superintendent had the right to grow a crop on a certain area of village land chosen by him, besides taking the *mēlvāram*.² These are, however, only suppositions for the present. The existence of the superintendent over the *nāḍu* is further proved by an inscription dated A.D. 1379 which mentions the *Mahāsāvantādhipati* Soṇṇaiya Nāyaka's son Aṅkaya Nāyaka, the Superintendent over the Nonḍaṅguli-nāḍu (*nāṭṭu-nāyakkaram*).³ Then, again, we have the Sēnabōva Mādisiyar Kambayar, the Superintendent over the Erumaṇai-nāḍu (*sānapōvan-Erumaṇai-nāṭṭu-nāyagañ-jeyvār*) in about A.D. 1380.⁴

Turning to the villages, we find that inscriptions give some details about village officials. One of the most coveted offices seems to have been that called the *gauḍike*. The office of a *gauḍa* is, for example, met with in A.D. 1512-13.⁵ In what manner the duties of a *gauḍa* were similar to those of a *sthāla-gauḍa* cannot be made out. We are aware of a *sthāla-gauḍike* in about A.D. 1533, and again in A.D. 1547.⁶ These three epigraphs also give us the names of other important village officials—the *sēnabōva* or *sānbhōga*,

¹ E.C. X, Mr. 39, p. 165.

² I am indebted to Dr. Barnett for this suggestion.

³ E.C., IX, Ht. 50, p. 43, translit. p. 115.

⁴ Ibid., An. 28, p. 113.

⁵ Fleet, *J. Bom.* R.A.S. XII, p. 398; n. 27; I.A. V. p. 344 (n). Fleet derives *gauḍa* from the Skt. *grāmādhyā*. But Dr. Barnett suggests a more accurate derivation—*gauḍa* < *gāvuṇḍam* < *gām'* uṇḍam, "he who feeds on a village".

⁶ E.C., XI, Hr. 36, Hr. 39, p. 109, text. pp. 300-2.

who was the village accountant; the waterman or turncock (*grāmada paṇikaṭṭu-āyagāra*), the watchman or *talaṛa*, and the *bēgāra*.¹

The inscription of about A.D. 1533 is interesting in the sense that it tells us something about the manner in which a *sthala-gauḍige* was conferred. The *Mahānāyakāchārya* Harati Aimangala Tippala Nāyakāchārya granted to Vaḍḍa Iraṇa-bōva through Bālana Gauḍa of Kaṇḍehaḷḷi, a hamlet of the Dharmapura-sammat, an *inām* (gift) of one bracelet, one necklace, one small sized turban, and one check suit, for having expended 250 *gadyāṇa* and erected four high towers for the Kaṇḍehaḷḷi fort; and in addition to this, enjoined the following: "And you (i.e., Bālana Gauḍa) having come before us with the waterman (or turncock), the village servants the sānabhōga Puṭaraṅgappa, the watchman Vōba, the *bēgāras* Timma and Dāsa, and made petition at our palace,—in order that the usual customs may be carried on in accordance with our orders, we have conferred on you the *sthala-gauḍige* of the said village, and orders are issued to grant a *sāsana* to that effect. . . the *sthala-gauḍike* of this Kaṇḍehaḷḷi village will be enjoyed by the posterity in succession of the family of the Noṇaba Bālana Gauḍa, and so also the talavāra, the *bēgāra* and others".² Another inscription of about A.D. 1547 is identical in its contents: the same *Mahānāyakāchārya* granting similar *ināms* to the same contractor but through Doḍḍa Dāmana Gauḍa of Sūgūr in Guḍḍa-nāḍ for having built four towers for the Sūgūr fort at a cost of 200 *varāha*; and to Doḍḍa-Dāmana Gauḍa, the *Mahānāyakāchārya* also gave the *sthala-gauḍike* of the village.³

These inscriptions from Hiriyūr not only confirm our assumption as regards the hereditary offices of the village, (*vaṁśa-pāraṁpariyavāgi talavāra-bēgāra-vagaire ninna makalāgi* etc), but also enable us to suppose that the *sthala-gauḍige* of a village was confirmed by a *Mahānāyakāchārya*, who, we may reasonably presume, was a servant of the king. This strengthens our assertion that the Vijayanagara monarchs, on the application of the claims for the hereditary offices, allowed the ancient machinery of the villages to run

¹ *Begara*, according to Wilson (*Glossary*, p. 70) is a forced labourer. Here, as Dr. Branett tells me, the word may stand for the superintendent of forced labour. B.A.S.

² E.C. XI, Hr. 36, p. 109. The name Noṇaba (Bālana Gauḍa) evidently suggests the ancient Noḷambavāḍi 32 Thousand. B.A.S.

³ E.C., *ibid.*, Hr. 39, p. 109.

on its own course under the general supervision of their officials, as is evident from the words of the *Mahā-nāyakāchārya* : *namma mokkta nīnu bandu namma samusthānadalli arike-māḍikoṇḍu namma appaṇēprakārakke mariyādi saha naḍasi yiruvudakke sadari-grāmada sthālada gavuḍikeyannu ninage nēmisi sāsana nirūpa aṇ (p) aṇekoḍisi yiditu*.¹

Of the village officials given above, the *sēnabōva* was a person of much consequence. He was the village accountant. The office of a *sēnabōva* can claim some antiquity. It is mentioned in a Western Chālukya grant dated Śaka 1015 (A.D. 1093-4) of the times of the king Vikramāditya.² A *sēnabōva* in A.D. 1238 is said to have been the *adhikāri* of Sētu.³ It is not improbable that just as they had a *sēnabōva* over a village, they had also one over the *nāḍu*. The *nāḍ-sēnabōva* had to maintain what may be called the revenue register of the district. We infer this from an inscription dated A.D. 1392 of the times of Harihara Rāya II, which gives us the details of rents in Mādharaḥalli and the neighbouring places, and of the award of 215 *varāha*, two *haṇa* to Rāmachandra Oḍeyar "according to the accounts of the *nāḍ-syānabhōva* Sāyappa".⁴

From a record dated A.D. 1589 we are able to maintain that these *nāḍ-sēnabōvas* were officials of considerable influence. For the inscription, which belongs to the time of Veṅkāṭapati Dēva I, mentions a grant by the king of rent-free lands (specified) in various places, and of certain dues to Tippiarasaya's (son) Vīraya of Hiriyūr, the *sēnabhōva* or accountant of 185 villages situated in 155 *sthālas* (named), which belonged to Kenchaṇṇa Nāyaka of Hiriyūr.⁵ Granting rent-free lands to recompense labour was a method which was common in those days in southern India. In some instances the writers of the village accounts were paid from the shares of the village. Thus in A.D. 1379-80 in the villages (specified) bestowed as a gift by Harihara,

¹ E.C. XI, Hr. 36 and 39, text, pp. 301-3. Cf. The village officials under the Guptas—the *mahattaras*, or men of position, the leading men; the *aṣṭa-kula-adhikaraṇas* or officers with supervising authority over the eight *kulas*; and the *grāmikas* or village-heads. Basak, *Ep. Ind.*, XV, p. 137, op. cit.

² Fleet, I.A., V, p. 344 (n). The functions of a *sēnabōva* were similar to those of a *kulkarni*, Fleet, *J. Bom. R.A.S.*, XII, p. 398, n. (28).

³ E.C., VIII, Nr. 10, p. 128.

⁴ E.C., VI, Kp. 49, p. 85.

⁵ *My. Arch. Report* for 1918, p. 53.

the Brahmans of each *agrahāra* gave (a certain portion) to the learned Sammaṇa, for doing the writing work of the district.¹

The control which the Central Government exercised over the villages is also seen in the history of the other village offices. The offices of *ḥyōtisha* and *sthāla-purōhita* of several villages were conferred by the king in what was called *sāsana-paṭṭige*. Thus in A.D. 1406 Dēva Rāya granted by means of a *sāsana-paṭṭige* land (specified) to Narasāvadhāni, for the office of *ḥyōtisha* and *sthāla-purōhita* in the villages of Jigale, Kundūru, Harosandra, and other villages belonging to Kottūru-simhāsana in the Uchchangī-vēṇṭhe.² As servants of the king, these officials are to be distinguished from the hereditary dignitaries of the village, who, in accordance with the professed aim of the monarchs to preserve the ancient custom of the land, were allowed to continue in their offices with the sanction and approval of the Government.

In addition to these village servants,—the *gauḍa*, the *sēnabōva*, the *ḥyōtisha*, the *purōhita*, the *bēgāra*, and the turncock, we have to mention the guardian of the village peace,—the *talavāra* or the *kāpu* or the *kāval*.³ The village police existed in early times. In Śaka 1161 (A.D. 1239-40), during the reign of Rājarāja Dēva, Virāsani-Ammayappaṇ Aṛagiya Sōṛan *alias* Edirili-Sōṛa Sambuvarāyaṇ gave to the Viṣṇu temple at Poygai the village of Puttūr together with its revenue and taxes, in which was included the small tax for the village police.⁴ Then, again, the same person made a gift of taxes in which there was one for the overseer of the village police, in Śaka 1165 (A.D. 1243-4).⁵ Some of the duties of the *kāpus* or village police in the Telugu country are thus enumerated in an inscription dated about A.D. 1284-5. "The *kāpus* should cultivate the paddy fields given to the temple (of Chirumana Mallikārjuna) for its share, and give each year 155 *puṭṭis* of paddy, and a half share in the second crop paddy; they should raise gingelly, flax, *kāru jonna*, and green gram on dry lands,

¹ Fleet, *J. Bom. R.A.S.*, XII, p. 380, op. cit.

² E.C. XI, Dg. 108, p. 71, text, p. 176. This is a copy of the inscription supplied by the people. P. 71, n. (1).

³ Wilson, *Glossary*, pp. 260, 271. But *kāpu* also means the principal cultivator, Wilson, *ibid.*, p. 260.

⁴ S.I.I., I, p. 89.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 91.

and pay at the rate of three-quarters *māḍa* on female cloths. The *kāpus* should conduct the charity perpetually. They should not allow the lands of the deity to lie waste. They should not sell the calves of the deity". The same stone inscription contains the following: "If the dancing-girls themselves (of the same temple) lease out the lands given to them, the *kāpus* who rule the village will treat them as 'sarvamānya'."¹

In Vijayanagara times a tax was paid for the maintenance of the village police. In the record of the reign of Virūpāksha I, dated only in the cyclic year Bhāva, which we have already cited, the composition of the village assembly of Kunnāṇḍārkoṣil is given together with the fact that the Kalla-Vēlaikkārars, who sought refuge with the village authorities, were assigned the duty of guarding the village lands and the lives of the people. In return for this they were permitted to collect from each family of the eighteen castes (*paḍinēṇ-būmi-samayattār*) one *paṇam* annually and one ring on each marriage occasion.² This suggests that in some localities the village authorities and the Vijayanagara Government did not institute a regular body of village police; and that they entrusted the duty of maintaining order in the local units to a class of people who may have been the traditional custodians of the village peace. It was not that the rulers were ignorant of maintaining a regular police force. 'Abdur Razzāq, as we have remarked elsewhere, definitely tells us that the capital contained a large police establishment. "Opposite the mint is the office of the Prefect of the City, to which it is said 12,000 policemen are attached; and their pay, which equals each day 12,000 *fanams*, is derived from the proceeds of the brothels".³ There is evidence of what appears to be money-payment given to the village police, and the fact that an official policeman is mentioned in inscriptions proves that there was a definite police organization in the villages.

That the village police were paid a fee is clear from another inscription which, although unreliable from the point of view of its chronology, nevertheless contains the names of some other village servants. This inscription,

¹ Butterworth-Chetty, *Nellore Ins.*, I, pp. 232-3.

² *Ep. Report* for 1915, p. 106, *op. cit.*

³ Elliot, *Hist. of India*, IV, p. 111, *op. cit.*

which is dated Śaka 1498 of the times of Kṛṣṇa Dēva Rāya, belongs to that class of suspicious grants which we have examined in an earlier connection.¹ It registers the grant of *reḍḍi-mirās*, *karaṇika-mirās*, and the right of collecting the police fee (*kāvali-rusum*)² in the village of Lōmaḍa to certain persons by the king. The other village officials entitled to receive the *mēra* (*āya-mēragāṇḍra*), besides the *reḍḍi* and *karaṇams*, were the village priest (*purōhita*), the artisan, the mansion, the shroff, the *talāṭi* (village watchman), the potter, the washerman, the barber, and the village servants (*mādiga* and *veṭṭi-māla*, also called *bārika*).³

The existence of the village watchmen in later ages is proved by a record dated A.D. 1584 which speaks of the watchmen of the village of Pushpitodupura, also called Baichapura, in the Sivanasamudra country.⁴ In some parts of the Tamil land the fees for the *kāpus* were paid out of the village shares. Thus in Śaka 1447 (A.D. 1525-6) Chennama Nāyaniṅḡaru settled that under a tank at Kaṇḍlakuṇṭa, three parts of the land were set apart for the Velamas, gods and Brahmans, and two for the *kāpus* who guarded the country.⁵ It may also be noted that in the Tamil country, as elsewhere, perhaps, there were two kinds of village police who received such fees—the *ūr-kāval* and the *pāḍi-kāval*,⁶ whose functions, however, cannot be differentiated at the present stage of our investigations.

To the list of village servants given above other inscriptions add *nambi*, who performed worship in village temples.⁷

Those who conducted the administration of the village were sometimes faced with civil questions. These were in connection with the settlement of boundaries between villages and fields, and the regulation of water for irrigation purposes. We shall see how in A.D. 1363 in the times of Virūpaṅṇa Oḍeyar, the great minister Nāgaṅṇa and other *arasus* (named) settled a complicated question between the people of Heddūr-sīme and the temple

¹ *Supra*, Chapter III.

² For the Persian origin of this word, see Wilson, *Glossary*, p. 271.

³ *Ep. Report* for 1913, p. 9.

⁴ Rice, *My. Ins.*, p. 255.

⁵ 388 of 1915; *Ep. Report* for 1916, p. 143.

⁶ *Ep. Report* for 1916, p. 143.

⁷ *Ep. Report* for 1913, p. 9.

āchāryas on the one hand and the Jaina *sūris* on the other. The presence of the *nāḍ* people was necessary during such occasions.¹ An effaced epigraph dated about A.D. 1400 relates that a *sāsana* was given for the Mahant of. . . by all the people of the (Ma)ndu-nāḍ Thirty in connection with a dispute as regards boundary stones. It says: "Kolahaḷḷi Tammaḍi Nāgaya not joining with him, set up (other) boundary stones. The Mahant and the *nāḍ* making inquiry, decided that the stones had been unjustly put up and could not be allowed, and restored the *dharma*".² The question of boundary disputes seems to have been solved thus in A.D. 1518-19: ". . . the temple trustees (*saṁsthānakulu*) of Kailāsanātha and Bhīma (Chilamakuru, Nellore district) granted one *kucchala* of dry land on the boundary and ten *kuṇḷas* of wet lands as a *sarvamānya* to Mēdarametta Siṅgiriṇāyaḍu, who walked over the boundary line of Chilamakuru (settled the boundary dispute)".³ The epigraph does not contain any more details about this procedure of walking over the boundary line.

A corrupt copper-plate grant dated about A.D. 1576 informs us that an unburnt clay pot was carried round boundaries. "If any mistake is made in tracing the boundary the pot breaks".⁴ The following is related in the epigraph: ". . . . When Hire-Hanumappa Nāyaka's son Raṅgappa Nāyaka was protecting the *gaḍi*—and Maya-goṇḍa Gauḍa managing the Koḍamagi-gaḍi—he came to their house and demanded their security. On which Mayagoṇḍa Gauḍa gave Timmappa as security, and Kariyaṇṇa Gauḍa of Hole-Honnūr gave Mallappa as security. And asking permission, Mayagoṇḍa Gauḍa requested a *haṇḍege* and giving a feast (as specified) to Brahmans and *gauḍas*, performing worship and carrying the god Hanumanta of Ānuveri in procession behind an elephant, they set out with the *haṇḍege*, when the *Nāḍiga* Yaṅkappa, prostrating himself, made petition and fixed the banyan tree as the boundary, setting up a sone".⁵

In the generality of cases, as we remarked while dealing with the revenue system of Vijayanagara, the boundaries

E.C., VIII, Tl. 197, pp. 206-7. *Infra*, Chapter VII, Section 3. *Ibid.*, Tl. 115, p. 186.

Butterworth-Chetty, *Nellore Ins.*, III, p. 1157.

Rice, E.C., VII, p. 37, n. (2).

Ibid., Sh. 107, p. 37.

were marked by means of stones with the figure of Vāmana or the dwarf. This method of denoting the boundaries of villages seems to have been common from the earliest times of Vijayanagara history, as is evident from an epigraph dated A.D. 1336 which describes the demarcation of boundaries with stone stamped "with the illustrious Vāmana (dwarf) seal".¹ Sometimes the boundary stone, as in A.D. 1390-1, were marked with figures of the sun and moon.² In the times of Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya the Great, according to a record dated A.D. 1512-13, pillars of Garuḍa with the impression of Vāmana were also used.³ The boundary stones, evidently of a *koḍage* grant held by a *gauda*, were sometimes also inscribed with the letters *garuḍa-goḍagi* and placed at a distance of 803 bows.⁴ As regards the other question of determining the direction of the flow of water in a village, we may note that it sometimes necessitated the intervention of the Central Government. This is inferred from an epigraph dated A.D. 1553 which narrates that Rāma Rāju Kōnappa Dēva Mahārāja settled a water dispute between two villages in the Anantapur district.⁵

SECTION 3. *Corporate Life in Political Matters*

A. *The Pāleyagāra System*

The spirit of co-operation which the people showed while dealing with village questions was extended to the larger spheres of political life.⁶ This may account for the firmness with which they planted the Pāleyagāra system which, if judged by the havoc it caused in later days, would seem to have no redeeming features in it. Nevertheless it was one of those measures which satisfied an urgent need of the times, and which in the palmy days of the Nāyaka rule, proved to be a boon to the Government in maintaining peace and order in the south.

The origin of the Pāleyagāra system and of the seventy-two bastions of Madura, is thus given in the accounts of

¹ Butterworth-Chetty, *Nellore Ins. I.*, p. 117. The evidence of this inscription cannot be relied upon. *Ibid.*, p. 109.

² *Ibid.*, I, p. 5.

³ Fleet, *J. Bom. R.A.S.*, XII, p. 396. Under the Sindas, the boundary stone were marked with figures of ascetics, lingas, or cows, *Ibid.*, n. (23).

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 397-8.

⁵ Rangachari, *Top-List. I.*, Ap. 147, p. 24.

⁶ For an account of the Pāleyagāras, see Taylor, *O.H. MSS.*, II, pp. 161-3.

the various Pāleyagāras. Thus we have the following about "*Bodi nayak palliyacārer*, or chieftain of the district of *Siva rāma kulam*. Their ancestors were rulers in the district of Gooty. In consequence of the Mahomedan conquest, the people every where emigrated to the south, and the heads of this tribe among the rest. They came to the north side of the *Vaigai* river, where ten families subject to the *Malayāla* rulers resided. At the time, the *Pāndiya* king had taken refuge in the *Malayāla* country, and he gave the strangers leave to settle there. The date of *Saka nayaka* head of the tribe, is placed in *Sal. Sac* 1258 (A.D. 1336); and by consequence, the Mahomedan irruption was the first that occurred".¹ In the times of "*Sila bodi nayak*", "a champion, among the Mahomedans challenged the people of the *Rayer's* dominion to find a champion to meet them. *Bodi nayak*, hearing of the circumstance, went to the north; fought with and killed the Mahomedan; and in consequence, received great honours and distinctions. He ruled twenty-two years. His son, *Bangāru guttu nayak* ruled twenty-six years, and was one among the chiefs, summoned to take charge of the bastions of the *Madura* fort, the 60th being allotted to him".²

The following is narrated about the origin of the Pāleyagāra of "*Emakalapūram* in the Dindigul district of the Coimbatore province":

"During the rule of the *Rayer* in *Cal. Yug.* 4520, *Sal. Sac* 1341, 'my ancestors' were of the *Camavar* tribe. *Camulaca nayaker* lived at *Devanampatanam* near *Cuddalore*, being headman of the district. At that time the *Rayer* had an unmanageable horse, which no one could govern, till the aforesaid *Camulaca*, going to the capital, taught the keepers how to control the animal; and he himself, mounting the horse rode out with it for three days together in the most unfrequented places, and brought it back before the *Rayer*, on the fourth day, perfectly quiet. The *Rayer* was so well pleased that he gave the headman the title of the horse, adding other titles, and distinctive banners; and relinquished the district at *Cuddalore* to him in free-gift, therewith dismissing him. At the time when *Visvanātha naicker* was sent to take possession of the

¹ Taylor, *Cat. Rais*, III, p. 375.

² *Ibid.*, p. 376.

Pandiya kingdom, the aforesaid *Camulaca* was ordered to accompany him, and afford aid. The household god of *Camulaca* became an image at *Emakalapuram*, where he settled. He received orders from *Visvanātha naicker* to furnish a quota of troops, towards the charge and defence of the fort of *Madura*. Some disagreement occurring between *Kulasēchara* and *Visvanātha*; the latter ordered the *Emakalapuram* chief to go against the former, which he did; and, after much fighting, the former laid an ambush, so that *Camulaca naicker* was shot, as he was advancing with his people. *Visvanātha* had the funeral rites performed. His son was *Anantapa naicker*; who, in consideration of the manner of his father's death, received additional distinctions, and some villages in free grant from *Visvanātha naicker*. At the time when the seventy-two chiefs had each a bastion of the *Madura* fort confined to him, this chief was appointed to the seventh bastion".¹

The genealogy of the *Pāleyagāras* of *Naḍavacuruchi* contains some interesting details. The ancestors of this line "emigrated from *Kiluvai Kundiyan* fort, fought with the *Kallars*, or thievish tribe of the south, and acquired a principality, given to them by the *Pandiya* king. During a hunting excursion, a tiger suddenly sprang from its covert, and attacked the party, of which the *Pandiya* king was one. The *Poligar* of this line killed the tiger, and was rewarded by the distinguishing emblem of a tiger-skin under his saddle; a token of distinction, and honour. After a succession of nine following chiefs, the *Pandiyan* king demanded a wife from their tribe: the reply to which demand was, that their tribe could not inter-marry with the descendants of the lunar race (*Chandravamsa*). The *Pandiyan* king came to war against their tribe; in consequence of which they abandoned the estate, and came to *Sundara Pandiya puram*, where they had much trouble with the *Kallars*, whom they exterminated; and were confirmed in possession of the said town by the *razer* from the north. Seven generations resided there. Thence they retired before an invading force; which would seem to have been Mahomedan. They fought with *Kallars* in the *Virasingha nādu* and overcame them". The account continues to narrate their achievements, especially those related to the

¹ Taylor, *Cat. Rais*, III, p. 355.

subjugation of the Kaḷḷars and Kurumbars, and to the rescuing of "a large number of cattle which had been seized by the ruler at *Kayattūr*, who was at war with the Madura prince. For this service they received distinction, and additional lands. After three generations the mention occurs of the *Kartākal* or northern viceroys; and of the appointment of chiefs to guard the bastions of the fort, which took place under the first of those viceroys: the chief of this district was one of those so appointed".¹

In the confused accounts of conflict with the Muhammadans and the Kaḷḷars, we have some details about the causes which may have brought about the Pāḷeyagāṇa system. Behind these stories of courage and pluck there may be a few germs of truth about the necessity which the rulers of Vijayanagara and their southern viceroys felt of enlisting the services of adventurous leaders of tribes in maintaining law and order in the land. That the viceroys of the south recognized the arduous work which their own followers did in reducing the unruly elements to a state of stable government is evident from the following passage in the *History of the Carnataca Governors*: "As many of the chiefs of the *Dotiyah* class, who had heretofore followed the fortunes of *Nagama-Naicker*, had taken an active share of service in all these last mentioned battles, so now *Visvanatha-Naicker* and *Ariya-natha-Muthaliar* rewarded their services by dividing the whole of the countries acquired into seventy-two *palliyams* (districts or counties), specifying the towns or villages belonging to each; and these districts they held on tenure of military service, in the manner following: that is—the king built or attached seventy-two bastions to the fort of Madura; and in case of attack or siege, these seventy-two *palliya-carers* were each one to have charge of a particular bastion with a connected portion of the wall, and to defend the same with his retainers against all assaults. This arrangement was accordingly followed. This was in the year of *Salivahana-*

¹ Taylor, *Cat. Rais*, III, pp. 385-6. See also Nelson, *Mad. Country*, P. III, p. 98. Wilks says that the title Pāḷeyagāṇa properly belonged to the Telugu governors of Vijayanagara. *Sketches*, I, p. 20 (1810); I, p. 13 (1869). Rangachari *I.A.*, XLIII, p. 114; Satyanatha, *Nayaks*, p. 58; Heras, *Aravidu*, pp. 132-3; *The Trichinopoly Gazetteer* I, pp. 210, 237; *The Manual of Tinnevely*, I. pp. 61, 71-85, 271-73; and *The Salem Gazetteer*, I, P. I, pp. 68-9 may also be read in the connection.

Sagartam 1354, or year of the *Cali-yugam* 4533".¹ Towards the end of Vijayanagara history we are told that the Pāleyagāra of Erumaikaṭṭi (in A.D. 1611) was able to command 3,000 infantry, 200 horse, and 50 elephants.²

This extraordinary power given to the Pāleyagāras was at once the merit and the defect of the system. So long as their activities were directed towards the urgent needs of clearing the forests and of subjugating the unruly tribes who infested them, the Pāleyagāras were an indispensable factor in the scheme of the Vijayanagara monarchs and their viceroys for reclaiming a large tract of the fertile regions of the south. This was essential for the colonization of the south by the new-comers from the north.³ The Pāleyagāra system was also directed towards another end. It was a safeguard against the activities of foreigners, who, especially on the Fishery Coast, were becoming powerful to an alarming degree.⁴

But the system carried in itself the germs of the dismemberment of the Empire. It is true that, as we have remarked elsewhere, the feudatories in the north of the Vijayanagara Empire, were also given vast civil and military powers, and that the banner of revolt was first raised by the northern provinces and by the ruler of Tuluva. But it must be remembered that even after the great disaster of Rākshasa—Taṅgaḍi, there was a marked difference in the position which the northern feudatories and the southern Pāleyagāras occupied in Vijayanagara history. The latter were placed under a viceroy but the former were directly controlled by the king, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.⁵ Although the chieftains in the northern and north-western parts of the Empire were as eager as the southern Pāleyagāras to encroach on the authority of the Central Government, yet there were among them, as, for example, in the states of Keḷadi and Mysore, one or two instances of principalities which could successfully rejuvenate Hindu life in the western and central parts of the

¹ Taylor, *O.H. MSS*, II, p. 21. For a detailed account of the number and names of the Pāleyagāras, see Satyanatha, *Nayaks*, pp. 58, 59, 240. App. A.; Rangachari, *I.A.*, XLIII, pp. 116-17.

² Satyanatha, *ibid.*, p. 59.

³ Satyanatha, *ibid.*, p. 60; Rangachari, *ibid.*, p. 113; Heras, *Aravidu*, pp. 137-8.

⁴ Satyanatha, *ibid.*

⁵ Rice, *My. Gas.*, I, p. 234, (1st ed.); p. 356 (Rev. ed.).

decadent Vijayanagara Empire. But the annals of the numerous Pāḷeyagāras of the south afford us no such example of sustained effort to preserve the traditions of the great Hindu rulers of mediaeval times. On the contrary, like the history of most of the Indian rulers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the story of the Pāḷeyagāras is mainly an account of petty rivalries and interminable warfare of those who had bartered the honour and safety of the land for their own selfish ends.¹

B. *The Granting of Constitutions*

Some measures of a quasi-political nature illustrate better the corporate activities of the people in Vijayanagara. One of these relates to the issuing of constitutions or charters to corporate bodies. We shall discuss this in detail while dealing with the corporate life of the people in social matters. For the present we may note that by the first quarter of the eighth century A.D., the people of the Karnaṭaka had already shown that unanimity in social questions was essential in their dealings with the State.²

In purely political matters the Pāṇḍyas had set a precedent in the south. The chiefs (*araiyar*) of Iraṇḍumalai-naḍu, according to an inscription dated in the twelfth regnal year of an unidentified Jaṭavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya, gave assurance to the headmen of Kunnāṇḍār-kōyil that when they took up arms and fought with one another, they would desist from destroying the villages under their protection (*kāval*), and that they would cause no injury to the

¹ The Rev. Heras in his estimate of the Pāḷeyagāra system writes: 'This was by far the most important political event of the time, in spite of the fact that it fomented ambitions in these petty chiefs and weakened the royal authority of Madura, of which they were too independent from the very beginning. Had they been more systematically attached to, and dependent on, the central power, Madura might have been saved from many of the troubles caused by the Palaiyakarans' *Aravidu* p. 134. The Pāḷeyagāra system is to be judged from the point of view of the Vijayanagara Empire, and not from that of the viceroyalty of Madura. It was not 'the royal authority of Madura' to which the Pāḷeyagāras ought to have been subjected but the royal authority of the *Vijayanagara king* which they must have been made to obey. So far as the history of the 72 bastions is concerned, there is nothing to suggest that the Pāḷeyagāras were not systematically attached to or dependent on the viceroy of Madura. The vital defect of the system lay in the fact that the Vijayanagara Emperor had nothing to do with it. B.A.S.

² *Infra*, Volume II, Chapter VIII, Corporate Life in Social Matters.

resident or itinerant cultivators. If, however, any person was so injured, they would pay a fine of 100 *paṇam*, and if a village was destroyed, they would pay a fine of 500 *paṇam*. Even after paying the fine, they agreed to protect the villagers and cultivators, though they might have cutting, piercing and dying in their communal fights.¹

Sometimes the compacts thus entered into were partly political and partly social. Thus in the disturbed days of Kulōttuṅga III, the assembled people (the *nāḍu*) of Vallanāḍu declared that thenceforward they would afford protection to the cultivators (*kuḍimakkal*) residing within the four boundaries of the sacred village of Tiruvaraṅḡulam, Pudukkōṭṭai State, and its *dēvadāna* villages. If in the course of this protection any one of the assembly was found to rob, capture the cows of, or do other mischief to, the cultivators, the assembly agreed to assign two *mā* of wet land to the local temple by way of fine for the offence committed.² Another interesting record of A.D. 1257 describes the measures the people took "for the prosperity of the country". The revenue expected from the village of Maradūru in Uṇṇattūr-kūṇṇam failed, as there were no people to cultivate the fields. To make good the loss to the State, the whole *nāḍu* undertook to bear the burden; and the villages, the cities, and the *nāḍu* of Kaḍaladaiyādilaṅgai-koṇḍasōḷa-vaḷa-nāḍu agreed among themselves to give away Maradūr to two individuals for providing offerings to the god Tirumālīśvaramuḍaiya-Nāyaṇār at Vēmbaṇū for the prosperity of the country.³

These local bodies assumed greater importance under the rulers of Vijayanagara, who, evidently with the object of knitting closer the ties between themselves and their subjects, made gifts in the presence of the villagers. Thus in the times of Kaṁpana Oḍeyar, who was placed over Mūlbāgal in A.D. 1363, his son Kāmaiya Nāyaka in the presence of the farmers of the kingdom granted lands in Belaṇatta, a subdivision of Toṇṇevali-nāḍu, as a *sarvamānya-koḍage* to Eḷahaṅka-nāḍ Allāḷa Jīva's son Taṇṇiyappa.⁴ Petty chiefs gave gifts of taxes with the permission of all the *samayas*. In Śaka 1482 (A.D. 1560-1) during the

¹ *Ep. Report* for 1915, p. 103.

² *Ibid.*, p. 99.

³ 357 of 1922. *Ep. Report* for 1923, p. 111.

⁴ *E.C.*, IX, Bn. 81, p. 16.

vicerealty of the *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Siddarāja Timmarāja at Konḍavīṭi-sīma, in the reign of Sadāśiva Rāya, the Dommari chiefs Chimku Reḍḍi, Narasānēṇḍu, and Komārāya Viraya, with the permission of all the *samayas* made a gift of the Dommari *paṇam* (a tax levied on the Dommaras) due from the village of Ayanavōlu to the temple of Gōpinātha of that village in the Guntur district.¹

But these instances do not reveal the corporate life of the Vijayanagara people in political matters so much as the record dated Śaka 1341 (A.D. 1419-20) of the times of Dēva Rāya II. In that year, when Rāyaṇa Oḍeyar, son of Bhūpati Oḍear,² was ruling over that part of the Empire in which Nāṅgupaṭṭi³ was included, a political compact was signed between Narasiṅgadēvar of Pērāmbūr and his followers on the one hand, and the residents of Kīlaikurichchi on the other. The inscription continues thus: "Whereas there existed enmity between us from the time of Sēmar-Narasiṅgadēva up to the time of Aḍaikkalamkāṭṭa Narasiṅgadeva, hundreds of men on both sides have been killed and imprisoned; in the time of the last-mentioned chief we met together and settled that henceforward we ought not to act contrary to the interests of each other on account of this long existing enmity". This agreement thus made was ratified in the presence of some villagers and district people. And it was also agreed that as long as the sun and moon exist, the enemies of the Pērāmbūr chief would be the enemies of Kīlaikurichchi and *vice-versa*, and that no double dealing would be permitted. Those who acted otherwise would sin against the god of Nāṅgupaṭṭi.⁴ The absence of such spirit explains to some extent the anarchy under the later Pāḷeyagāras.

¹ 59 of 1917. For other instances of corporate bodies permitting people to levy certain taxes, see 384 of 1914 dated only in the cyclic year Svabhānu, Paṅguṇi. This epigraph is assigned to the reign of Bukka I. It relates that the people of Kūlai Kujattūr, Kīlaipuduvayal, and Vikrama-Sōja-Muttaraiyar permitted the goldsmiths the right of levying certain taxes. We do not know what action the State took in this matter. In A.D. 1307 the Vira Banajas, *ṣeṭṭi-guttas* of Arbala-Seventy and others conferred on Māra Gavuḍa the office of *nāḍ-heggaḍe* with the right of collecting one *paṇam* from forty villages, half a *paṇam* from thirty villages, and tolls, etc. E.C., XI, Hk. 137, p. 138.

² 626 of 1909 dated Śaka 1334, Naṇḍana (A.D. 1412).

³ *Nāṅgupaṭṭi* is in the Pudukkoṭṭai State.

⁴ 344 of 1914; Ep. Report for 1915, p. 106.

CHAPTER VII. JUSTICE AND OPPRESSION

SECTION 1. *Classical and Vijayanagara Theory of Daṇḍa*

ONE of the questions which naturally arises in connection with the history of the Hindu kingdom of Vijayanagara is that relating to the administration of justice. This brings us to the topic of the adherence of the Vijayanagara monarchs to classical principles as recorded in the *dharma-sāstras*. The subject of justice and punishment, as is well known to students of Hindu polity, is treated in the *smṛitis* under the caption of *daṇḍa*. Gautama thus defines *daṇḍa*: "They declare that (the word) *daṇḍa* (rule or punishment) is derived from (the verb) *damayati* (he restrains); therefore he shall restrain those who do not restrain themselves".¹ While admitting the inherent weakness of human nature and the tendency it has to over-ride the limits imposed obviously by the State on behalf of society, Gautama also makes provision for a moderate dispensation of justice, especially as regards punishments, in his statement that the king shall only restrain those who do not know how to restrain themselves. Moderation, therefore, is one of the features of the *daṇḍanīti*. There is another feature of the ancient system which may enable us to understand the Vijayanagara theory and practice of *daṇḍa*. This relates to the free access which the people had in making a direct appeal to the king. In the account of the *rājasūya* as described in the *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa*, we are told that one of the results accruing from the performance of that sacrifice makes the king the lord of law, and that the supreme state (*paramatā*) is that in which the people can approach the king in matters of law.² The right of direct appeal advocated in the *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa* is to be borne in mind in our estimate of the methods of administering justice under Vijayanagara.

The opinion of Gautama that meting out punishment is a necessary attribute of the State is to be traced to Manu, who explains thus the importance of *daṇḍa*: "For the (king's sake, the Lord formerly created his own son, Punishment, the protector of all creatures (an incarnation

¹ *Gautama* XI, 28, p. 238. This is of course an ingenious definition.

² *Sat. Brāh.*, P. III, V., 3, 3, 9, p. 71; Ghosal, *Hind. Pol. Theor.* p. 40 (1st ed.). For the importance of the *Rājasūya* sacrifice, *Sat. Brāhmaṇa*, P. III, p. 42, *seq.*

of) the law, formed of Brahman's glory. Through fear of him all created beings, both the immovable and the movable, allow themselves to be enjoyed, and swerve not from their duties".¹ The necessity of instituting the law of punishment is seen in the security it gives to all the four orders. "Punishment is (in reality) the king and the male, that the manager of affairs, that the ruler, and that is called the surety for the four orders' obedience to the law. Punishment alone governs all created beings, punishment alone protects them, punishment watches over them while they sleep; the wise declare punishment (to be identical with) the law".² Then again Manu says: "The whole world is kept in order by punishment, for a guiltless man is hard to find; through fear of punishment the whole world yields the enjoyment (which it owes)".³

But Manu does not advocate indiscriminate or untimely punishment: "If (punishment) is properly inflicted after (due) consideration, it makes all people happy; but inflicted without consideration, it destroys everything".⁴ "Having fully considered the time and the place (of the offence) the strength and the knowledge (of the offender) let him justly inflict that (punishment) on men who act unjustly".⁵ Manu, therefore, conceives of *danḍa* as the motive force which keeps the different classes of society in perfect order, and invests it with an antiquity and importance which make it an inevitable attribute to the *rājadharmā*.⁶

This orthodox view of the great lawgiver is to some extent modified by Kauṭilya, who brings into relief the suggestion of Manu that justice should be tempered with mercy. Kauṭilya advocates the following: "...for whoever imposes severe punishment becomes repulsive to the people; while he who awards mild punishment becomes contemptible. But whoever imposes punishment as deserved becomes respectable. For punishment (*danḍa*), when awarded with due consideration, makes the people devoted to righteousness and to works productive of wealth and

¹ *Manu*, VII, 14, 15, p. 218; Ghosal, *Hind Pol. Theor.* p. 166. (1st ed.)

² *Ibid.*, VII, 17-18, p. 219. See also *Gautama*, XI, 29-31, p. 238; *Vishnu*, III, 90-5, pp. 22-3; *Sukraniti*, IV, II, 92-8, pp. 130-1.

³ *Manu*, VII, 22, p. 219.

⁴ *Ibid.*, VII, 19, p. 219.

⁵ *Ibid.*, VII, 16, p. 218.

⁶ Ghosal, *ibid.*, p. 107 (1st ed.)

enjoyment; while puishment, when ill-awarded under the influence of greed and anger or owing to ignorance, excites fury even among hermits and ascetics dwelling in forests, not to speak of householders".¹ But Kauṭilya was not unaware of the supreme necessity of instituting punishment for the maintenance of social order. "But when the law of punishment is kept in abeyance, it gives rise to such disorder as is implied in the proverb of fishes (*mātsyanyāyamudbhavayati*); for in the absence of a magistrate (*daṇḍadharābhāve*), the strong will swallow the weak; but under his protection the weak resist the strong".²

With that spirit of compromise which is so characteristic of him, Śukra gives to us the mediaeval conception of *daṇḍa* thus: "Daṇḍa is restraint and punishment, hence the king is also known to be Daṇḍa. The Nīti that regulates punishment constitutes Daṇḍanīti, Nīti so called because it governs and guides".³ This may be considered along with the earlier definition given by Kauṭilya: "That sceptre on which the wellbeing and progress of sciences of *Ānvikṣakī*, the triple Vēdas, and Vārtā depend is known as Daṇḍa (punishment). That which treats of Daṇḍa is the law of punishment of science of government (*daṇḍanīti*)".⁴ Obviously the reference here is to the importance of *daṇḍa* in the social life of the people as suggested by Manu.

Having ascertained the prominence given to the theory of punishment in the political writings of the Hindu theorists, we may now gather a few details about the constitution of a court of justice as understood by the lawgivers. Manu advocates personal investigation by the monarch. "A king desirous of investigating law cases must enter his Court of Justice, preserving a dignified demeanour, together with the Brāhmaṇas and with experienced councillors. There, either seated or standing, raising his right arm, without ostentation in his dress and ornaments, let him examine the business of suitors, daily (deciding) one after another (all cases) which fall under the eighteen titles of (the law)

¹ *Arthaśāstra*, Bk. I., Ch. IV, 9, p. 9.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Sukranīti*, I, ll. 313-4, p. 22. For a further evolution of the theory of *daṇḍa*, see Ghosal, *Hind. Pol. Theor.* pp. 228-9, (1st ed.); pp. 59-60, 104-5, 151 (2nd ed.); Sarkar, *Pos. Back.* Bk. II, P. I, p. 31; also his *Pol. Institutions and Theories of the Hindus* (Leipzig, 1922); Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, *Some Aspects of Ancient Hindu Polity*, (Calcutta, 1929).

⁴ *Arthaśāstra*, Bk. I, Ch. IV, 9, p. 8.

according to principles drawn from local usages and from the institutes of the sacred law".¹ When the king is unable to investigate personally law-suits, Manu ordains the appointment of a law-court. "But if the king does not personally investigate the suits, then let him appoint a learned Brāhmaṇa to try them. That (man) shall enter that most excellent court, accompanied by three assessors, and fully consider (all) causes (brought) before the (king), either sitting down or standing. Where three Brāhmaṇas versed in the Vedas and the learned (judge) appointed by the king sit down, they call that the court of (four-faced) Brahma".²

This served as the basis of the composition of law-courts of the later theorists, some of whom, as for example Gautama, have considerably increased the number of persons who were to constitute a court of justice. According to Gautama: "They declare, that an assembly (parisad. shall consist) at least (of) the ten following (members, viz.) four men who have completely studied the four Vedas, three men belonging to the (three) orders enumerated first, (and) three men who know (three) different institutes of law. But on failure of them decision of one Strottriya who knows the Veda and is properly instructed (in the duties, shall be followed) in doubtful cases".³ Baudhāyana explains the concluding idea of Gautama, thus: "There may be five or there may be three, or there may be one blameless man, who decides (questions regarding) the sacred law. But a thousand fools (can) not (do it)".⁴ Śukra enlarged the scope of a court in these words: "A court of justice is that place where the study of the social, economic, and political interests of man takes place according to the dictates of Dharma Sāstras".⁵

As regards the authorities which are to guide the judges who constitute a law-court, we have the following in Gautama: "His (i.e. the king's) administration of justice (shall be regulated by) the Veda, the Institutes of the Sacred Law, the Aṅgas and the Purāṇas".⁶ Viṣṇu enumerates the qualifications of a judge thus: "Let the king

¹ *Manu*, VIII, 1-2, p. 253.

² *Ibid.*, VIII, 9-11, p. 254. According to Manu a Sūdra can never interpret the law. VIII, 20, p. 255.

³ *Gautama*, XXVIII, 49-50, p. 310. Cf. *Vaśiṣṭha*, III, 7, 20. pp. 17, 20.

⁴ *Baulhāyana*, I, 1, 1, vv. 6-9, pp. 143-4.

⁵ *Sukranāṭi*, IV, ll., 83-4, pp. 186-7.

⁶ *Gautama*, XI, 19, p. 237.

appoint as judges men of good families, for whom the ceremonies (of initiation and so forth) have been performed, and who are eager in keeping religious vows, impartial towards friend and foe, and not likely to be corrupted by litigants either by (ministering to their) lustful desires or by (stimulating them to) wrath or by (exciting their) avarice or by other (such practices)".¹ The lawgivers have also set down rules governing the qualifications of witnesses.²

They are unanimous in their opinion that punishment should be in proportion to the crime committed. Gautama says: "The award of punishment (must be regulated) by a consideration (of the status) of the criminal, of his (bodily) strength, (of the nature) of the crime, and whether the offence has been repeated".³ Vishṇu ordains that the king should consult the Brahmins when awarding punishment. "Let the king dictate due punishments for other offences also, after having ascertained the class and the age (of the criminal) and the amount (of the damage done or sum claimed), and after having consulted the Brāhmaṇas (his advisers)".⁴

From classical theory we may now turn to the Vijayanagara conception of *daṇḍa* as recorded by Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya the Great in his *Āmuktamālyada*. The rough sketch of the classical theory of *daṇḍa* given above enables us to understand that, among other things, the ancients insisted on the institution of punishment for the welfare of society; that its importance was such that they surrounded it with the divinity which was always associated with the person of a monarch; that they enacted that the king or his councillors, while executing it, should be guided by considerations of the nature and time of the crime committed, and the ability of the guilty man to bear punishment; that the ruler should consult a body of learned Brahmins; and that the people were allowed the right of making a direct appeal to the king.

Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya's elucidation of the nature and importance of punishment was, on the whole, in accordance with the classical notions. "The wife's attachment to her husband, the proper relations between

¹ *Vishṇu*, III, 74, pp. 20-1.

² *Manu*, VIII, 62-3, 68-78, pp. 264-5, 266-8, 299, 300; *Gautama*, XIII; p. 246 *seq.*

³ *Gautama*, XII, 51, p. 245; Cf. *Vaśiṣṭha*, XIX, 8-10, p. 97.

⁴ *Vishṇu*, V, 194-5, p. 41.

men and women, the ascetic subduing his *indriyas*, the lower castes showing deference to the higher, the servant looking carefully to the interests of the master, you should know that all these are brought about (ultimately) by the fear of the king's punishment".¹ It is evident that the monarch is referring to the importance of *daṇḍa* in the social life of the people in the above statements. He further says: "It is essential that a king should be able to enforce his commands. Even the Ābhīras and the Bhīllas of the forest are able to enforce their orders, as by the sign of the arrow and the piece of thread. Much more therefore is it necessary that an emperor (*Sārvabhauma*) should be able to enforce his commands".²

To the classical idea of balancing punishment with mercy, Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya adds a clause which was to some extent an advance on the ancient theory of *daṇḍa*. The lawgivers opine that the time and place where the offence was committed together with the nature of the culprit are to be taken into consideration; the Vijayanagara monarch declares that the criminal should be given the chance of appealing thrice to the king. "In the matter of people sentenced to death give them the chance to appeal thrice (for mercy)". But this leniency is not to be shown to those who plot against the State. The ruler continues: "But in the case of those people whose escape might bring calamity to yourself immediate execution is advisable".³ In the matter of administering justice and of executing the royal decree, he shows that he is not unacquainted with human nature. "If a king were to propitiate his guards with presents and hands over to them for custody a thief whose guilt has been proved without immediate punishment and if when he escapes, the guards bring before the king another in his place and punish him, as the story of the stout merchant on the spear, will not the king's infamy increase?"⁴ If this may be taken to be a defect in Vijayanagara system of administering justice, because it admits the possibility of the State officers being corrupted by outside agencies, it may also be interpreted to mean that the rulers were prepared to meet such

¹ *Amuktamālyada*, v. 277; *J.I.H.* IV., P. III, p. 75.

² *Ibid.*, vv. 206; *ibid.*, p. 65.

³ *Ibid.*, v. 243; *ibid.*, p. 70.

⁴ *Ibid.*, v. 239; *ibid.*, p. 69.

a contingency in order to maintain law and order in the land.

SECTION 2. *Administration of Justice in Pre-Vijayanagara Days*

Wise as Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya certainly was, even he had to follow the system of justice as laid down by the ancient rulers of southern India. Custom has always played an important part in the life of the Hindu people; and in matters of justice, ancient usage has been raised to the dignity of law. This explains the injunction found in the *dharma-sāstras* to the effect that rulers were to preserve and respect the ancient custom of the land. Thus in the code of Manu: "The custom handed down in regular succession (since time immemorial) among the (four chief) castes (*varṇa*) and the mixed (races) of that country, is called the conduct of virtuous man".¹ Gautama says: "The laws of countries, castes, and families, which are not opposed to the (sacred) records, (have) also authority".²

Rulers, who, as we remarked while dealing with the local administration of Vijayanagara, were proud to consider themselves as promoters of the *pūrvada-maryāde* of the country, naturally could not have escaped the influence of ancient custom, especially in the south and west, where the Tamil and Kārṇāṭaka kings had already established an efficient system of judicial administration. In the Tamil land, for example, even villages had their own well defined courts of justice. In an inscription dated in the third regnal year of king Pārthivēndravarmaṇ, the members of the great assembly of Uttaramēlūr-chaturvēdimaṅgaḷam, enacted the following: "We, (*the members*) of the big Assembly (*also*) ordered that if (*any such taxes are*) shown (*against it*), each person (*so showing*) shall be liable to pay a fine of twenty-five *kaḷañju* of gold in the court of justice (*dharmaśana*)."³

Some idea of the manner in which these early village courts of justice dealt with cases of grave importance can be gathered from records found in the South Arcot district. These epigraphs contain details about cases of murder

¹ *Manu*, II, 18, p. 32.

² *Gautama*, XI, 20, p. 237.

³ *S.I.I.* III, P. III, p. 342, see also pp. 261, 348-9, 357-8.

under provocation and of accidental death, and the method by which culprits were punished. In A.D. 1054, in the third year of Parakēsarivarman Rājēndradēva, a village officer (?) demanded taxes from a woman, who declared that she was not liable to pay taxes. On the officer putting her through an ordeal, she took poison and died. A general assembly consisting of the people from "the four quarters, eighteen districts, and various countries" was summoned, and the man was declared liable for punishment. This, however, took the shape of a fine of thirty-two *kāṣu* which he had to pay for burning a lamp at the temple of Tirut-tāndōṅṅi-Mahādēva.¹ A Sūdra, in the third year of Rājakēsarivarman *alias* Tribhuvanachakravartin Kulōttuṅga Chōla Dēva, while out a-hunting, missed his aim, and shot a Vēllāla. The villagers "from the seventy-nine districts" assembled together, and found the Sūdra guilty of homicide (not amounting to murder). He was ordered to pay sixty-four cows to the Tiruttāndōṅṅi-Āluḍaiyār temple for burning two lamps.²

That in the conduct of criminal cases the villagers sometimes had the sanction of the State is shown by two inscriptions dated in the reign of a certain Rājakēsarivarman *alias* Tribhuvanachakravartin (Kulōttuṅga Chōla Dēva), who probably lived in the twelfth century A.D. One of these relates that a certain individual shot a man belonging to his own village by mistake. Thereupon the governor and people of the district to which the culprit belonged, assembled together and decided that as the man had committed the offence out of mere carelessness, he was to compensate his guilt by burning a lamp in the Tūṇāṇḍār temple at Siyamaṅgalam. Accordingly, he provided the temple with sixteen cows from the milk of which ghee was prepared for burning the lamp.³

Brahmans too sometimes took part in these deliberative assemblies. A native of Arumbondai, in the thirteenth century A.D., aimed an arrow at another man, mistaking him for an animal. The latter died of the effects of the

¹ 80 of 1906; *Ep. Report* for 1907, p. 77.

² 67 of 1906. For similar other cases see *Ep. Report* for 1907-8, pp. 77-8.

³ 64 of 1900. For other instances of similar nature, see *Ep. Report* for 1900, pp. 10-11. Mr. Venkayya (*ibid.*) estimated roughly that the sacrifice which a culprit had thus to undergo was represented by about twenty *kalam* of paddy, according to the current standard of value.

wound soon after. The Brahmans together with the *nāṭṭār* (people of the district)¹ decided that, on behalf of the deceased the accused had to provide for a lamp in the temple of Bhumiśvaram at Marakkānam, in the South Arcot district.² Inscriptions of the same age recording similar instances inform us that the accused persons were sometimes made to provide temples with forty-eight sheep.³

These precedents of what might appear to be mild punishments, were, however, not always the rule. In the case of those whose activities disturbed public peace, heavier penalties were imposed by the State. This sometimes took the shape of forfeiture of lands. A certain Āliyaṅgaiyan Sattianāvaṅ with his armed accomplices killed one Vāmana Bhaṭṭa on the night of the 25th Aṟpaṣi, in the eleventh year of Jaṭāvarman Tribhuvanachakravartin Sundara Pāṇḍya Dēva, while the Brahman was returning home from the temple. Sattianāvaṅ eluded imprisonment, but the king ordered that the property belonging to the criminal including his village called Karuvēṅkriṇchi, houses, male and female servants etc., was to be confiscated and added as a *tirunāmattu-kāṇi* to the temple of Nāyaṅar Sōkka-Nārāyaṇa at Tirukkoshṭiyur in the Rāmnāḍ district.⁴ This drastic action of the king had the desired effect of bringing the guilty person to his senses. A representation was made to the State by several individuals on behalf of the accused, Sattianāvaṅ Seramlaip Perumāl, on the ground that he was not an accomplice in the murder; and the village assembly of Tirukkoshṭiyur, obviously at the instance of the king, decided to return to the accused all the confiscated property for a consideration of 800 *pon*.⁵

These instances from the south enable us to conjecture that the Tamil people in the ages preceding those of the sons of Saṅgama, had already put into operation the main injunctions of the ancient lawgivers that justice was to be administered in proportion to the seriousness of the offence,

¹ The *nāṭṭār* may have been also village functionaries in the Tamil land, although it is equally probable that, like the people of the *nāḍ* in the Kārṇāṭaka, they were merely citizens. See *supra*, Chapter IV, The Revenue Administration.

² *Ep. Report* for 1919, p. 99.

³ *Ibid.* For further remarks on this subject, read Mr. A. S. Ramana Aiyar's article entitled *Homicide and its Punishment in Mediaeval Times*, *Calcutta Review*, 1925. XV, Nos. 1—3, pp. 313-21.

⁴ 301 of 1923.

⁵ 303 of 1923.

and that the culprit was always entitled to appeal, even after having received his sentence for grave crimes. This practice of dealing with criminals prevalent in the Pāṇḍya and Chōla lands must have continued under the Vijayanagara rulers, who, as related elsewhere, were always guided by the *pūrvada maryāde* of the country in most matters connected with their domestic policy.¹

SECTION 3. *Justice under Vijayanagara*

The accounts of travellers as well as inscriptions give us some details about the manner in which they administered justice in the Hindu Empire. 'Abdur Razzāq says: "On the right hand of the palace of the Sultān—there is the *diwān-khāna* or minister's office, which is extremely large, and presents the appearance of a *chihal sutūn*, or forty-pillared hall. . . . In the middle of the pillared hall, a eunuch, called a *Danāik*, sits alone upon a raised platform, and presides over the administration; and below it the mace-bearers stand drawn up in a row on each side. Whoever has any business to transact advances between the lines of mace-bearers, offers some trifling present, places his face upon the ground, and standing upon his legs again, represents his grievance. Upon this, the *Danāik* issues orders founded upon the rules of justice prevalent in that country, and no other person has any power of remonstrance. When the *Danāik* leaves the chamber, several coloured umbrellas are borne before him,² and trumpets are sounded, and on both sides of his way panegyrists pronounce benedictions upon him. Before he reaches the king he has to pass through seven gates, at which porters are seated, and as the *Danāik* arrives at each door, an umbrella is left behind, so that on reaching the seventh gate the *Danāik* enters alone. He reports upon the affairs of the State to the king, and, after remaining sometime, returns. His residence lies behind the palace of the king".³

¹ For examples of pre-Vijayanagara criminal administration especially in the Kārṇāṭaka, refer to the following: *My. Arch. Report* for 1911-12, p. 44; *ibid.*, for 1926, p. 38; *ibid.*, for 1925, p. 57. For instances of criminal jurisdiction in the Tamil land, see 315 and 352 of 1909 the latter of which is a mixture of superstition and sense. *Ep. Report* for 1910, p. 95; Rangachari, *Top. List.*, I, Cg. 143, p. 337, dated A.D. 1306.

² *Infra*. Volume II., Chapter V, Section 2.

³ Elliot, *Hist. of India*, IV, pp. 107-8; Major, *India*, p. 25. See also Sewell, *For. Emp.*, p. 91.

From the above it appears that there were regular courts of justice and judges specially appointed for that purpose under the mediaeval form of government.¹ The *Danāik* of 'Abdur Razzāq was evidently a *daṇṇāyaka* or military commander; and if we are to rely on the evidence of the Persian Ambassador, the Vijayanagara monarchs entrusted the duty of administering justice to an officer of the army, or to one who had seen service as a general. If this were really the case, no graver error could have been committed by the Hindu rulers of Vijayanagara, since such a procedure would have meant the violation of one of the most important injunctions of the ancient lawgivers in regard to the administration of justice. We have seen that according to Manu, Gautama, Vaśishṭha, and Baudhāyana, the king was to be assisted by at least three Brahmans well versed in the Sacred Law. A *daṇḍanāyaka* or military commander was in no sense a substitute for a Brahman learned in the *smṛitis*, although, as remarked elsewhere, we have instances of very wise and able minister-governors well acquainted with the *sāstras* and *smṛitis* in Vijayanagara history. The fact that 'Abdur Razzāq is positive about the name of the high dignitary who administered justice makes one suspect that the rulers of Vijayanagara had indeed acted, at least in the important question of the composition of what may be called the court of chief justice, contrary to the classical notions of *daṇḍa*. This supposition is strengthened to some extent by the fact that in the list of the eight ministers (*ashṭha-pradhāna*), as given in the *Accounts of Rāma-Rāja*, no mention is made of a supreme judge or chief justice.²

But neither of the above assumptions can be maintained. The *Accounts of Rāma Rāja* do not deal with the judicial administration of the country but with the executive council of the king. And as regards the supposition that the rulers of Vijayanagara had entrusted the question of justice

¹ For some remarks on this subject see Rice, *My. Gaz.* I, p. 480 (1st ed.); I, p. 587, *seq.*, (Rev. ed.) A.C.P. dated S. 1578 of the times of Srīraṅga Rāya (No. 19 of 1916-17) deals with the settlement of a case of *gaudike* rights by the village court (*dharmāsana*) of Harati. This is ten years after the flight of Rāṅga Rāya to Bedhore. If the authenticity of this inscription could be proved, we have some evidence of the existence of village courts in A.D. 1656-7. On the last days of Srīraṅga Rāya, who is by some styled II, and by others, III, of that name, see S. K. Aiyangar, in *Satyanatha, Nayaks*, p. 133, n. (60).

² *Rāma-Rāja Charita*, *Mac. Coll. MSS.* in the India Office.

to a military officer, we may dispense with it on the evidence of Nuniz, who not only informs us that the only law of the land was that of the Brahmans, but passes the most adverse judgement on their code of law. "When any one suffers wrong and wishes to represent his case to the King he shows how great is his suffering by lying flat on his face on the ground till they ask him what it is he wants. If, perchance, he wishes to speak to the King while he is riding, he takes the shaft of a spear and ties a branch to it and thus goes along calling out. Then they make room for him, and he makes his complaint to the King; and it is there and then settled without more ado, and the King orders a captain, one of those who go with him, to do at once what the supplicant asks. If he complains that he was robbed in such and such a province and in such and such a road, the King sends immediately for the captain of that province, even though he be at court, and the captain may be seized and his property taken if he does not catch the thief. In the same way the chief bailiff is obliged to give an account of the robberies in the capital, and in consequence very few thefts take place; and even if some are committed, you give some little present and a description of the man who stole from you, and they will soon know by the agency of the wizards whether the thief be in the city or not; for there are very powerful wizards in this country. Thus there are very few thieves in the land".¹

One may suspect that Nuniz has relied on superstitious and untrustworthy persons in securing these details about the existence of wizards in the capital. His evidence, nevertheless, indicates that an ordinary citizen had direct access to the king in the matter of presenting a petition; and that, therefore, the Vijayanagara monarchs had put into force one of the principles mentioned in the Sacred Law. Valuable as the information of Nuniz certainly is, it may be accepted with certainty only when it is corroborated by independent evidence. For Nuniz's opinion runs counter to that of 'Abdur Razzāq as regards the existence of a separate court of justice, at least of a distinct high official vested with judicial powers. According to the Persian ambassador, it is the *daṇṇāyaka* who constituted the highest judicial official in the kingdom; in the opinion of

¹ Sewell, *For. Emp.*, pp. 380-1.

Nuniz, the king gave a sort of a rough-and-ready dispensation of justice, independent of the *daṇṇāyaka*. Nothing but confusion would have resulted if this were really the case in Vijayanagara. Moreover, it may reasonably be doubted whether Nuniz does not contradict himself in his accounts of the judicial procedure at Vijayanagara. For, in one place, as we have just remarked, he is sure about the existence of Brahmans and of their law; in another, he gives us the picture of the king, regardless of the presence of his advisers, deciding a case on the spot. It is not denied that the rulers of Vijayanagara, in some instances, may have administered justice independently of the Brahman advisers. But the description of Nuniz, especially that relating to the persons who fell prostrate before the monarch, can in no one sense be taken to be a typical instance of how they administered justice in the Hindu Empire. His remarks of this nature are insufficient to justify the assertion that "the administration of criminal justice was harsh and barbarous".¹ The evidence of contemporary travellers, as well as the few details we can gather from inscriptions, must be examined before such a groundless charge is preferred.

There are interesting instances of the manner in which justice was administered in Vijayanagara. Some of them deal with the settlement of disputes by the officers of the Government with the co-operation of the local bodies. Thus in A.D. 1363 in the reign of Bukka Oḍeyar, a grave dispute was amicably settled in the Āraga-rājya which was ruled over by Virūpaṇṇa Oḍeyar. The people of Heddūr-nāḍ and the temple *āchāryas* disputed with the Sūris as to the boundaries of the land belonging to the Pārśvadēva temple of Taḍatāḷa in Heddūr-nāḍ, in the Tirthahallī tāluka. The great minister Nāgaṇṇa and various important officials like *Pradhāni* Dēvarasa, along with other *arasus* or lords, and the Jaina Mallappa summoned the elders of the three cities and the Eighteen Kaṁpaṇas, and held an enquiry in the Āraga *chāvadi* or hall. "And having made the *nāḍ*, agree, they fixed the boundaries (specified) according to the former custom as those of the temple endowment of Pārśvadēva".² This refers of course to the state of affairs in a Vijayanagara province.

¹ Iswari Prasad, *Med. Ind.*, p. 434.

² E.C., VIII, Pl. 197, pp. 206-7, op. cit.

We have already seen how the same ruler, Bukka Oḍeyār, in A.D. 1368, personally settled the momentous question of the religious rivalry which threatened to create open enmity between the Jainas and the Śrīvaiṣṇavas. Since it is impossible to imagine that Bukka Oḍeyar would have ventured to be their arbitrator without seeking the counsel of persons versed in the Sacred Law, we may suppose that these may have exercised some control over the actions of the king. And the example thus set by Bukka Oḍeyar must certainly have had its effect on the judicial traditions of the Empire. While describing social questions which necessitated legislation on the part of the people themselves, we shall narrate some instances of the personal interest which the rulers took in communal matters even in later Vijayanagara history.¹

It was this liberal atmosphere which the great example of Bukka Oḍeyar spread that concerns us here. The royal officers appointed in temples, for example, also followed the precedent set by that ruler. Viṭṭappar (also called Viṭṭppar of Āneguṇḍi), the treasurer of Kaṁpaṇa Oḍeyar (I), was the officer appointed in the Tiruvorriyūr temple, Chingleput district, in Śaka 1290 (A.D. 1368-9). He found that the *padiyilār* the *ishabhattaliyār* and the *dēvaraḍiyār* had struck work in the local temple. This was the third occasion since the days of Rājanārayaṇa Sāmbuvarāya that the *Mudaliyār* of Perumbagrappuliyūr (Chidambaram) and the trustees of the temple had failed to bring about an amicable settlement in that temple. Viṭṭappar caused an enquiry to be made, and with the co-operation of the *Vīraśōḷa-aṇukkar* and the *kaikkōlars* he summoned a joint meeting of the *śrī-rudras*, *sri-māhēśvaras*, the *ishabhattaliyār* and the *devaraḍyār* in the *vyākaraṇadāna-maṇḍapa* of the Tiruvorriyūr temple. He then fixed upon a procedure in the matter of the order that was to be followed in the temple service. But even this official decision was of no avail. Three years later (in Śaka 1293) [A.D. 1371-2] the assembly composed of the same dignitaries met in the very same *maṇḍapa*, under orders from Kaṁpaṇa Oḍeyar himself, presided over, this time, by the king's officer Tuṇaiyirunda-nambi Koṅgarāyar. More representatives than those who had met before had now gathered, and these included the trustees (of the temple)

¹ *Infra*, Volume II, Ch. V, Social Legislation, Etiquette and Orthodoxy.

and the district representatives (*nāṭṭār*). The whole question of the right of procedure in the temples service was thoroughly threshed out, and settled¹ with a seriousness which does credit to the patience and skill of the judge in handling the significant details of the domestic economy of a temple. The great question however was finally disposed of only in the reign of Harihara Rāya II by the king's officer *Mudaliyār* Amarkōṇār, after summoning a similar conference.²

A case that recalls the mild treatment of the earlier days is given in an inscription dated Śaka 1366 (A.D. 1443-4) of the times of Dēva Rāya II. It refers to a *prāyaschitta* (expiatory ceremony) for a criminal offence. The epigraph records a gift of money, by the corporation (?) called *nakharadavaru* of Dharmapaṭṭana to the temple of Nakharēśvara-Mahādēva at the instance of several *setṭhikāras*, of Padavakēri, as an expiatory offering for their having murdered two men of that community, while Timmaṇa Oḍeyar was governing Bārakūru-rājya.³

The fact that legal proceedings were conducted in the presence of, and settled by, the officers of the Central Government is also corroborated by other inscriptions. A civil dispute between the villagers of Ālattūr and Attippaṟṟu, in Śaka 1328 (A.D. 1406-7), regarding the supply of water from the tank of Perunagar, Chingleput district, was settled in the presence of the *Mahāpradhāni* Araśar (Tippaśar?).⁴ An instance which disproves the theory that the monarchs were arbitrary in legal matters is supplied by a record dated Śaka 1467 (A.D. 1545-6) of the times of Sadāśiva Rāya. There was a dispute between two parties of the residents of Kondagai, in the Rāmnāḍ district; and their representatives, the *mahājanas* of the locality, placed the matter before the Emperor, who was encamping in Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam. Sadāśiva Rāya directed that the case was to be settled by an arbitration board of learned men in the presence of his own officer Sāḷuva Nāyaka. On their arriving at a satisfactory decision, remission of certain taxes was made to the village (temple?) of Tiruvēṅgaḍapuram.⁵ Evidently the board that

Ep. Report for 1913, p. 118.

196 of 1912.

404 of 1928; *Ep. Report* for 1928, p. 61.

357 of 1923.

2 of 1923.

was made up of learned men would only have been composed of Brahmans versed in the Sacred Law; and the legal fee which the plaintiff and defendants paid took the shape of remission of taxes to the local temple.¹

The presence of a royal officer in legal proceedings seems to have been a feature of this system. A legal dispute arose between the *karaṇams* and the *agrahārikas* of Avaḍūru, in the matter of an inconvenient situation of *inām*-lands. The question was equitably settled in Śaka 1508 (A.D. 1586-7) by Ānugoṇḍa Veṅgaḷappa, obviously an officer of the king, who classified the lands into good, bad and medium, and redistributed them.² This delicate question of redistribution of *inām*-lands or lands given as gifts, sometimes necessitated the intervention of the king himself. It is interesting to observe that we have in this connection the instance of the Emperor Achyuta Rāya about whose alleged injustice Nuniz waxes eloquent in his *Chronicle*. Achyuta Rāya personally investigated the following case. Whether he intended to inaugurate his reign which afterwards, if the solitary evidence of Nuniz deserves credence, proved unfortunately to be an era of unparalleled oppression, by an impartial attitude towards his people, cannot be determined. But it is certain that in the year *Virōdhi* on the day of *Kārtika-Bahula-Pañchami*, Śaka 145(2) (Thursday, 21st October, A.D. 1529) on the occasion of his coronation, according to a record dated Śaka 1454 (A.D. 1532), the Emperor directed Sāḷuva Nāyaka to assign villages equally, "neither more or less", to the temples of Varadarāja and Ekāmbaranātha. And when Sāḷuva Nāyaka gave more to the former and less to the latter, Achyuta Rāya personally went to Conjeeveram and effected an equal distribution of villages between the two temples by casting lots.³

These temple disputes seem to have attracted the attention of the Government, if we may say so, from the admirable manner in which royal officers decided the issues.

¹ We admit that the quarrel may have been over some land which the temple claimed to possess. The presence of the royal officer is however to be noted. B.A.S.

² C.P. No. 11 of 1912-13; *Ep. Report* for 1913, p. 9. We have, of course in earlier period cases of Crown Officers assisting local authorities or sharing in their sessions.

³ 544 of 1919; *Ep. Report* for 1920, p. 114. See also 547 and 548 of 1919.

An inscription dated only in the cyclic year *Raktākshi*, *Kārttigai*, 27th day, but assigned to the times of Virūpāksha II, son of Harihara II, gives us the details of the settlement of the question of the right (*kāni*) of worship in the Āragalūr temple, Salem district. The judgment was given by Tirumalli Nāyaka, who was evidently an officer placed over the district or deputed for the purpose. The dispute was between the *sthānikas* or temple managers themselves of the Kāmēśvara temple at Āragalūr. The judgment of Tirumalli Nāyaka contains, among other things, the following: "(1) *A* has been enjoying for a long time the privilege of worshipping all the thirty days of the month in the temple, while actually only fifteen days belong to him by right, and fifteen days belong to another person named *B*; (2) the privilege of *B* thus enjoyed by *A* without proper authority, requires settlement; (3) in support of the latter part of the statement made in (1), there are records in the temple to prove that fifteen days of *B* (now abandoned by him and enjoyed by *A*) have under orders been counted as 'unclaimed' (*iṇṇaṅgal*); (4) of this privilege of fifteen days so declared unclaimed, you have sold (on your own responsibility) seven and a half days to a third person *C* and given him a sale-deed; (5) by so doing you have deprived the acquired right of *A* enjoyed by him for the last eight or ten generations; (6) at this stage, the *nāṭṭār* (i.e., the representatives of the *nāḍu*) appeared to have volunteered to settle the question of enjoyment—*A* being found issueless(?)—and to have called the parties to present themselves before them together with *A*; (7) you,—the managers—were also required (under my orders) to be present on the occasion, to hear the case, and to carry out the decision arrived at by the *nāṭṭār* and to have, in the meantime, during this period of hearing (by the *nāṭṭār*), the worship of the temple performed by outsiders, on payment; (8) *A* having then appealed to me while I happened to be present at Āragalūr, to hear the case personally and give a just decision, I and the *nāṭṭār* together advised the parties to put their case before the *mahājanas* and issued an order to this effect; (9) in obedience to our order the *mahājanas* of the *agrahāra* of Kuḷattūr, Ālambalam, Saḍaiyanpaṭṭu and Maṭṭiyākuṇichchi met together, heard both sides and decided that although *A* may have been the hereditary holder of only fifteen days of the privilege, it was not fair to sell a part of the disputed portion there to an outsider like *C*

while the right to purchase (in virtue of long enjoyment) primarily rested in *A*; (10) accordingly, therefore, to this decision of the *mahājanas* we order that *A* must continue to enjoy the full thirty days as before and that the sale-deed you have given to *C* should be cancelled".¹

This decision of a provincial officer conclusively shows that the State not only controlled the regulation of worship in a temple but also decided justly the minutest points of privileges with the co-operation of the representatives of the district, in a manner which we have now become accustomed to associate with the working of a modern court of justice. The above instance is by no means a solitary example of the care which the State bestowed on bringing civil disputes to a successful issue. As we have related elsewhere, in about A.D. 1500, Yallappa Oḍeyar was the governor over the Āraga-rājya. He granted the Kuppaṭūr-Bhāraṅgi-sīme to the junior queen Bommarasi-ammā of the female apartments for her portion. And his minister Mallarasayya was ordered to assume the management of the province. This officer seems to have found certain discrepancies in the management of the lands belonging obviously to the junior queen, for he is said to have set on foot a detailed enquiry and to have inflicted a singular penalty on the local temple. For, as the inscription relates, "in the course of his enquiries from village to village (*grāmavan (n)ū-grāmagalan(n)ū-pokku*), coming to Benṇageṛe, he stopped the daily allowance at the Nārāyaṇa temple, (Sohrab tāluka), and having had proper *prōkshaṇe* (or purification) performed for the god, granted a *sāsana* regulating the worship and ceremonies".²

We have already mentioned the great care which Billappa Nāyaka and Keṅgappa Nāyaka, the sons of Hanumi Nāyaka, bestowed on the question of granting a *dharma-sāsana* to Liṅgaṇṇa, younger brother of Appā Bhaṭṭa, a Brahman, in A.D. 1565.³ The settlement of the temple disputes in Tiruvorriyū in A.D. 1368, in A.D. 1371, and, finally, in the reign of Harihara Rāya II; the case which Achyuta Rāya decided in connection

¹ 413 of 1913. *Ep. Report* for 1914, pp. 96-7. 430 of 1913 dated Saka 1306 (A.D. 1384-5) gives the clue to the age to which 413 of 1913 could be assigned. B.A.S.

² *E.C.*, VIII, Sb. 323, p. 55; P. II, p. 148.

³ *Supra*, Ch. VI, Administration (*continued*), p. 339.

with the equitable distribution of lands between the Varadarāja and Ēkāmbaranātha temples; the laudable manner in which Tirumalli Nāyaka ended the dispute as regards the rights of one of the priests of Kāmēśvara temple; and the opinion which Billappa Nāyaka and Keṅgappa Nāyaka received from the old residents of the Sainte-Bennur-sime, —all these prove that the Vijayanagara monarchs did not mete out a rough-and-ready justice, as has been asserted in some quarters; but that, on the contrary, they solved knotty points of etiquette and privilege, left untouched or decided unfavourably by their own officials; and that they allowed their subjects the right of appeal, even though it was against the decision of powerful temple authorities, and, sometimes, of the officers of the Crown. To a certain extent their judicial procedure is not incompatible with the following regulation of Sukrāchārya: “The king must personally inspect every year the *grāmas*, *purās*, or cities, and *dēśas* or districts, and provinces, and must know which subjects have been pleased and which oppressed by the staff of officers, and deliberate upon matters brought forward by the people”.¹ Neither the compilers of the *Sukranīti* nor the monarchs of Vijayanagara were unaware of the oppression which the officials of the State caused to the people.

SECTION 4. *Oppression*

In studying this aspect of their institutions, we come across interesting features of their political life. That there was oppression in Vijayanagara times there cannot be any doubt. No less a personage than Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya the Great himself admits the hardships which the people suffered under tyrannical officers of Government. That monarch writes thus: “That king is never prosperous even though he conquers all the seven *Dwīpas*, who has an officer who does not call back the subjects when they leave the State on account of suffering, who would sell away their cattle and stores of corn and would consider their houses as fit for fuel and who thus resemble the jackal in

¹ *Sukranīti*, I, ll. 751-2, p. 51. For an interesting inscription dealing with the settlement of a civil dispute in connection with the office of a *tānnbhōga* and the award of a *jayarēkhe-patrike* in A.D. 1664 see *My. Arch. Report* for 1918, p. 54. For the decision of the Agent of Nāgama Nāyaka in a dispute between two factions in Tittagudi, S. Arcot, see 6 of 1903.

the battlefield''.¹ The suffering to which Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya refers here may have been caused by natural calamities like floods or famine; but it may equally well have been the result of the rapacity of the servants of the Government. In all likelihood it was the latter, since both on the evidence of inscriptions and of the writings of foreign travellers, some officials, and a few monarchs as well, practised a policy of unvarnished extortion.

A dam had been breached in A.D. 1424, and the king's minister solved the question by bringing official pressure to bear on Chāma-nṛipāla, the commander of the forces, in the manner related in the following inscription: "The messengers of Nāgaṇṇa Daṇṇāyaka the Mahā-pradhāna of śrī-Vīra pratāpa Dēva Rāya Mahārāya, having brought intelligence that the Hari-drā dam had been breached, on enquiring who would undertake the meritorious work of restoring it, looking upon Chāma-nṛipāla, the commander-in-chief of all the forces of the auspicious great king of kings (Dēva Rāya II) (the descent of Nāgaṇṇa Daṇṇāyaka stated)—(he said): 'The dam which by order of Dēva Rāya Mahārāya I built to the river Haridrā having breached, to restore by the assistance of merit the provision for the service and decorations of the god Harihara and the property acquired by the Brahman residents in that *kshētra*, except you there is no one else. That the fruit of the merit of building this dam will according to the Veda and the *dharma sāstra* be beyond calculation you are well aware. You therefore must repair his work of merit.' Hearing this order, and with submission undertaking the work, in the Śaka year 1346, (details of the date specified), Chāma-nṛipāla, with his own hands pouring water on behalf of the god Harihara and the Brahmans, and committing the work with pouring of water into the hands of Bukkarasa, sent him saying, 'Do you in my behalf build the dam and excavate the channel', and had it repaired''.² The prospect of holding out the "fruit of merit" "beyond calculation" which was placed before Chāma-nṛipāla was only an apology to cover the real nature of the behest which Nāgaṇṇa Daṇṇāyaka, evidently with

¹ *Āmuktamālyada*, v. 237; *J.I.H.* IV, p. 60.

² Rice, *My. Ins.* Intr. pp. lxxxii, 40; *E.C.*, XI, Dg. 29, pp. 38-9. The history of the dam is also given in *ibid.*, Dg. 23, pp. 31-2.

the object of pleasing the monarch, conveyed to the great commander.

An example of people migrating on account of the tyranny of the officials is given in an inscription from Kīlūr, South Arcot district, dated Śaka 1368 (A.D. 1446-7): "In this kingdom the ministers had been taking presents (by force) from all ryots belonging to both the right-hand and left-hand classes at the commencement of each reign. In consequence of this all the ryots were harassed and ran away to foreign countries. Worship and festivals ceased in the temples; the country became full of disease; all people (that remained) either died or suffered".¹

Firishtah narrates a long story of a learned but villainous Brahman who induced the "Ray of Beejanuggur" (evidently Dēva Rāya I) to abduct a beautiful damsel named Nehal of the town of Mudkul, of the consequent estrangement with the Muhammadans, and the complete humiliation of the Hindu ruler at the hands of Firūz Shāh.²

The strange ending of an inscription of A.D. 1356 makes one suspect that the kings sometimes really oppressed the people. This is as follows: "Be it the thief or plunderer prowling by night or day, be it the honourable *mahā-maṇḍalēśvara*, the emperor who rules the world or the king of kings, who thinks to himself, I will seize the villages, lands or grants bestowed in this village—at the mere word, thrust him, with his father and mother and all into the hell filled with worms, for seventy-seven crores of years, and continue to visit him with all manner of torments, do you see, O Sin?"³

Another inscription which suggests that even the property of Brahmans was sometimes seized by kings and their relatives, is dated A.D. 1530. It ends thus: "Whoso seizes the property of Brahmans of substance, that are bountiful and have families,—whether they be kings or of the king's family, roast in Kumbhipāka without intermission as long as the tears from their eyes moisten the dust".⁴ Whether these strange tirades were directed against actual cases of royal and official tyranny

¹ 23 of 1905; *Ep. Report* for 1905, p. 50; Rangachari, *Top. List.* I. S.A. 728, p. 212; A.S.R. for 1907-8, pp. 246-7.

² Firishtah, Briggs, *The Rise*, II, p. 380, *seq.* See *infra*, Volume II, Chapter III, pp. 132-3.

³ E.C., XI, Cd. 3, p. 2.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Dg. 28, p. 38.

or whether they were merely inscribed as a guarantee against possible mischief at the hands of people cannot be determined with any certainty for the present.¹

Official malevolence is also seen in the fate which befell the unfortunate Persian Ambassador at the court of Dēva Rāya II, due to the mischievous machinations of the Hormuzians. 'Abdur Razzāq was reduced to a state of misery and uncertainty because of the daily decreasing rations sanctioned by the State.²

Nuniz relates that Achyuta Rāya robbed the nobles, especially one called "Crisnaranarque" (Kṛishṇa Nāyaka?), and that he recovered the indemnity which he had to pay 'Ali 'Adīl Shāh by extracting payments from his captains and people. "Which King Chytarao, after he ascended the throne, gave himself over to vice and tyranny. He is a man of very little honesty, and on account of this the people and the captains are much discontented with his evil life and inclinations; for he has never done anything except those things that are desired by his two brothers-in-law,³ who are men very evilly disposed and great Jews. By reason of this the Ydallcão ('Adīl Shāh), learning of how little weight he was, determined to make war on him, believing that he would easily succeed since the king was not inclined to war; so he made his forces ready, and began to invade the King's territory, and arrived within a league of the city of Bisnaga. . . . but the King (Achyuta Rāya) was terrified, and by the advice of his brothers-in-law (of which they gave not a little) decided to send and make peace with the Ydallcão. The Ydallcão was very glad and made a peace with him which was to last for a hundred years, on condition that the King should give him ten *lakhs* of gold *pardaos*, each *lakh* being 100,000 *pardaos*, and further should yield up to him the city of Rachol which the King Crisnarao had taken from him, and which had a revenue with its lands of 150,000 *pardaos* as well as jewels, which could easily be valued at a *lakh*. The King accepted these terms, and the Ydallcão departed well pleased with this money; and after all was done the King sent to him a diamond stone weighing 130 *mangellinis* (= 162 carats), with fifteen other similar ones worth fully a *lakh*. This money

¹ For another instance, see Rice, *My. Ins.* p. 229.

² Elliot, *Hist. of India*, IV, p. 122.

³ Read Sewell's note on this. *For. Emp.*, p. 367, n. (5).

he soon afterwards recovered and put in his treasury, exacting payments from his captains and people so ruthlessly that they say that in six months he had recovered and put the whole in his treasury.

"Wherefore the captains and troops, both because he made this peace and because he exacted the sum of money contrary to the wishes of them all, have lived greatly discontented, and have held that if this kingdom should ever be brought to destruction, it must take place in the lifetime of King Chitaro (Achyuta Rāya). . . ."¹

Even in the trifling matter of supplying leaves, there seems to have been oppression in some quarters. For, as we shall narrate later on, about the Saka year 1445 (A.D. 1523-4), there seems to have been a custom of supplying leaves, upon which they took their meals, to the *circar* people.²

Sometimes the Government servants committed great havoc by their brutalities. The *thāṇḍār* Dilāvar Oḍeyar, who was evidently a Muhammadan servant of the Government, in charge of the Dummi-sīme, destroyed "the children of the farmers, subjects, chiefs in the kingdom" and cut off the head of Gauḍayyar of Chikka Gaṅgūr, and of the officials sent against him. This occurred in A.D. 1562.³

The oppression by Tirumala Rāya, soon after the battle of Rākshasa-Taṅgaḍi, in A.D. 1567, when he tried to repopulate the terror-stricken city, has already been narrated on the evidence of Caesar Frederick.⁴

In a letter dated 30th of August 1611, Antoine Vico gives to us a gruesome account of the manner in which the poor people were made to pay for the negligence of the feudatories. "In that case, (the king of) Bisnagar, comes or sends one of his generals, at the head of hundred thousand men, to make them pay all the arrears with interest. On these occasions, which are frequent, it is again the poor people who pay for the fault of their princess; all the country is devastated, and the people are plundered or massacred . . ."⁵

John Nieuhof in A.D. 1622 relates the following about the Nāyaka of Madura: "The Nāyak to secure himself of

¹ Sewell, *For. Emp.*, pp. 367, 368, n. (1), 369.

² Rangachari, *Top. List.* I, Ap. 189, p. 28. See *infra*, Volume II, Chapter VII.

³ E.C. VII, Ci. 69, p. 191.

⁴ Caesar Frederick, *Purchase, Pilgrims*, X, p. 94.

⁵ Satyanatha, *Nayaks*, p. 293.

the Fidelity of his Governours, detains always their Wives and Children in a certain Castle call'd *Zwela Baddy*, about seven Leagues from *Madure*, under the guard of 300 *Eunuchs*; neither are the Husbands permitted to see them without peculiar Licence from the *Nayak*, and are obliged to depart again in two or three days".¹

SECTION 5. *Remedies against Oppression*

Judged by the evidence of some of the foreign travellers, it is clear that there were cases of oppression and maladministration in the Vijayanagara Empire. But since none of the witnesses has given any explanation of the tyranny inflicted by the tributary chieftains, and by the officials of the Government, it is necessary to understand from equally reliable sources, both indigenous and foreign, whether monarchs, feudatories, and officials of Vijayanagara were really given to a continual life of rapine and plunder, and whether the rulers and the people made no attempt to suppress official high-handedness in the country. According to John Nieuhof the Nāyaka of Madura was no better than a voluptuous tyrant, who, in order to secure the fidelity of the governors, resorted to the meanest of devices by imprisoning their wives. In the opinion of Pimenta, the Nāyaka of Madura of the same age, was a thoroughly pious person given to the worship of the gods and Brahmins. Pimenta in A.D. 1599 thus relates: "Hee (Krishṇappa Nāyaka) daily sits in judgement, a Bramene standing by, which ever and anone whineth out the name of the Idoll Aranganassa; and when one is weary another succeedeth, and continueth that acclamation, though hee sits sixe houres".² Pimenta, who was "Visiter of the Jesuits in India", and whose account contains many descriptions of the pagan credulities of the Hindus, did not write this to justify the character and action of the Nāyaka of Madura. This account of Pimenta and that of Nieuhof enable us to understand that Madura could as well boast of a pious prince as she could be ashamed of a ruthless ruler.

There are other means besides these of judging the actions of the kings and chieftains of Vijayanagara. The

¹ Nieuhof, Churchill, *Voyages*, II, p. 297; Satyanatha, *Nayaks*, p. 331. For the treacherous dealings of the Governor of Masulipatam, read Floris (A.D. 1611), Purchas, *Pilgrims*, III, p. 321.

² Pimenta, Purchas, *ibid.*, X, p. 219; Heras, *Aravida*, p. 347.

thaṇādār Dilāvar Oḍeyar, whose brutalities in A.D. 1562 we have just described, was punished by the Government. Death was the penalty for a servant of the State who had illtreated the people. Against this insubordinate *thāṇādār*, two persons, Pilapa Nāyaka, a resident of a Saṅte-Bennūr-sime, and Gauḍayya of Chikka Gaṅgūr, were sent. On the latter suffering death in a cross-road at the hands of the turbulent *thāṇādār*, the Muhammadan Nāyaka, "Ayyana-Maluka" ('Ain-ul-Mulk Gilāni) sent his officer Chimmaṇa Oḍeyar against Dilāvar Oḍeyar. The culprit was caught, "tortured and put to death". The Muhammadan Nāyaka, "Ayyana-Maluka" granted the Dummi-sime as a gift to Pilla Nāyaka (i.e., Pilapa Nāyaka) of Saṅte-Bennūr, and to the children of Gauḍayya, who gave up his life for the sake of the State, he gave Chikka-Gaṅgūr itself as a *nettarugoḍage*.¹ This epigraph proves that even the Muhammadan officials of the Hindu Government took prompt action against the cruelties of its officers; and that sufficient provision was made for the children of those who died while in the service of the State.

In one case at least and perhaps in more, when an official of the Government as *pārūpatyagāṇa* over villages and *agrahāras* levied customs duties contrary to ancient usage, his successor immediately rectified the matter and declared that the people were entitled not to pay illegal claims. Kāmappa Nāyaka, the *pārūpatyagāṇa* over the *chhatras*, temples of the Dalavāyi-*agrahāras*, and rent-free villages, "levied from all" "customs duties which did not before exist", amounting altogether to 300 *gadyāṇa*. Peddirāja, son of Appāji of the Kāsyapa-gōtra, on receiving the aforesaid *agrahāras* and villages as a *māgaṇi* from Rāma-Bhaṭṭaya, remitted "the whole of these customs dues", together with the house dues of the Peruṅgūr-ayya for Hāru-vahallī Vogeya-samudra, "in order that merit may accrue to the king (Āchyuta Dēva Rāya) and to Rāma Bhaṭṭayya", "having summoned the cultivators and with pouring of water in the presence of the god Śrīraṅganātha in the middle of the Kāvērī". Not content with this, Peddirāja caused to be written in the same *dāna-patra* the following as a guarantee against future official oppression: "For the areca-nut of your rene-free lands neither customs nor collection are due. Besides the local transport tax of three *haṇa* to the

¹ E.C. VII, Ci. 69, p. 191, op. cit.

merchants who buy your areca-nut, why pay customs and collection? You have nothing to do with them, and may enjoy (your produce) free of all imposts".¹

Even in the reign of Achyuta Rāya, therefore, the royal officials could be humane and benevolent. It is not surprising that they should have been so, especially when we remember that that monarch himself had set a good example in his equitable division of the village between the *Ēkāmbaranātha* and *Varadarāja* temples. The general tendency among the officials of the Government may not have been towards continued oppression at all, since during the earlier period we have ample evidence of their having put an end to distasteful and harmful customs. This may explain why in Saka 1445 (A.D. 1523-4) *Vademalluna* evidently a (Muhammadan?) servant of Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya the Great, prohibited the custom of supplying leaves to the *circar* people, and cloaked his action in a religious garb by arranging for the *abhishēka* of the god . . . with the water of the Chiranadi river.²

We have recorded the migration of the ryots of a province in A.D. 1446-7, in the reign of Dēva Rāya II, on account of the extraction of forced payments by the ministers of the king. This deplorable state of affairs was put an end to by Dēva Rāya himself. The royal order was sent to the provincial officer Anṇappa Oḍeyar, who engraved it in some places and not in others. A petition was consequently sent to Nāgarasa, evidently the viceroy of the province, who extended the order of the king to the whole country.³

'Abdur Razzāq also suffered from the misrepresentations of the Hormuzians as well as from the petty-mindedness of the officials. He relates to us how his grievances were redressed: "The king had appointed as a temporary substitute of the Brahman *Danāik* a person named Hambah Nurir, who considered himself equal to the *Wazīr*. He was diminutive in stature, malignant, low-born, vile, savage, and reprobate. All the most odious qualities were united in him, and he had not a single estimable trait in his composition. When the seat of the administration was polluted

¹ E.C. III, Sr. 6, pp. 7-8.

² Rangachari, *Top. List.*, I., Ap. 189, p. 28, op. cit.

³ 23 of 1905, *Ep. Report* for 1905, p. 50, op. cit. The inscription was found in Kīlur near Tirukoilūr in the South Arcot district.

by that wretch, he stopped my daily allowance without any cause. The Hormuzians having found an opportunity of showing their malice, displayed the devilry which forms the leaven of their disposition; and conformity of vice having ingratiated them with Hambah Nurir they declared that I was not accredited by His Majesty the Khāhan-i-Sa'id, but that I was a mere merchant, who had carried in my hand the diploma of His Majesty. They spread several other lies in the hearing of the infidels, which produced such an impression upon them, that for some time, in the middle of this unholy country, I was reduced to a state of misery and uncertainty. But while labouring under this anxiety, I met the king several times on the road, who treated me with great consideration, and asked how I was going on. In very truth, he possessed excellent qualities.

"The *Danāik*, after ravaging the territory of Kulbarga, and bringing some wretched people away with him as captives, returned to Bijānagar. He reproached Hambah Nurir for having stopped my daily rations, and gave me an assignment for 7,000 *janams* on the mint the very day of his arrival".¹

In the final reply which Dēva Rāya gave him, we have a sort of public apology for the scanty treatment that was meted out to the ambassador of a great king. 'Abdur Razzāq says: "On the day of my audience of leave, the monarch said to this poor individual, 'They have represented that you are not really the envoy of His Majesty Mirzā Shāh Rūkh; otherwise we would have paid you greater respect. If you should come again into this country, and I should ascertain that you are really sent on a mission by His Majesty, I will pay you such attention as becomes the dignity of my empire'."²

Official oppression was sometimes successfully combated by the united opposition of corporate bodies. These were the organizations of communal groups of the Right Hand and Left Hand Sections which protected their individual interest against public or private aggression. An effaced inscription dated Śaka 1351 (A.D. 1429-30) from Vṛiddhā-chalam in the South Arcot district, relates that the members of the Vaḷaṅgai and Iḍaṅgai sects met together in the courtyard of the temple of Tīrumudukunṇamuḍaiya-Nāyinār at

¹ Elliot, *Hist. of India*, IV, p. 122.

² *Ibid.*, p. 123.

that village, and decided that, since the officers of the king (*rājānyas*) and the owners of *jīvitas* "had oppressed . . . and the *kaniyalan* and the Brahmans had taken the *rāju-karam* (i.e., taxes), none of the Vaṅṅai and Iḍaṅṅai people should give them shelter and that (none of the people of the two sects) born in the country should write accounts for them or to agree to their proposals. If any one proved a traitor to the country (by acting against this settlement), he should be stabbed"¹

Another inscription dated only in the cyclic year *Sau-mya*, *Kārttigai*, 15, but also of the times of Dēva Rāya II, found in Korukkai, in the Tanjore district, says that the ninety-eight subdivisions of the Vaṅṅai and the ninety-eight subdivisions of the Iḍaṅṅai classes joined together and evidently decided that "because they did not tax us according to the yield on the crop but levied the taxes unjustly. . . . we are about to run away. Then we realized that because we of the whole country (*maṇḍalam*) were not united in a body, we were unjustly (dealt with). . . . Hereafter we shall but pay what is just and in accordance with the yield of the crops and we shall not pay anything levied unlawfully".²

The instances which we have given above, while they give us a comprehensive view of the measures adopted by the monarchs and people of Vijayanagara to suppress official tyranny, do not enable us to understand the nature of punishment which the rulers inflicted on those who violated what was thought to be established law. As we have already remarked, *daṇḍa* alone, according to the opinion of the Hindu lawgivers, is responsible for the maintenance of order and peace in the society. We have now to acquaint ourselves with such of the details which we can gather about punishment under Vijayanagara.

That the mediaeval rulers were aware of the old notions about punishment is apparent from the inscription dated A.D. 1545 already cited, which following the "former rate" ends with the order that "there is no *annyāya* (injustice), *daṇḍa* and *kandāya* (rent) for the citizens of the Āraga-

¹ 92 of 1918; 216 of 1917; *Ep. Report* for 1918, p. 163. See also Majumdar, *Corp. Life*, p. 94.

² 216 of 1917; *Ep. Report* for 1918, pp. 163-4; see also Majumdar, *ibid.*

rājya".¹ The word *daṇḍa* used in this epigraph, in all likelihood, did not refer to mere *fine*: the Vijayanagara monarchs, as we shall presently narrate, used a distinct term for the latter.

Daṇḍa or punishment under Vijayanagara was generally of three kinds: fines, ordeals and death. The first of these, as given in an inscription of about A.D. 1370, is mentioned in connection with faults, annoyance, thefts, adultery and injustices, as prevalent in the Hadināḍ country (*tappu, tasadi, kalavu, hādara, annyāya*).²

Punishments by ordeal were common in India from the earliest times. The classical canonists have laid down minute regulations about ordeals.³ When we come to the seventh century A.D. we find that, as Yuan Chwang relates, there were four kinds of ordeals in the country. "These are by water, by fire, by weighing and by poison. In the water ordeal the accused is put in one sack and a stone in the other, then the two sacks are connected and thrown into a deep stream; if the sack containing the stone floats, and the other sinks, the man's guilt is proven. The fire ordeal requires the accused to kneel and tread on hot iron, to take it in his hand and lick it; if he is innocent he is not hurt, but he is burnt if he is guilty. In the weighing ordeal the accused is weighed against a stone; and if the latter is the lighter the charge is false, if otherwise it is true. The poison ordeal requires that the right hind leg of a ram be cut off, and according to the portion assigned to the accused to eat, poisons are put into the leg, and if the man is innocent he survives, and if not the poison takes effect".⁴

Sukrāchārya makes provisions for various kinds of ordeals, while describing what he terms the *divya* method of trial. "In the matter of decision of cases by the *divya*, fire, poison, vessel, water, virtue and vice, rice and oath—these are prescribed by the sages". He describes the fire ordeal thus: "The (accused) has to walk nine steps with a hot ball of iron in the hand or has to walk seven steps on hot charcoal, or has to take out a quantity of iron

¹ E.C. VIII, Tl. 15, p. 166, op. cit. Rice translates *daṇḍa* into *fine*.

² E.C. IV, Ch. 97, p. 13, text p. 37, op. cit.

³ *Manu*, VIII, 114-16, p. 374; *Āpastamba*, II, 11, 29, 6; p. 170; *Nārada*, I., 19-26, pp. 100-120; *Bṛihaspati*, X, pp. 315-9.

⁴ Watters, Yuan Chwang, I, p. 172.

placed in hot oil by the hand, or has to lick by the tongue a very hot iron plate".¹

The fire ordeal in the Pāṇḍya times was more after the model which is mentioned in the *Institutes* of Bṛihaspati.² A meeting of the inhabitants of the districts, cities and villages in Kōṇāḍu, according to an inscription found in Kuḍumiyāmalai in the Pudukkōṭṭai State, and dated only in the second regnal year of a Tribhuvana Chakravartin Vira Pāṇḍya Dēva, was convened to consider a case of misappropriation by certain Brahmans. The *pūjāris* of the temple of Tirunalakkuṇṇamuḍaiya-Nāyīnār had misappropriated the cash and jewels of the temple. One of them, however, confessed having taken a portion of the lost cash and of having shared it with a carpenter. The others denied altogether but were evidently implicated by the evidence of their accomplice. The lying pujaris were ordered to be taken to the law-court (*dharmāsana*), where they were required to handle a (red-hot) ploughshare. On all of them burning their hands, they confessed their guilt. The inscription records that they were all ordered to be dealt with as sinners against the god Śiva (*Śiva-drōhin*).³

We may, however, continue to deal with the question of ordeal by fire. To this category belongs the interesting case of Kannayya who held a red-hot substance in the presence of Hoysalēśvara in Dōrasamudra in about A.D. 1275.⁴

The fire ordeal in Vijayanagara took the form of dipping hands in burning ghee. A communal dispute broke out in about A.D. 1580 between the barbers and washermen on one side and the potters on the other. The point at issue was whether the potters, at the time of marriage,

¹ *Sukraniti*, IV., v, ll. 470-1, 474-7, p. 204. The occasion when fire ordeal can be used is given on p. 205.

² This was also known in Upanishad times.

³ *Ep. Report* for 1907, p. 70. Cf. Bṛihaspati, *Institutes*, X, 5, 11, 28. pp. 315-6, 318; *Chhāndogya Upanishad*, VII, 1-3, pp. 108-9.

⁴ *E.C.* III, Md. 79, p. 47. Rice translates the passage thus: "holding? consecrated food", and adds a note: "a form of ordeal" *ibid.*, n. (2). The text runs thus: *ā-Kannayanu dyiva hididu*. Text p. 153. (*Ā-Kannayanu dīyava-hidīu*, Romanized version, p. 102). Since the whole proceeding seems to have taken place in the presence of Vira Narasimha at Dōrasamudra, it may be that Hoysala referred to here is the king himself. The passage would refer then to some burning substance. But it is quite possible that the interpretation given by Rice is more correct, and that we have to take consecrated food here. B.A.S.

were entitled to pare the toe-nails and tie on the upper-cloth. The barbers and washermen denied them this privilege; and the chiefs of the potters (*kumbhāra-ṣeṭṭigaḷu*) placed the matter before the Government. The chiefs of the potters insisted on their rights and dipping their hands in (boiling) ghee, in the presence of the god *Dīvyā-Lingēśvara* in *Haradanahalli*, won the case. *Rāma Rāja Nāyaka* then issued the following charter (*sāsana*) to the headmen of the potters (*kumbhāra-svāmi*): "For the potters the toe-nails may be pared and the upper cloth may be tied on—thus it is ordered".¹ The State, therefore, sometimes decided social questions by the ordeal of ghee.²

Fines and punishment by trampling under foot were imposed on those who refused to pay tribute or those who had killed their sons, in the twelfth century, in the *Kadamba-maṇḍala*. *Sittaraṭevale Bārasinda* refused to pay tribute in about A.D. 1139. And so they "trampled on his shoulders and he went to *svarga* (*avara hegala metṭi svargakke sanda*)."³

Capital punishment, especially when directed against persons who had committed treason, took a hideous shape in *Vijayanagara*. It ranged from confiscation of property to death under the feet of elephants. *Nuniz* enumerates the different punishments given by the Government". "The punishments that they inflict in this kingdom are these: for a thief, whatever theft he commits, howsoever little it be, they forthwith cut off a foot and a hand, and if his theft be a great one he is hanged with a hook under his chin. If a man outrages a respectable woman or a virgin he has the same punishment, and if he does any other such violence his punishment is of a like kind. Nobles who become traitors are sent to be impaled alive on a wooden stake thrust through the belly, and people of the lower orders, for whatever crime they commit, he forthwith commands to cut off their heads in the marketplace, and the same for a murder unless the death was the result of a duel. For great honour is done to those

¹ *E.C.*, IV., Y1. 2, p. 27, text, p. 72.

² For later accounts see *My. Arch. Report* for 1918, p. 54, op. cit.; *A.S.R.* for 1924-5, p. 121; *Nelson, Mad. Count*, I, p. 83; *Abbé Dubois Hindu Manners*, II, p. 661, App. VI, p. 717, (1897 ed).

³ *E.C.*, VIII, Sb. 73, p. 12. *Rice* suggests the following: 'Perhaps he was trampled by an elephant, being buried up to the neck in the ground'. *Ibid.*, n. (1).

who fight in a duel, and they give the estate of the dead man to the survivor; but no one fights a duel without first asking leave of the minister, who forthwith grants it. These are the common kinds of punishments, but they have others more fanciful; for when the King so desires, he commands a man to be thrown to the elephants, and they tear him in pieces. The people are so subject to him that if you told a man on the part of the King that he must stand still in a street holding a stone on his back all day till you released him, he would do it".¹

What happened to those who plotted against the life of Dēva Rāya II is told by 'Abdur Razzāq thus: "All these who had been concerned in that plot, were either flayed alive, or burnt to death, or destroyed in some other fashion, and their families were altogether exterminated. The person who had brought the invitation was also put to death".² The Vijayanagara rulers evidently carried to its worst limits the injunction of Kautilya, who says that "the king in the interests of righteousness may inflict punishment in secret on those courtiers or confederacy of chiefs who are dangerous to the safety of the kingdom and who cannot be put down in open daylight".³ According to the same authority, "any person who aims at the kingdom, who forces entrance into the king's harem, who instigates wild tribes or enemies (against the king) or who creates disaffection in forts, country parts, or in the army, shall be burnt alive from hand to foot".⁴

That Nuniz is accurate in his statement concerning the punishment given to culprits under the feet of elephants, is evident from the remarks of 'Abdur Razzāq, who writes thus: "Sometimes they order criminals to be cast down before the feet of an elephant, that they may be killed by its knees, trunk, and tusks".⁵ The sculptures in the ruins of the capital amply prove the assertions of these two foreign witnesses. In decreeing this inhuman penalty on persons who had committed grave offences, the rulers of Vijayanagara seem to have exchanged the precepts of the ancient and mediaeval canonists for the methods of the Muhammadan monarchs. Punishment under an elephant does not

¹ Sewell, *For. Emp.*, pp. 383-4.

² Elliot, *Hist. of India*, IV., p. 116.

³ *Arthasāstra*, Bk. V, Ch. V., 238, p. 287.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Bk. IV, Ch. XI, 229, p. 277.

⁵ Elliot, *ibid.*, p. 111.



Bas-reliefs illustrating punishment under Elephants

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figure among the different kinds of *daṇḍa* mentioned by Kauṭilya and Sukra.¹ Instead of promulgating such kind of punishment, Kauṭilya seems rather to commend death under an elephant as a happy end. "A man who is hurt to death by an elephant under provocation (caused by himself) shall supply not only a kumbha of liquor (less by a droṇa), garlands, and scents, but also as much cloth as is necessary to wash the tusks; for death caused by an elephant is as meritorious as the sacred bath taken at the end of a horse sacrifice".²

Execution by means of elephants seems to have been common in some of the Muhammadan courts. Thus in Bijapur in A.D. 1557 "Ibrahim Adil Shah, soon after the restoration of his affairs, having long abandoned himself to hard drinking, and to promiscuous intercourse with women of bad character, was afflicted with a complication of disorders. During his illness, he put to death several physicians who failed in curing him, beheading some, and causing others to be trodden to death by elephants, so that all the surviving medical practitioners, becoming alarmed, fled from his dominions".³

In Schorer's *Relation of the Trade of the Coromandel Coast*, we have the following account of the method in which justice was administered at Masulipatam. "Justice is administered mainly by the Governors. The crime most commonly punished is theft. Apart from this, the Governors cause great trouble to their subjects in order to get money from them by fair means or foul. The reason is that they have to pay the rent of their farm annually to the King; and should they default in this, they are ordered to come to the King, who has them thrown before the elephants . . .".⁴

The Portuguese travellers and writers affirm that this was the penalty which Rāma Rāja gave to the Portuguese *fidalgo* who had given false information, in A.D. 1558, or thereabouts, to the Regent about the wealth of St. Thome.⁵

¹ *Arthaśāstra*, Bk. IV, Chs. IX-XIII, pp. 267-86: *Sukraniti*, IV, i, ll. 89-91, p. 130.

² *Arthaśāstra*, *ibid.*, Ch. XIII, 234, p. 283.

³ *Firishtah*, Briggs, *The Rise*, III, pp. 111-12. But this method of punishment seems really to have originated in the south. B.A.S.

⁴ Metthwold, *Relations of Golconda*, p. 57.

⁵ Faria y Sousa, *Asia. Port.*, II, pp. 226-30, for an account of Mylapore and St. Thomas. Heras, *Aravidu*, p. 69. For earlier and later accounts of executions by elephant, see *Ibn Batūta*, pp. 145, 147, (n); (Lee); Foster. *Early Travels*, p. 109.

The terror which these penalties caused among the people must have been as much responsible for their orderly behaviour as the fear of suffering the consequences of a curse or of excommunication from the caste. The numerous inscriptions which have been preserved in good condition are in themselves sufficient to prove that curses must have exercised a powerful influence over the minds of the people. Some of the curses, like those mentioned above, protected the grants and endowments,—which for the sake of permanence and advertisement, according to the usage of the times, were engraved on stone,—from wilful damage at the hands of the citizens. That the people did tamper with these documents is apparent from an inscription dated Saka 1466 (A.D. 1544-5) which records the renewal of a grant of a village, originally made by Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya, by Aḷiya Liṅga Rāya, because in the reign of Achyuta Rāya the village had been resumed “through the mischief of mean-minded men”.¹

SECTION 6. *Justice and Equity*

“... no law is possible in the country where these pagodas are, save only the law of the Brahmans, which is that of the priests; and so the people suffer”.² Thus wrote Nuniz condemning the system of administering justice under Vijayanagara. Were it not for the fact that the Hindu monarchs of Vijayanagara have left behind them evidence which enables us to judge their theory and practice of *danḍa*, and that foreign travellers of the same age definitely contradict this superficial observation of Nuniz, we should have been inclined to agree with his view and to pass an unfavourable verdict on the administration of justice in the great Hindu Empire. Nuniz would have us believe that the law which prevailed in the country was “the law of the Brahmans which is that of the priests”. If this were really so, then, the kings of Vijayanagara must have been, at least to some extent, subservient to the “law of the Brahmans”. On the evidence of ‘Abdur Razzāq we may dispense with the notion that the kings of Vijayanagara were subject to the law of the Brahmans. This shrewd Persian ambassador remarks thus: “In the

¹ 62 of 1904.

² Sewell, *For. Emp.*, pp. 304-5.

whole of Hindustān there is no *rāi* more absolute than himself under which denomination the kings of that country are known".¹ According to 'Abdur Razzāq the Vijayanagara monarchs were typical autocrats; according to Nuniz, the Brahmans were the lawgivers. In a certain sense it is true, we admit, that "it is impossible to suppose that at any time any Hindu king in S. India ever promulgated laws, as is done now-a-days, for instance, by the King of Travancore; the king always consulted the Brahmans who told him what to do".²

But the source of law, it may reasonably be assumed, is to be traced, not to the Brahmans, but to the body of regulations which emanated from the classical lawgivers, strengthened by constitutional usage, which, as related elsewhere, received in Vijayanagara the status of law. In the interpretation of the *dharma-sāstras* the Hindu kings sought the counsel of the Brahmans; in the preservation of the latter they resorted to the joint-advice of the local people. The rulers of Vijayanagara were no doubt absolute; but they were not unaware of the fact that good government—which the people interpreted as *dharmada pārupatya*—could be conducted when among other conditions, the constitutional usage—which they called *pūrvada maryāde*—was respected by the rulers. Of their sincere desire to maintain the *pūrvada maryāde* of the land we have cited many instances in the previous pages. This important side of the question cannot be found in the accounts of foreigners, who were struck by the influence which the Brahmans commanded at the court of Vijayanagara. We have also cited instances which prove that oppression was rife during certain periods of Vijayanagara history. And we have likewise shown that the rulers were not slow to take prompt action against greedy officials who were harassing their subjects.

To the evidence of those records which show the impartial attitude of the rulers towards the people, we may add that of Duarte Barbosa and Varthema, both of whom in clear terms contradict the statement of Nuniz. While describing the busy commercial life in the capital, Duarte Barbosa says: "There is great traffic and an endless number of merchants and

¹ Elliot, *Hist. of India*, IV, p. 105; Major, *India*, p. 23.

² Burnell, *Vyavahāranirṇaya*, Intr., VI.

wealthy men, as well among the natives of the city who abide therein as among those who come thither from outside, to whom the King allows such freedom that every man may come and go and live according to his own creed, without suffering any annoyance and without enquiry whether he is a Christian, 'Jew', Moor or Heathen. Great equity and justice is observed to all, not only by the rulers, but by the people one to another".¹ Varthema substantiates the above statement of Barbosa in the following sentence: "In this kingdom you can go everywhere in safety".²

If the land was governed by the "laws of the Brahmans", and if, therefore, the people suffered, we should not have had numerous records which mention voluntary contributions made in the name of the monarchs, and for their *dharma*, as we shall narrate in the chapter on public service and patriotism³; and the rulers would not have left behind them evidence of their moderation which was a feature of their administration. Eleyūr Viś(v)anātha Seṭṭi's sons Nāgi Seṭṭi and Kāmi Seṭṭi incurred the displeasure of the monarch Harihara Rāya II. The copper-plate grant dated A.D. 1379, which gives us this information, also tells us that the ruler called the ministers, *seṭṭis*, *heggaḍes*, *gauḍas*, attendants, the *sālu-mūles*, the elders, the *nāyakas*, and customs officials, and evidently after making the matter known to them, gave the following order: "Eleyūr Viśvanātha Seṭṭi's son Nāgi Seṭṭi and Kāmi Seṭṭi having gone against our wishes, we forgive them, and of our graces give a *sāsana* as follows:—We grant to them palanquin, umbrella with *kalasa*, village dues, et cetera". In addition to these he bestowed on them a great many rights and privileges.⁴

The evidence of the above copper-plate grant may be refuted; and it may be maintained that the Vijayanagara monarchs were more careful in fostering the interests of the commercial classes, especially at the beginning of their political career. That rulers who gave ample evidence of their greed, could also prove that they could be just at the same time, is shown in the account of the punishment that was meted out to the unfortunate Portuguese *fidalgo*

¹ *Barbosa*, Dames, I. p. 202; Stanley, pp. 85-6.

² *Varthema*, Jones, pp. 130-1; Temple, p. 53.

³ *Infra*, Volume II, Chapter VI.

⁴ *E.C.* XII, Si. 76, p. 99.

of St. Thome. This was, as we have already narrated, in about the year A.D. 1558 when Rāma Rāja decided to send the citizens back to the town after exacting a tribute of a hundred thousand pagodas, half to be given at once, and the other half, a year later. Fifty thousand pagodas were paid down to him on the spot, and he took with him five of the chief citizens as hostages for the other half. Then, before leaving, he caused all the property to be returned to their owners. A silver spoon was found missing. Such diligent enquiries were made by his command, that the spoon was finally discovered and returned to its owner.¹

CHAPTER VIII

FOREIGN RELATIONS—HINDU-MUHAMMADAN AMITY

SECTION I. *Treatment of Ambassadors*

BITTER as were the relations between the Hindus and the Muhammadans, yet they were not without some redeeming features which shed a pleasant light on their mutual dealings. The Hindu State owed its origin to the spirit of resistance which confronted the Muhammadans when they swept over the southern peninsula in search of wealth and power; it was well-nigh shattered when the Sultans of the north formed a great coalition against their southern neighbours, whose increasing influence was a continual menace to the Muhammadans. The story of the alleged contempt that was shown by Rāma Rāja to an ambassador from the court of 'Alī 'Adil Shāh, as given in the *Bakhair*, was only a flimsy veil which the Muhammadans used to cover the fact that their position as the rulers of a great part of southern India was incompatible with that of the Hindu sovereigns, whose power showed no sign of decline in the early part of the sixteenth century. From the time when poor Bahā-ud-dīn took shelter under the Rāja of Kāmpili till the dismal days of the battle of Rākshasa-Taṅgaḍi, the Hindus endeavoured to sow the seeds of mutual goodwill and respect, which, however, save in one

¹ Heras, *Aravidu*, p. 69, op. cit. Heras gives the date as A.D. 1558. But Couto places it in A.D. 1555. *Dec. VII*, l. vii, c. See also Sewell, *For. Emp.*, p. 177, n. (1).

or two notable instances, proved barren in the annals of the two peoples. It is with these attempts that we are concerned, since with their aid we can see the brighter side of the Hindu-Muhammadan relations in mediaeval ages.

The Hindu rulers gave concrete expression to their desire to promote good feelings with their avowed enemies in their mode of receiving foreign ambassadors, in the aid which they gave the Muhammadans against their own enemies, in their willingness to enlist foreigners, and, finally, in promoting the cause of Islām in their Empire. The most trustworthy account of the treatment which the kings of Vijayanagara gave to foreign ambassadors is from the pen of 'Abdur Razzāq. The Persian ambassador gives us the details of the manner in which the emissaries were summoned and received, the rations that were allotted to them, and how they were dismissed from the royal presence. "They then brought a tray, and gave me two packets of betel, a purse containing 500 *fanams*, and about 20 *miskāls* of camphor, and, obtaining leave to depart, I returned to my lodging. The daily provision forwarded to me comprised two sheep, four couple of fowls, five *mans* of price, one *man* of butter, one *man* of sugar, and two *varāhas* in gold. This occurred every day. Twice a week I was summoned to the presence towards the evening, when the king asked me several questions respecting the Khākān-i-Sa'id, and each time I received a packet of betel, a purse of *fanams*, and some *miskāls* of camphor".¹ The Emperor assigned a lofty mansion to the Persian ambassador. "The author of this history who arrived at Bijānagar at the close of Zi-hijja, took up his abode in a lofty mansion which had been assigned to him, resembling that which one sees in Hirāt on the high ground at the King's gate".²

But the Hindu rulers do not seem to have always been as generous towards foreign ambassadors as Dēva Rāya II had been to 'Abdur Razzāq. Nuniz tells us the following about the ambassador, whom he calls "Matucotam", from the court of 'Alī 'Adil Shāh: "As soon as he had thus settled himself the ambassador sent to inform the King (Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya) of his arrival, and begged that His Highness would grant him an audience and despatch him

¹ Elliot, *Hist. of India*, IV, p. 113; Major, *India*, p. 31.

² Elliot, *ibid.*, p. 112.

without delay. The King replied that he would see him, but told him that he should not be impatient since he himself had but now arrived, and that he would give him leave to depart as soon as the time had arrived. And with this the ambassador stayed there a month without the King having sought to see him, nor having asked to know why he had come; he went every day to the palace, and seeing the way in which the King acted towards him he determined to speak no more but to wait till the King summoned him".¹ According to the *Bakhair of Rāma Rāja*, the Mahaldar, who came also from the same court, was not ordered into the royal presence immediately on his arrival. "He (the Mahaldar) then considered with (in) himself that the Raja (i.e., Rāma Rāja) by not sending for him on his arrival to receive his Sovereign's letters, had shown great slight and contempt; yet (he thought) it was not prudent to open his mouth on this subject as it might not be to his honour. . ."²

This indiscreet ambassador, whose name is not given in the *Bakhair of Rāma Rāja*, was in no small measure responsible for the coalition of the Muhammadans against the Hindus. There is reason to believe that he was rather inaccurate in his estimate of the great Hindu Regent. For in the same account we are informed that the moment "he (the Mahaldar, or as he was also called 'Harracarra')³ came to the Gates (of the Capital), the Raja sent for his Dalavāy and ordered him to lodge the Mahaldar in the Ananda Mahall near Chaupesh-hazara".⁴ The Vijayanagara ruler at once "also ordered him (the Dalavāy) to defray all his (the Mahaldar's) expenses. The Dalavāy accordingly lodged the Public Messenger Harracarra there and defrayed his expenses agreeable to his rank and reported all these circumstances to the King".⁵ Even after the disagreeable incident of the fowls and the swine for which none but the Mahaldar was responsible, the Vijayanagara monarch "took pains to quiet his (the Mahaldar's) uneasiness and

¹ Sewell, *For. Emp.*, p. 350.

² *Rama Raja Charitre*, *Mac-Coll*, VII, India Office.

³ This name, also written *Harcarah*, seems to have been given to an ambassador or wakil in the mediaeval times. I believe it may have originally referred to the *harikāga* or an elephant courier. See *E.C.*, VII, Hl. 7, dated A.D. 1204, p. 159. B.A.S.

⁴ *Rāma Rāja Charitre*.

⁵ *Ibid.*

presented him with Clothes and Betle (suited to his rank) and despatched him apparently in good humour".¹

Rāma Rāja's generous attitude towards the foreign ambassador, in spite of the latter's provocative speech, as it is reported in the *Rama Raja Charitre*, was modelled on that of the benevolent Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya the Great. This monarch too dismissed the ambassador from the court of 'Ali 'Adil Shāh in the accredited manner with "a robe of silk and the cloths that are customary".² That the mode of dismissing foreign ambassadors was the same in early times in Vijayanagara can be seen by noting the remarks of 'Abdur Razzāq: "The king approved highly of my reply, and ordered that I should receive several bags of *fanams* and betel, and some fruits reserved for his special use".

The delay which marked the presentation of an ambassador to the king may have been caused by State reasons rather than by personal or religious causes. The prominence which the mischievous Mahaldar gave to the alleged contempt shown to him was perhaps his own creation. For, in the same account, we are told that it was on the day after his arrival that he sent a verbal message to the Regent thus: "Though Your Majesty has not sent for me at once to receive the letters I bear, as they are written on matters of particular importance, I request (that) Your Majesty will be pleased to order me into the Presence where on delivering them, you shall be informed of all other circumstances".⁴ On hearing this the "Rajadhiraja was satisfied with the message of the Mahaldar and ordered him to be conducted into his presence . . ."⁵ Rāma Rāja was evidently at a loss to know why 'Adi Ādil Shāh, to whom he was attached by mutual friendship, should have sent an express messenger to the Hindu court when the political horizon was uncommonly clear of all clouds of conflict. It is true that the *Bakhair* does not enlighten us on all these points relating to the alleged contempt shown to the Mahaldar. But from the attitude which the Hindu rulers generally bore to the foreign ambassadors, it may be assumed that they were

¹ *Rama Raja Charitre*.

² Sewell, *For. Emp.*, p. 352. See also pp. 350-1 for the treatment given by the same ruler to the emissaries from foreign courts.

³ Elliot, *Hist. of India*, IV, p. 120.

⁴ *Rama Raja Charitre*.

⁵ *Ibid.*

not always guided by motives of pride or ill will towards their northern neighbours.

For they were truly hospitable to foreign emissaries. And that this was neither forced nor feigned is apparent from the accounts of the Portuguese chroniclers. Paes relates to us how Christavão de Figueiredo with many Portuguese went to see Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya: "When we came to this country the king was in this new town, and there went to see him Christovão de Figueiredo with all of us Portuguese that came with him, and all very handsomely dressed after our manner, with much finery; the king received him very well, and was very complacent to him. The king was as much pleased with him as if he had been one of his own people, so much attention did he evince towards him; and also towards those amongst us who went with him he showed much kindness The king gave to Christovão de Figueiredo on dismissing him a *cabaya* (tunic) of brocade, with a cap of the same fashion as the king wore, and to each one of the Portuguese he gave a cloth embroidered with many pretty figures, and this the king gives because it is customary; he gives it in token of friendship and love".¹

The Vijayanagarā monarchs maintained their high traditions in this matter in the later ages. Floris and some Englishmen were received by Veṅkaṭapati Rāya in A.D. 1614 in the following manner: "The nine and twentieth of July, arrived foure persons as Embassadors, with my man Wengali", writes Peter Williamson Floris, "from the Great King of Narsinga or Velur, bringing me a Caul with his Abestiam (which is a white Cloth where his owne hand is printed in Sandall or Saffron) as also one from the Queene of Paleacatte, and diverse Letters from Jaga Raja, Tima Raja, Apocondaia and others. The King's Letter was written upon a leafe of Gold, wherein he excused the former fault done to us in Paleacatte desiring that now we would come into his Countrey and chuse a place to our best liking, and that there we should build a house or Castle according to our owne liking, with other priviledges. He gave me a Towne of about foure hundred pound of yearly revenue, with promise to doe more at my comming thither. . . . My man Wengali had beene in person before the King and

¹ Sewell, *For. Emp.* pp. 251-2.

spoken with him, the King laying his hand on his head, and presenting him with a Tesseriffe".¹

The Vijayanagara viceroys imitated their rulers in this as in other matters. Pimenta, A.D. 1599, tells us how he was received by the Nāyaka of Gingee. "The Naichus of Gingi was come thither, in whose Dominion it standeth. He commanded that we should be brought to his Presence. . . . He entertained us kindly, and marvelled much that wee chewed not the leaves of Betels which were offered us, and dismissed us with gifts of precious Cloths wrought with Gold, desiring a Priest of us for his new Citie which hee was building".²

But the history of the Hindu-Muhammadan relations in mediaeval ages was not always one of mutual good will and exchange of costly presents. It was marked by actions and episodes which indicate as much the inebriated oriental recklessness of the Sultans as the uncommon haughtiness of the Hindu rulers. Firishtah quotes from the *Thofut-us-Sulatīn*, written by Mulla Da'ūd, when the latter was only twelve years of age: "One evening, when the fragrance of the garden of pleasure had suffused the cheek of Mahmod Shah (Bāhmani I) with the rosy tinge of delight, a band of musicians sang two verses of Ameer Khusrow, descriptive of royal festivity; when the King, delighted beyond measure, commanded Mullik Seif-ood-Deen Ghoory to give the three hundred performers a draft for a gratuity on the treasury of the Raja of 'Beejanuggur'.³ Firishtah also relates how the Hindu king received this order of the Sultan. "The Raja, naturally haughty, and proud of his independence, seated the person presenting the order for the money on an ass, and having exhibited him through all the quarters of Beejanuggur, sent him back, after he had been subjected to every mark of contempt and derision".⁴

But that was not the manner in which the Hindus treated the members of royalty. Firishtah tells us how Firūz Shāh Bāhmani tried to bring about a Hindu-Muhammadan alliance after inflicting a defeat on Dēva Rāya II in A.D.

¹ Floris, Purchas, *Pilgrims*, III, p. 337.

² Pimenta, *ibid.*, X, p. 208. Cf. the method in which ambassadors were received in the seventh century A.D. Bāṇa, *Harshacharita*, p. 215.

³ Firishtah, Briggs, *The Rise*, II, pp. 308-9.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 309.

1406: "For forty days communication was open between the city and the King's camp, a distance of fourteen miles. Either side of the road was lined with booths of Mahomedans and Hindoos; while the jugglers, dancers, and buffoons of the Carnatic, displayed their skill to amuse passengers. Khan Khanan and Meer Fuzl Oolla were deputed, in great state, to Beejanuggur, with the customary present of a bridegroom; from whence, at the expiration of seven days, they brought the bride (i.e. the daughter of the Hindu king), with a rich portion and offerings from the Ray, to the King's camp. Dew Ray having expressed a desire to meet his son-in-law, Feroze Shah, in the excess of his politeness, consented to pay his father-in-law a visit, attended by his bride.

"A day being fixed, the King proceeded with the bride to Beejanuggur, leaving the camp in charge of Khan Khanan. He was met on the road by Dew Ray in great state. From the gate of the city to the palace, being a distance of nearly six miles, the road was spread with cloths of gold, velvet, satin and other rich stuffs. The two monarchs rode on horseback together, between ranks of beautiful boys and girls, who waved over their heads plates of gold full of incense and silver flowers, which they scattered abroad, to be gathered by the populace. This ceremony being over, the inhabitants of the city, both men and women, made offerings according to their rank. After passing through a square in the centre of the city, the relatives of Dew Ray, who had lined the streets, made their obeisance, and joined the cavalcade, marching on foot before the two Kings. On their arrival at the palace gate, Feroze Shah and the Raja dismounted from their horses, and ascending a splendid litter, set with valuable jewels, were carried together to the apartments prepared for the reception of the bride and the bridegroom. Dew Ray then took his leave, and retired to his own apartments. The King, after being feasted magnificently for three days, took leave of the Ray, who pressed upon him richer presents than he had before given, and attended him for four miles on his way to his camp, before he returned to the city. Feroze Shah was offended, however, at his not going with him to his camp, and said to Meer Fuzl Oolla that he would one day have revenge for the affront offered him by such neglect. This remark being conveyed to Dew Ray, he made use of some offensive observations, so that,

notwithstanding the union of the two families, their animosity was not allayed".¹

SECTION 2. *Other Methods of Conciliation*

Vijayanagara could indeed be proud, not of her martial victories which she won over the enemy, but of her attempts to bridge the gulf between the Hindus, whose culture needed protection, and the Muhammadans, whose civilization craved for expansion. The means which they adopted to gain their ends concern the questions of promoting harmony between the royal houses of Vijayanagara and those of the Sultans, enlisting Muhammadans in Hindu service, and fostering the interests of their religion in the great Hindu Empire.

The task of creating good will between the rival royal houses was beset with many difficulties. The Vijayanagara monarchs faced the problem as best they could. Payment of tribute and protecting the interests of members of the Muhammadan royal family against their own enemies—these were the two methods which they devised to bring about a better understanding between themselves and their inveterate enemies of the north. Firishtah adds two more to these—marriage-alliance, which was forced on the Hindus, and the singular method of adopting a Sultan as a son by a Hindu ruler.

According to Sewell, the Rāja of Vijayanagara presented "Alā-ud-dīn with a ruby of inestimable price, and this, set in a bird of paradise composed of precious stones, the Sultan placed in the canopy over his throne; but some say that this was done by Muhammad, and that the ruby was placed above his umbrella of State".² The tribute which the Hindus paid to the Sultans sometimes was, in addition to gold and precious stones, made up of skilled musicians who were despatched to the Muhammadan court. Soon after the accession of 'Alā-ud-dīn Shāh Bahmani II in about A.D. 1425, the Vijayanagara forces were severely defeated by Imād-ul-mulk Ghūry, and "the Raja only obtained peace by giving up twenty elephants, a considerable sum of money, and two hundred females, skilled in music and dancing".³

¹ Firishtah, *Briggs, The Rise*, II, pp. 385-8; Sewell, *For. Emp.*, p. 61.

² Sewell, *ibid.*, p. 30.

³ Firishtah, *ibid.*, p. 422; Sewell, *ibid.*, p. 71.

The description of the matrimonial alliance between the Bāhmani and Vijayanagara royal houses given above, as related by Firishtah, may incidentally be examined here. The Muhammadan historian starts his account with an eulogy of Firūz Shāh Bāhmani. "From various historians we learn, that Firoze Shah excelled his predecessors in power and magnificence, and that in his reign the house of Bahmuny attained its greatest splendour. He compelled the Ray of Beejanuggur to give him his daughter in marriage, though contrary to the custom of the Hindoos, who marry only in their own cast".¹ This was obviously after the disastrous campaign of A.D. 1406, which Dēva Rāya II commenced with vigour but ended in ignominy.² Firishtah is the only authority for this piece of information.

Although he begins his account by saying that he had gathered materials "from various historians",³ yet another contemporary author, 'Alī-Bin 'Aziz-Ullāh Tabātaba, who wrote the *Burhān-i Ma'āsir*,⁴ never mentions a word of it in his account of Firūz Shāh. The *Burhān-i Ma'āsir* does not contain any detail about the wily Brahman, the beautiful daughter of the goldsmith of Mudkal, and the terrible consequences that followed Dēva Rāya's attempt to win the Mudkul beauty for himself. But, on the other hand, 'Alī Tabātaba narrates the consequences of a campaign which was led by Firūz Shāh, who used "his best endeavours in the suppression of infidelity and the strengthening of the Faith", and, therefore, "contemplated the conquest of Vijayānagar; so in a short time he marched an army in that direction and subdued and killed the infidels of those parts".⁵

Even in the details of this war, Tabātaba differs essentially from the imaginative Firishtah. According to the latter, Dēva Rāya was compelled to pay to Firūz Shāh, among other things, "ten lacs of hoons, and

¹ Firishtah, Briggs, *The Rise*, II, p. 363.

² *Ibid.*, II., pp. 383, 385.

³ Firishtah consulted no less than thirty-five works and gives quotations from twenty others in the body of his work. King, *I.A.*, XXVIII, p. 119, n. (1); Firishtah, *ibid.*, I, pp. xlix-l.

⁴ Firishtah wrote his history from about A.D. 1589 to A.D. 1626-7. 'Alī Bin 'Aziz Ullāh Tabātaba wrote his narrative from 1591 to A.D. 1595-6. King, *ibid.*, pp. 119, n. (1), 120. But see Briggs, *ibid.*, I, Author's Preface, p. xlviii., where Firishtah tells us that he presented his *History* in A.D. 1609 to his royal patron.

⁵ *Burhān-i Ma'āsir*, *I.A.*, XXVIII, p. 186.

five *muns* of pearls".¹ But 'Alī Tabātaba writes "Devadār" (i.e., Dēva Rāya) "penitently asked for pardon", and agreed to pay "thirty-three *laḥs* of *tanka* and that each year a fixed sum should be sent to the foot of the royal throne . . .".² In the description of a second war waged by the Sultan "against the infidels of the country of Vijayanagar", too, the *Burhāni-i Ma'āsir* is silent about the singular clause of the marriage mentioned by Firishtah.³ Tabātaba informs us that Firūz Shāh "every year exacted from the infidels of Vijayānagar the sum of thirty-three *laḥs* of *tanka*, as originally fixed";⁴ that "towards the end of his reign he was compelled once more to march against Vijayānagar; and was determined to take the fort of Pangal", but that in the course of this war, "fortune turned against the arms of the Muhammadans"; and that "the army of Islam being completely defeated the Sultan marched from that place (Pangal), halting nowhere till he reached the village of Itakur . . .".⁵

The alleged matrimonial alliance, therefore, is not mentioned by a historian who was a contemporary of Firishtah.⁶ In the epigraphical records and Hindu literature there is no reference to it. In the light of all this it may reasonably be doubted whether Firishtah's statement can be given any credence at all.⁷ But a dynastic marriage especially between the Hindus and the Muhammadan royal families would, barring the taint of compulsion which was associated with conquest, have gone a long way towards softening the acrimonious differences which marked the relations between the two peoples in the mediaeval ages. That such an idea was not alien to the Hindu rulers is clear from the history of their dealings with the Christian princes of Europe. Dom Francisco de Almeida in A.D. 1505 on reaching Cannanore "assumed the title of Viceroy. He also received a visit from the minister of Narasimha Rao (Sāḷuva Narasimha) of Vijayanagar, who then ruled the

¹ Firishtah, Briggs, *The Rise*, II, p. 385.

² *Burhān-i Ma'āsir*, I.A., XXVIII, p. 186.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 187.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 188. Firishta also describes this campaign of A.D. 1417, but, as usual, gives it a colouring. Briggs, *The Rise*, II, pp. 389-90.

⁶ Firishtah "never mentions the *Burhān-i Ma'āsir*," King, I.A., XXVIII. p. 119. n. (1).

⁷ Cf. Iswari Prasad, *Med. Ind.*, p. 398, n (1); Rangaswami Saraswati, *A Period of Transition in the History of Vijayanagara*, p. 7.

chief portion of Southern India, who proposed an alliance of marriage between his master's daughter and the King of Portugal's son".¹ How far this could be accepted as an historical fact cannot be determined for want of independent evidence.

We can imagine the abhorrence which such dynastic marriages might have evoked in a capital which was ruled by orthodox princes. But it must be said to their credit that they spared no pains to bring about a compromise between their own views and those of their northern neighbours. Firishtah has some interesting details about the manner in which the Muhammadan rulers treated a Hindu prince, which, if found trustworthy, would be of some value. After describing the disasters which Dēva Rāya suffered at the hands of Ahmad Shāh Wali of Bidar, the Muhammadan historian continues: 'Dew Ray, deeming it unsafe to refuse compliance, deputed his son with thirty elephants laden with the treasure. The King caused some chiefs to go forth to meet him; and after being led in ceremony through the market, and the principal streets of the camp, he was conducted to the presence. The King, after embracing, permitted him to sit at the foot of his throne, and throwing over his shoulders a magnificent mantle, and presenting him with a sabre set with jewels, gave him twenty beautiful horses of various countries, a male elephant, dogs for the chase, and a lease of hawks; to which last, the people of the Carnatic had been till then strangers'.² The *Burhan-i Ma'āsir* however does not mention these details.³

Political necessity compelled the Hindus and Muhammadans to be on terms of mutual friendship. The latter sometimes sought the aid of the former to regain political supremacy in the Deccan. Thus in A.D. 1435 Muhammad Khān, the younger brother of Sultan 'Alā-ud-dīn Shah Bāhmani II, rebelled against his brother, instigated, as Firishtah relates, by some discontented officers of 'Alā-ud-dīn. Prince Muhammad Khān "procured a considerable army from the Ray of Beejanuggur to aid him, he seized upon Moodkul and Rachore, as well as Sholapoor, Beejapoor and Nuldroog".⁴ Tabātaba also describes the

¹ Danvers, *The Portuguese in India*, I., pp. 120-1.

² Firishtah, Briggs, *The Rise*, II, p. 405.

³ *Burhān-i Ma'āsir*, I.A. XXVIII, pp. 210-11.

⁴ Firishtah, *ibid.*, p. 423; Sewell, *For. Emp.*, p. 71.

sons, and this sad occasion was taken by his wife to adopt the Sultan 'Ali Ādil Shāh as her son. Both Firishtah and the anonymous author of the *Bakhair* confirm this. The former relates: "Ally Adil Shah, intent on adding to his dominions, and repairing the losses sustained by his father, entered into a close alliance with Ramraj; and on the occasion of the death of a son of that Prince, he had the boldness, attended only by one hundred horse, to go to Beejanuggur, to offer his condolence in person on that melancholy occasion. Ramraj received him with the greatest respect, and the King, with the kindest persuasions, prevailed upon him to lay aside his mourning. The wife of Ramraj, on this occasion, adopted the King as her son, and at the end of three days, which were spent in an interchange of friendly professions and presents, Ally Adil Shah took his leave. . . ."¹

But just then once again occurred one of those trifles which did more than religious bigotry to breed ill will between the Hindus and Muhammadans. "Ali Adil Shah took his leave; but as Ramraj did not attend him out of the city he was offended, and treasured up the affront in his mind, though too prudent, for the present, to evince any signs of his displeasure".² The Bijapur ruler did not realize that his host was a Hindu; the Vijayanagara ruler may have been more prudent when he knew so well that 'Ali Ādil Shāh was an orthodox Shiah. Like Firūz Shāh Bāhmani, who had sworn "to take revenge for the affront offered him" by Dēva Rāya I,³ the Bijapur Sultan allowed a trifling detail of etiquette to get the better of his discretion; and generous and great as he undoubtedly was, he repaid the uncommon liberality of the Hindu ruler by what seemed to be calculated treachery on the battlefield.

The year A.D. 1557, however, marked the zenith of the good will between the Hindus and the Muhammadans. 'Ali 'Ādil Shāh, it must be said to his credit, remained for some time true to his promise even when confronted by the united demands of the Muhammadan Sultans to join them. It was a sad moment in the history of the land, indeed, when, on the battlefield of Rākshasa-Taṅgaḍi, 'Ali 'Ādil Shāh yielded to the claims of religious animosity and political rivalry, and turned the tide of battle against the Hindu

¹ Firishtah, Briggs, *The Rise*, III.

² *Ibid.*, p. 118, and (n.); Sewell, *For. Emp.* p. 193; Heras, *Aravidu*, p. 87.

³ *Ibid.*, II, p. 387, op. cit.

ruler by joining in the affray at the nick of time. When Rāma Rāja was brought as a captive before 'Ali 'Ādil Shāh, the gallant old Hindu Regent, according to the *Bakhair*, addressed the Sultan thus: "You have been hitherto considered and called *my son*, is it then honourable to deceive me at last? It is said that you are a charitable and religious (holy) man! Does this become that reputation? Doth a truly great man deceive the father who had adopted and reared him? Is it thus you shall obtain reputation and fame in the world? As for me what remains to be done now that my subjects and army have fallen by treachery? I had trusted in you as in my child who would not deceive me; but though you have rewarded my kindness with ingratitude, yet as my son I ask you this favour—that you cut off my head instantly with my own sword and not permit my enemies to have their pleasure. So (thus) may you enjoy lasting prosperity and all so descend in the world from son to son!"¹

And the *Bakhair* continues to narrate that 'Ali 'Ādil Shāh with his own hand struck off the head of Rāma Rāja; and after dismissing the Sultans, "sent the body of Rajad-bhuvar to Kasi (renowned among the Hindus by the name of Varanasi)".² Thus did 'Ali 'Ādil Shāh atone the crime he had committed of killing his adopted Hindu father.

There is nothing which indicates to us the sincerity of purpose which lay behind the foreign policy of the Vijayanagara rulers towards the Muhammadans so much as the readiness with which they enlisted the latter in their service, and the patronage they gave to the cause of Islām in and outside their great capital. The Muhammadan kings of course reciprocated this by an equally liberal policy towards the Hindus. Foreign travellers like Paes and Nuniz inform us that the Vijayanagara monarchs publicly acknowledged their broad-minded policy of recruiting Muhammadans in their service by providing quarters for them in the capital. Paes says: "At the end of this street is the Moorish quarter, which is at the very end of the city, and of these Moors there are many who are natives of the country and who are paid by the king and belong to his

¹ *Rama Raja Charitre.*

² *Ibid.* This is contrary to what we said in Chapter III *supra*, where Husain Shāh is said to have killed Rāma Rājā with his own hands. B.A.S.

guard".¹ Nuniz adds to this: "Then he (the Emperor) sent the Moors in the royal service to lead the van, and Camanayque, the chief of the guard, pitched the camp very near the ditches of the city of Rachol, and every captain halted his people according to the commands given".²

The first monarch who established the precedent of admitting Muhammadans into the Hindu service was Dēva Rāya II. Epigraphic evidence definitely proves that a large number of Turkish cavalry was enlisted in the Vijayanagara army. In A.D. 1430 he had ten thousand *Turushka* horsemen in his service.³ An inscription dated only in the cyclic year Siddhārthin (Saka 1362 = A.D. 1440-41) records the building of a well by Ahmad Khān, a servant of the king Vira Prātāpa Dēva Rāya II.⁴ The presence of a large body of Muhammadan cavalry explains the attitude of the Hindu rulers towards the Muhammadans ever since the days of that monarch.

The patronage which the Hindu kings gave to Islām by building mosques and entertaining Muhammadans in their service must have been also responsible for the marked courtesy which was shown to the heads of the Hindu religious institutions by the Muhammadan rulers. One notable example of a Hindu institution which received great favours from the Muhammadan kings is the Vyāsārāya Maṭha. This famous institution is said to have received presents from the Muhammadans as well as from the foreigners who came from overseas. It was privileged to carry a green umbrella on a camel on great occasions. Sōmanātha, who gives us these details, writes about the presents given to it by foreign sovereigns.⁵

The Hindus and the Muhammadans were brought into closer touch with each other in the days of Rāma Rāja, when the political situation in the Deccan drove the followers of Islām to the Hindu court. That remarkable administrator gave further proof of his honest intentions to

¹ Sewell, *For. Emp.*, p. 256.

² *Ibid.*, p. 329.

³ *E.C.*, III, Intr., p. 23, Sr. 15, p. 11. See also *infra*, p. 422.

⁴ 18 of 1904, I; Rangachari, *Top. List.*, I, By. 356, p. 307.

⁵ *Vyasayōgicharita*, Intr, pp. lxvi, cxxx-cxxxi; 65, 83-4; Venkōba Rao, *Q.J.M.S.*, XV., p. 45. Another institution which also secured great privileges and presents, although from later Muhammadan rulers, was the Srīngēri Maṭha. See *My. Arch. Report* for 1916, p. 73, seq.; *I.A.* XLVI, p. 136; *I.A.*, XLVIII., pp. 102-3.

adjust the difference between the two peoples, by ordering the Koran to be placed by his side out of consideration for the faith of his Muhammadan followers. Firishtah narrates that Ibrāhim 'Adil Shāh, on his accession to the throne of Bijapur, "having rejected the names of the Imams from the Khootba, restored the exercise of the Soony rites, and commanded that no person should in future wear the scarlet cap of twelve points, which had been adopted by all the troops of his father in imitation of the Persians. Instead of foreign troops he enlisted Deccanis in his service and permitted only four hundred foreigners to remain in his body-guard. . . ." And degrading the senior officers, he promoted the Deccanis and the Abyssinians in their stead. "All the foreign troops which were thus dismissed entered into the service of different princes. Ramraj, the Hindoo Prince of Beejanuggur, entertained three thousand of them; and in order to reconcile them to the act of making obeisance to him, caused a Koran to be placed before him when they came to pay their respects; which enabled them to do so without a breach of the ordinances of their religion".¹

One of these Abyssinians was Ambur Khān, for whose maintenance, as mentioned above, Rāma Rāja assigned an estate.² Another Muhammadan officer of Rāma Rāja was Ainana Malukka ('Ain-ul-Mulk Gīlāni), who, as related in an inscription dated Saka 1473 (A.D. 1551-2), was a great patron of Brahmins. It was at the request of this officer that the Regent granted the village of Bēvinahalli to some Brahmins.³ This Muhammadan subordinate of Rama Rāja, "having offended Ibrahim Adil Shah left his service and entered that of Ramraj, with a force consisting of four thousand cavalry. Ein-ool-Moolk had on many occasions so distinguished himself by his bravery that the Raja used to call brother".⁴ A third prominent Muhammadan official under the Hindu government was Dilāvar Khān. He is said to have been the Agent (*kāryakarta*) of Rāma Rāja in A.D. 1558. The epigraph which gives us this information also records a singular curse on both Hindu and Muhammadan kings who might violate the grant of a village given by the agent of Dilāvar Khān, Sitappa . . . to Virayya, as a *baṭa-agrahāra*. "If kings of the Turuka race fail in

¹ Firishtah, Briggs, *The Rise*, III, pp. 78-9.

² *Ibid.*, p. 328; Sewell, *For. Emp.*, p. 189, op. cit.

³ Venkatēśvara-Viśvanatha, *Ep. Ind.*, XIV, p. 210.

⁴ Firishtah, *ibid.*, p. 381.

this, they have eaten hog's flesh. If kings of Karṇāṭaka fail in it, they will incur the guilt of murdering father and mother in Kāśi".¹ The fact of the Muhammadans having entered the service of Vijayanagara is further borne out by a copper-plate dated A.D. 1577, which says: "The Turushkhas bowed down with the weight of their fears, did service in the courtyard of his (Sadāśiva's) great minister Rāma Rāja; and various ministers sent as envoys besought of him as a favour to admit them to his army".²

It is not surprising, therefore, when such amicable relations existed between the Hindus and Muhammadans that a famous general of the northern Sultans should have been invited to Vijayanagara to witness the great Mahānavami festival. On his arrival villages were granted for his maintenance by the Hindu court. Assud Khān, who had reduced Ādōni, was invited to the capital, and was awarded a grant of two villages "Tunge and Turugel" by the Government.³

The attitude of the Hindus towards the Muhammadans is also seen in the encouragement they gave to the cause of Islām in their Empire. A copper-plate grant dated Saka 1560, Pramāthin (A.D. 1639-40), tells us that the Vijayanagara monarchs gave substantial aid to a Muhammadan institution. Sāḷuva Nārasinga Rāya had granted, at the end of the fifteenth century, the *hōrā* villages⁴ of Jilōcharla. Pulla-sānivoḍḍu, Tōṭi and Tuṅgōdu to the *daraga* of a famous Muhammadan saint called Bābayya in Penugōṇḍa.

¹ E.C., X, Kl. 147, p. 52. The meaning of *baṭa-agrahāra* is however not clear. It may refer to the *bhāṭs* or bards. The word may simply mean free land granted to a learned Brahmana by the king. B.A.S.

² E.C., VIII, Tl. 5, p. 162.

³ Barros, *Dec.*, IV, i, vii, cap. 6; Sewell, *For. Emp.*, pp. 174-5. On Assud Khan, see Firishtah, Briggs, *The Rise*, III, pp. 83, 85. There is a copper plate of the times of Srīranga Rāya, dated Saka 1569, Sarvajit (A.D. 1647-8) which says that for the merit of Hazrati Khāna Sāhēbulavāru, the *nāḍigarū*, the *sthalapaṭṭana-reḍḍis* and the *karaṇams* of Peda-Nandyālasime, included in the Peda-Kaṇṭi-sime, granted to a certain Timmayya (descent stated) specified contribution of fees from the several professional communities of Nandyāla (Kurnool district) and from about seventy villages of the same *sime* for conducting the *chappara-service* of the god Venkatēśa. C.P. No. 1 of 1915-6. We know that Srīranga Rāya took shelter at the court of Bednore in A.D. 1646. If his authority in A.D. 1646 and after was in any sense real, the evidence of this copper-plate grant would be interesting. B.A.S.

⁴ These mean donative villages for encouraging the study of *hōrā* (or horoscope). *Ep. Report* for 1911, p. 88.

To these villages Sadāśiva Rāya added those of Bīḍupalle and Velidaḍakala in the Penugoṇḍa-rājya. Veṅkaṭapati Rāya I, towards the end of the sixteenth century, granted to the same *daraga* the lands below the Roddam tank, the Kottacheruvu tank and those near the Vuppuvāgu. All these were confirmed and restored with the additions of a paddy field and a garden at Jagadēvupālayam by Veṅkaṭapati Rāya II, who further gave to the *daraga* the right of taking water from the channel Kayyam *kāluva* together with a flower garden with a well, at the northern entrance to the *daraga*. There were grave reasons why Veṅkaṭapati Rāya II renewed and restored the original grant. The copper-plate says that it was done because "of the loss of original documents, on the occasion when Immaḍi Hāvaḷi-Baire Gauḍa of Pedda Baḷḷapura seized the fortress of Penugoṇḍa then in the possession of Haḍapa Komārayya".¹ It is clear from this that the Hindu rulers were sincere in their desire to afford shelter to the followers of Islām in their Empire.

Their example was followed by the provincial rulers. An inscription dated Śaka 1477 (A.D. 1555-6) informs us that a *dēvadāna* village was granted to a mosque (*Tulukkan-paḷḷi*) in the reign of Jaṭilavarma-Kulaśekhara Pāṇḍya.² We have already remarked in connection with the Provincial Administration of Vijayanagara, that even the Nāyakas of Ikkēri maintained the early traditions of fostering the interests of the Muhammadans in their territories.³

This liberal policy of the Hindus has left some marks in the architecture and literature of the people. "The history of the mutual relations between Hindu and Musulmān is plainly told in the remains of the buildings of the 'Moorish' quarter of Vijayanagar".⁴ Prince Ibrāhīm of Golkonda became a patron of Hindu literature, and permitted Telugu poets to dedicate their works to him.⁵

¹ *Ep. Report* for 1911, p. 88. Cf. The protection given to the Srināgēri Maṭha by Tipu Sultan against the depredations of the Maharattas. *My. Arch. Report* for 1916, op. cit.

² 538 of 1917.

³ *Supra*, Ch. VI, Section I.

⁴ Havell, *Indian Architecture*, p. 183 (1913 ed.).

⁵ A.S.R. for 1908-9, p. 198, n (1). The Telugu poet Gaṅgādhara Mantri dedicated his work called *Tapātisamvarana Upākhyānamu* to Ibrāhīm Malik of Golkonda who reigned from A.D. 1560 to A.D. 1581. See also Virēśalingam Pantulu, *Āndhra Kavula Charitramu*, p. 253, seq.

CHAPTER IX. THE ARMY

SECTION I. *Strength*

THE militant age in which the Vijayanagara monarchs lived necessitated the maintenance of a large and powerful army. An adequate idea of the amount of labour, wealth, and skill which the Hindu rulers expended on the institution of this vital branch of their political organization can be formed only when we have examined the component parts of their army, the department which controlled it, the reforms which were introduced by the kings to make it more efficient, and the manner in which it was summoned at the commencement of a campaign.

Foreign travellers were struck by the immense army of the Hindu monarchs. The earliest foreign traveller who gives us an account of its strength is Nicolo dei Conti. Till his days we know merely that large bodies of Hindus opposed the Muhammadans.¹ But Nicolo informs us that "in this city there are estimated to be ninety thousand men fit to bear arms".² This was the strength of the Vijayanagara army in about A.D. 1420. We may compare the estimate of Nicolo with that given by Firishtah, who describes the campaign of A.D. 1366-8. During this war Muhammad Shāh Bāhmani defeated the Hindus, whose army was made up of 30,000 horse, 3,000 elephants, 1,000,000 foot.³ Even after suffering terrible reverses at the hands of the Muhammadans, the Hindus could command a force of 5,000,000 infantry and 40,000 cavalry.⁴

The next foreign traveller who has some details about the Vijayanagara army is 'Abdur Razzāq (A.D. 1442-3). "There are more than 1,000 elephants. . . . The army consists of eleven *lacs* of men (1,100,000)". It is not surprising that Dēva Rāya II, who possessed this great army, should have been characterized by him as the most absolute ruler in Hindustan.⁵ Firishah tells us that the Vijayanagara army in A.D. 1443 was composed of 62,000 archers (of whom 2,000 were Muhammadans, and 60,000 Hindus), 80,000 horsemen and 200,000 foot-soldiers.⁶

¹ Sewell, *For. Emp.*, 31.

² Major, *India*, p. 6; Sewell, *ibid.*, p. 82.

³ Firishtah, Briggs, *The Rise*, II, p. 309.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 314.

⁵ Elliot, *Hist. of India*, IV, p. 105; Sewell, *ibid.*, p. 38.

⁶ Firishtah, *ibid.*, p. 432.

The third foreign traveller, who has remarked on the strength of the army, is Varthema. He says: "He (the Vijayanagara king) is a very powerful king, and keeps up constantly 40,000 horsemen. . . . The said king also possesses 400 elephants and some dromedaries, which dromedaries run with great swiftness".¹ This was in the year A.D. 1502.

Duarte Barbosa (A.D. 1514) gives us some interesting facts about the army. He writes thus: "The King of Narsyngua has always more than nine hundred elephants which he purchases for one thousand five hundred and for two thousand cruzados each. . . . He has also upwards of twenty thousand horses, each of which costs him from four to six hundred cruzados. . . . Between both horse and foot the King of Narsyngua has more than a hundred thousand men of war continually in his pay, and five or six thousand women whom also he pays to march in his train"²

When we reach the times of Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya the Great, we find that the Hindu Government maintained the old strength of the army. The one notable event in the reign of that monarch was the military success which he won against the Muhammadans. The battle of Raichur marked an epoch in the annals of the times. According to the Hindu sources, Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya put into the field an almost incredible number of forces. From the *Rāyavāchakamu* we learn that he commanded, while fighting against the combined armies of Bijapar, Golkonda and Bidar, 120 *ghattams* of elephants, 60,000 horse and 500,000 foot.³ The *Kṛishṇarāyavijayam* says that his army was made up of 600,000 foot, 6,600 horse and 2,000 elephants.⁴

The foreign witnesses give us more astonishing figures. Paes affirms the following: "Now I desire you to know that this king has continually a million fighting troops, in which are included 35,000 cavalry in armour; all these are in his pay, and he has these troops always together and ready to be despatched to any quarter whenever such may be necessary. I saw, being in this city of

¹ Varthema, Jones, p. 126; Temple, p. 51; Sewell, *For. Emp.*, p. 118.

² Barbosa, Dames, I, pp. 209-12; Stanley, pp. 89-90.

³ *Rāyavāchakamu*, *The Sources*, pp. 113, 120.

⁴ *Kṛishṇarāyavijayam*, *ibid.*, p. 131.

Bisnaga, the king despatch a force against a place, one of those which he has by the sea-coast; and he sent fifty captains with 150,000 soldiers, amongst whom were many cavalry. He has many elephants, and when the king wishes to show the strength of his power to any of his adversaries amongst the three kings bordering on his kingdom, they say that he puts into the field two million soldiers; in consequence of which he is the most feared king of any in these parts".¹ According to Nuniz, Krishṇa Dēva Rāya had an army which was made up of 703,000 foot, 32,600 horse, and 551 elephants, besides the camp followers, merchants, etc., and "an infinitude of people" who joined him at a place close to Raichur.² In A.D. 1515 that same monarch is said to have despatched "his general and son-in-law Seeva Ray" with 100,000 foot and 8,000 horse to march against the Muhamṁadans.³ This force was sent to relieve Koṇḍaviḍu. Firishtah also tells us that in the battle of Raichur the Hindus commanded 50,000 cavalry, besides a vast host of foot.⁴

To these accounts we have to add that of the Portuguese historian Faria y Sousa (A.D. 1521), who wrote thus: "Whilst our Governōr was in the *Red Sea*, *Crisnarao*, King of *Bisnagar*, covered the Hills and Plains, and drank up Rivers, with an Army of thirty-five thousand Horse, and seven hundred thirty-three thousand Foot, five hundred eighty-six elephants loaded with Castles, in each of which were four Men, and twelve thousand Water-carriers to supply all parts, that the Men might not disperse to seek it. The Baggage was numberless, and there were above twenty thousand common Women. He led all this power to take the city of Rachol . . ."⁵

Rāma Rāja also maintained the great standard of the Hindu army. When 'Ali 'Adil Shāh was confronted with difficulties in A.D. 1558, he despatched "Kishwar Khan and Abao Toorab to Beejanuggur, to solicit aid from Ramraj . . .", and the latter marched to join him with fifty thousand horse and a great army of foot.⁶

¹ Sewell, *For. Emp.* pp. 279-80. For a discussion of the numbers of men see *ibid.*, pp. 147, seq.

² *Ibid.* pp. 147, 326-8.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 134.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 151.

⁵ Faria y Sousa, *Asia Port.*, I, P. III, p. 236; Sewell, *ibid.*, p. 145.

⁶ Firishtah, Briggs, *The Rise*, III, p. 120; Sewell, *ibid.*, p. 196.

The strength of the army on the eve of the great battle of Rākshasa-Taṅgaḍi, according to Firishtah, was the following—900,000 infantry, 45,000 cavalry, 2,000 elephants and 15,000 auxiliaries.¹ The anonymous author of the *Bakhair* gives a detailed account of the Hindu forces on the battlefield of Rākshasa-Taṅgaḍi thus :

| | |
|----------------------------------|-------------------|
| I Horses | 6,548,321 |
| II Camels | 1,874,429 |
| III Elephants | 18,768 |
| IV Artillery : | |
| (a) Gunpowder casks | 98,776,413 |
| (b) Gunners | 43,876 |
| (c) Great guns | 2,343 |
| (d) Smaller guns | 324 |
| (e) Ramajunga | 762 |
| (f) Hattarnal | 9,876 |
| (g) Sutarnal | 7,654 |
| (h) Herrarachengees | 7,646 |
| (i) Rama Banas | 6,782 |
| (j) Banakaras (Rockets) | 97,645 |
| (k) Jajakees | 987,656 |
| (l) Hunkarguli | 9,876,432 |
| (m) Mahatabbs (or Blue lights) | 98,765,432 |
| (Different kinds of Fireworks) | |
| (n) Tara-Mandal | 6,594,321 |
| (o) Bujabra | 76,768 |
| (p) Rana-gaddi (or war chariots) | 4,321 |
| V Bulls | 9,876,543,210,000 |
| VI Foot soldiers : | |
| (a) Infantry | 1,239,430 |
| (b) Hunara-vanara | 33,460 |
| (c) Siladar | 34,567 |
| (d) Cuttigars | 45,987 |
| (e) Zomoyaldars | 57,965 |
| (f) Drummers and Fifers | 45,678 |

¹ Sewell, *For. Emp.*, p. 202. See also p. 203 for the remarks of Sewell on Firishtah's account. Firishtah, however, gives conflicting accounts. In one place he says that Rāma Rāja commanded an army which was composed of 70,000 cavalry, 90,000 infantry, besides archers and artillerymen. Briggs, *The Rise*, III, p. 247. Then again he tells us that the Hindu army consisted of 100,000 horses and 300,000 foot. *Ibid.*, p. 414.

| | | |
|--|-----|--------------------|
| (g) Ittagars | ... | 43,620 |
| (h) Puckallies | ... | 15,940 |
| (i) Addahattaries | ... | 43,432 |
| (j) Huyelswararu | ... | 98,964 |
| (k) Rajputs | ... | 48,976 |
| (l) Sila-topi navaru (Iron Helmets) | ... | 6,456 (1) |
| (m) Sena-naikas | | 4,567 ¹ |

In the absence of independent evidence, it is not possible to ascertain either the names of some of the component parts of the infantry and cavalry, or the veracity of the figures given in the *Rāma Rāja Charitre*. The number of camp followers given in the same account is still more incredible, as will be shown in the section on the Hindu camp. Nevertheless, if the accounts of foreign witnesses can be given any credence; if it is true that as Paes and Castanheda relate, "the king could call upon a million, or even two millions, of men at will";² and, finally, if one realizes the gravity of the situation caused by the confederacy of the Muhammadans not only in the great capital, but also in the whole of the Hindu Empire, one may doubt whether the gallant old Regent was not able to summon an army which was large enough to withstand the united attempts of five powerful Sultans who were determined to subvert the riches, government and Dharma of the Hindu people. The fact that the Hindus were defeated is insufficient to cast doubt on the number of the forces on the eve of the great battle, although we admit that the anonymous author of the *Bakhair* cannot be relied upon for the accuracy of the numbers he has given.

In addition to the regular troops, there were the auxiliary forces of the feudatories and lords. About these Nuniz remarks thus: "The officials of the King who go about the kingdom are these . . . Firstly Saluvanyque, the present minister . . . he is obliged to maintain for the King, viz: thirty thousand foot and three thousand horse and thirty elephants . . . Another captain, Ajaparcati-mapa . . . He is obliged to serve with twenty-five thousand foot, fifteen hundred horse and forty elephants . . . Another captain, who is called Gapanayque . . . is obliged

¹ *Rāma Rāja Charitre*.

² Sewell, *For. Emp.*, pp. 150, 279-80.

to furnish two thousand five hundred horse, and twenty thousand foot, and twenty elephants Another called Lepapayque is obliged to furnish twelve thousand horse and twenty thousand foot and twenty-eight elephants The treasurer of the jewels, who is called Narvara he spends on twelve thousand foot and six hundred horse and twenty elephants. Another captain called Chinapayque. . . serves with eight hundred horse and ten thousand foot (*pracos*). Crisnapanayque . . . serves with five hundred horse and seven hundred foot (*pracos*). Also Bajapanarque. . . he serves with eight hundred horsemen and ten thousand foot and fifteen elephants. . . Mallapanarque . . . is obliged to serve with four hundred horse and six thousand foot. . . . Another captain, called Adapanayque He serves with eight thousand foot and eight hundred horse and thirty elephants. . . . Another Bajapanayque he serves with a thousand cavalry and ten thousand foot and fifty elephants. . . . In this way the kingdom of Bisnaga is divided between more than two hundred captains who are all heathen"¹

According to the *History of the Carnataca Governors*, the Vijayanagara king commanded forty thousand cavalry, four thousand elephants and ten thousand camels.² His principal officer Nāgama Nāyaka, according to the same source of information, was in charge of these forces, in addition to which he had a personal contingent of six thousand cavalry and twenty thousand infantry.³ Even after the tremendous shock of A.D. 1565, the Vijayanagara sovereign, according to a Jesuit letter dated A.D. 1583, could assemble on the field a good many elephants, horse and a numerous army.⁴

SECTION 2. *The Component Parts of the Vijayanagara Army*

From the above description of the number of forces which the Hīndu Government could summon in times of need, it is obvious that the nature of the parts which composed their army was different from that of ancient times. It is a matter of common knowledge that, according to

¹ Sewell, *For. Emp.*, pp. 384-9.

² Taylor, *O.H. MSS.* II, p. 1, op. cit.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ Heras, *Q.J.M.S.*, XIV., p. 131.

the Hindu conception, the army was made up of four parts or divisions—infantry, cavalry, elephants and chariots. In the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya, the fourfold divisions are thus enumerated: "The infantry should be arrayed such that the space between any two men is a sama (14 aṅgulas); cavalry, with three samas; chariots with four samas; and elephants with twice or thrice as much space (as between any two chariots)".¹

A definite advance on the ancient conception was made by Sukrācharya in the following statement: "The king should have his infantry four times the cavalry, bulls one-fifth of his horse, camels one-eighth, elephants one-fourth of the camels, chariots half of the elephants, and cannon twice the chariots".² Sukra seems to have introduced three new elements—bulls, camels and cannon. These raise the figure to seven, and, according to Sukra, we have, therefore, infantry, cavalry, elephants, chariots, camels, cannon and bulls. But in reality, Sukra merely gave legal sanction to two of the parts already mentioned as auxiliaries by Kauṭilya—bulls and camels—and introduced one new feature—artillery—which was unknown to the age of the *Arthaśāstra*. Kauṭilya makes provision for the bulls and camels, but only as a means to an end. "The king who has a small number of horses may combine bulls with horses; likewise when he is deficient in elephants, he may fill up the centre of his army with mules, camels and carts."³

In the twelfth century the classical idea still prevailed in the Karṇāṭaka, although the actual use of one of the essential parts—chariots—had long become out of date. The four-fold divisions of the army (*hasty-aśva-ratha-padāti-balaṁ*) are mentioned in A.D. 1143.⁴ Even so late A.D. 1302 the people remembered the *chaturāṅga-balaṁ*.⁵

The Vijayanagara monarchs apparently transgressed the injunctions of Kauṭilya and the precedent of the early

¹ *Arthaśāstra*, Bk. V., Ch., V, 372, p. 430.

² *Sukraniti*, IV., vii., l. 41, p. 128. Sukra further enjoins that the ruler whose income is a *lac karsha* (or one lakh of rupees) should have every year one hundred reserve force of same age, well accounted and decently equipped with weapons and missiles, three hundred foot soldiers armed with lesser fire-arms or guns, eighty horses, one chariot, two larger fire-arms or cannon, ten camels, two elephants, two chariots, sixteen bulls, six clerks, and three councillors. *Ibid.*, ll. 47-52, p. 219. See also I., ll. 365-74, p. 24 for different kinds of kings.

³ *Arthaśāstra*, Bk. X., Ch. IV, 371, p. 430.

⁴ E.C. VIII, Sa. 58, p. 103.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Nr. 27, p. 131.

rulers of Kārṇāṭaka as regards the four-fold divisions of their army. Sewell speaks of the troops of Vijayanagara marching against the Sultan of Gulbarga in A.D. 1419 with horse, foot, and elephants.¹ This was only partially true. For the Hindu army was made up of six parts. An inscription dated A.D. 1390-1 informs us that the Prince Dēva Raya "for a long time carried out a fierce military expedition by order of his father Harihara (II) accompanied by the six component parts of the army . . ."² The six parts of the Vijayanagara army were the following—infantry, cavalry, elephants, artillery which included "chariots" or carts, camels and bulls. The *Bakhair of Rāma Rāja* is the only account which gives us an idea of these six parts of the army.³ The Vijayanagara rulers, therefore, unintentionally followed the mediaeval precept of Sukra rather than the classical injunctions which restricted the forces to the four well known names. We shall now enumerate in some detail these six divisions of the Vijayanagara army.

I. INFANTRY

Recruitment into the army was not restricted to any particular class of the people. The opinion of foreign travellers confirms the information supplied by early inscriptions on this matter. A record dated A.D. 1356 relates that the different contingents which made up the Vijayanagara army were composed of the Turks, Seunas, Telugus, Pāṇdyas and Hoysālas.⁴ From the very commencement of their political career, the sons of Saṅgama sought the support of all classes for the maintenance of their Empire. And they were able to secure it by throwing open military service to the different sections of people. Barbosa in A.D. 1514 confirms the evidence of the epigraph we have cited, about the cosmopolitan nature of the Hindu forces. He writes thus: "Among these men-at-arms there are many knights, who arrive there from many parts to take service, and these do not cease to live in their creeds".⁵ As already narrated in connection with the Foreign Relations

¹ Sewell, *For. Emp.* p. 65.

² Butterworth-Chetty, *Nellore Ins.*, I, p. 4.

³ For the popular conception of the army, read Lakshmiṣa, *Jaimini Bhārata*, Sandhi, VIII., v. 37, p. 165. (Sanderson).

⁴ Rice, *My. Ins.*, pp. 2, 5, op. cit.

⁵ *Barbosa*, Stanley, p. 91; *Dames*, I, p. 212.

of Vijayanagara, the Hindu monarchs also enlisted Muhammadans in their service. In A.D. 1442 there were two thousand Muhammadan soldiers well skilled in archery in Vijayanagara.¹ Paes, as we shall presently describe, speaks of the Moors in the grand review held at the capital. "Then the Moors—one must not forget them—for they were there also in the review with their shields, javelins and Turkish bows, with many bombs and spears and fire-missiles; and I was much astonished to find amongst them men who knew so well how to work these weapons".² We have already recorded the testimony of Nuniz about the Moors who led the van during the decisive Raichur campaign.³

As regards the actual system of recruitment we have unfortunately not many details. In describing the origin of the Zemindari of the Dōṭṭiya fort, the local chronicles give the following information: "At the time when the *Padsha* came against the *Rayer* (i.e. the king of Vijayanagara) before the capital was taken, the *Rayer* sent out red garments, with a message that so many as were willing to leave their families should put on those garments and prepare for war. My ancestor *Macala nayaker* of the *Panjai valla* tribe, with his people assembled; and after defeating the invaders came to the *Rayer's* presence".⁴

Barbosa gives more trustworthy details: "And whenever the king's officers take and enrol any man, they strip him and look what marks he has got on his body, and measure what his stature is, and set it all down in writing, and from whence he comes, and the names of his father and mother: and so he remains enrolled with all these particulars in the pay books. And after being enrolled, it is with difficulty that he can again obtain permission to go to his country; and if he flies and is taken, he runs great danger, and is very ill treated."⁵

The *Rāmarāṣiyamu* gives us some particulars about the numbers that make up a unit. Each unit was composed of one elephant, twenty horses, sixty arches, sixty swordmen, and sixty spearmen. It seems that there were 3,500

¹ Firishtah, Briggs, *The Rise*, II, p. 432; Sewell, *For. Emp.*, p. 72. See *supra*, p. 410.

² Sewell, *ibid.*, pp. 277-8.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 329, op. cit. Rāngachari speaks of the Baḍagas under Vijayanagara. I.A., XLIII., p. 113, n. (49).

⁴ Taylor, *Cat. Rais*, III, p. 356. See also p. 361.

⁵ Barbosa, Stanley, pp. 92-3; Dames, I., p. 212.



Sculptures representing Soldiers marching (Bottom).
[Vol I, p 423]

such units in the Vijayanagara army during the siege of Kandanavōlu (Kurnool).¹

Rice in a short note deals with the weapons used by the Vijayanagara soldiers. Basing his remarks on one or two weapons secured from Pura, Māṇḍya taluka, and on those preserved in the extensive armoury of the royal palace at Mysore, he speaks of certain types of weapons, amongst which a light sword with a fish tail and another like a flexible band that could be worn as a belt, deserve special notice.²

There are some references to the weapons used by the soldiers under Vijayanagara both in literature and the account of foreign travellers. These may be supplemented by the sculptures as seen on the walls of the capital. Gaṅgādēvi gives us a few names of the weapons carried by the Hindu soldiers. These were the *kṛiṣaṇa*, the *kār-ṣaṇa*, the *prāsa*, the *kunṭa* and the *kōdaṇḍa*.³ Gaṅgādēvi confirms the evidence of Barbosa about the cosmopolitan nature of the army of Vijayanagara in the above description.

Firishtah, while describing the campaign of A.D. 1433, tells us that the soldiers were "armed in the usual manner with pikes and lances".⁴ But the Portuguese travellers have more details to give about the dress and weapons of the Hindu soldiers. Paes writes thus: "Then, turning to the troops on foot, there are so many that they surround all the valleys and hills in a way which nothing in the world can compare. You will see amongst them dresses of such rich cloths that I do not know where they come from, nor could any one tell how many colours they have; shield-men with their shields, with many flowers of gold and silver on them, others with figures of tigers and other great beasts, others all covered with silver leaf-work beautiful wrought, others with painted colours, others black and (so polished that) you can see into them as into a mirror, and their swords so richly ornamented that they could not possibly be more so. Of the archers, I must tell you that they have bows plated with gold and silver, and others have been polished, and their arrows very neat, and so feathered that they could not be better;

¹ *Rāmarāṣṭyam, The Sources*, p. 102.

² E.C. III, Intr. p. 34.

³ Gaṅgādēvi, *Madhurāvijayam*, Canto, IV, v. 10, p. 29.

⁴ Firishtah, Briggs, *The Rise*, II, p. 432.

daggers at their waist and battle axes, with the shafts and ends of gold and silver; then you see musqueteers with their musquets and blunderbusses and their thick tunics, all in their order, with their (*Lioes*?) in all their bravery; it was indeed a thing to see".¹ His remarks about the Moors with their shields, javelins and Turkish bows, given above, are to be recounted here. Nuniz also has a few observations to make on the dress and the accoutrement of the soldiers of Vijayanagara. "All were equally well armed, each after his own fashion, the archers and musqueteers with their quilted tunics,² and the shieldmen with their swords and poignards in their girdles; the shields are so large that there is no need for armour to protect the body, which is completely covered . . ."³

As regards some of the tactics practised by the Hindus, Firishtah has a few remarks to make. While describing an incident in the siege of Bañkāpur, he says: "The infantry of the Carnatic, who value their lives but little, were quite naked, and had their bodies anointed with oil, to prevent them being easily seized. . . ."⁴

The Portuguese writers mention some details about the battle cry of the Hindus: "When the news of this event (i.e., on the defection of *Tirumala*, as recorded by Caesar Frederick) reached *Rāma Rāya*'s ears, the valiant chief . . . was incensed with fury; and in order to encourage his troops he remounted his horse, and shouting several times 'Gorida; Gorida! (Garuda! Garuda!)' with his men charged the allied army".⁵

This refers we believe, to *Gōvinda* rather than to *Garuda*, as the Rev. Heras suggests.

II. CAVALRY

It may be doubted whether any other part of the Vijayanagara was so important as the cavalry. The foreign policy of the rulers was to a large extent governed by the necessity of securing for themselves a continuous supply of horses from Ormuz, and they were thus brought into close contact with the Portuguese in Goa. This was, as

¹ Sewell, *For. Emp.*, p. 277. For Sewell's conjectures, see *ibid.*, pp. 201, n. (2).

² On the quilted tunics, see Sewell, *ibid.* pp. 276, n. (2).

³ Sewell, *ibid.*, pp. 327-8.

⁴ Firishtah, Briggs, *The Rise*, III, p. 137.

⁵ Heras, *Aravidu*, p. 208.

remarked elsewhere, due to a dearth of good horses in the Empire.¹ The Hindu rulers were so obsessed with the idea of controlling a monopoly of horses for their State that they were blind to the fact that their endeavours in this direction only aided a foreign power to settle down permanently on the west coast of their Empire.² This had an abiding effect on the history of the land. But, for the moment, the Vijayanagara monarchs allowed principles of profit to over-ride the greater question of the stability of their Empire.

They spent enormous sums on horses imported from Ormuz. Nuniz tells us that the Emperor bought every year 13,000 horses from Ormuz. "The King every year buys thirteen thousand horses of Ormuz, and country-breds, of which he chooses the best for his own stables, and he gives the rest to his captains, and gains much money by them; because after taking out the good Persian horses, he sells those which are country-bred, and gives five for a thousand *pardaos*, and they are obliged to pay him the money for them within the month of September; and with the money so obtained he pays for the Arabs that he buys of the Portuguese, in such a way that his captains pay the cost of the whole without anything going out of the Treasury".³ Whatever may be the principle underlying such a policy of economizing the revenues of the State, it is clear that the Vijayanagara monarchs were in dire need of horses. Nuniz writes thus about Sāluva Nṛishmha: "He caused horses to be brought from Oromuz and Adeem (Aden) into his kingdom and thereby gave great profit to the merchants, paying them for the horses just as they asked. He took them dead or alive at three for a thousand *pardaos*, and of those that died at sea they brought him the tail only, and he paid for it just as if it had been alive".⁴ The idea which lay behind the system of paying for a dead horse is also inexplicable.

The actual price of a horse, which the reader must have noted from the observations we made while describing the country in general, varied, as can be seen by comparing the account given above with that relating to Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya the Great. On his way to meet 'Alī Ādil Shāh, the

¹ Sewell, *For. Emp.*, p. 72.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 176-7.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 381-2.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 307.

monarch "bought six hundred horses from the Portuguese at the rate of $4\frac{3}{4}$ for 1,000 *paradaos*".¹ Nuniz, who gives us these details, was himself a trader in horses in Vijayanagara. He tells us that the king bought twelve or fifteen country-bred horses for a thousand *paradaos*.² Under ordinary circumstances, therefore, the Vijayanagara monarchs were not constrained to resort to measures which Tirumala adopted when he attempted to recover from the effects of the great battle of Rākshasa-Taṅgaḍi. We may here note that one of the centres which contained a number of superior saddlers was Baṅkāpur.³

Nuniz further tells us the following about the manner in which the king maintained the horses: ". . . he has sixteen hundred grooms who attend to the horses, and has also three hundred horse trainers. . . To the six thousand horsemen the King gives horses free and gives provision for them every month, and all these horses are marked with the King's mark; when they die they are obliged to take the piece of skin containing the mark to Madanarque, the chief master of the horse, so that he may give them another, and these horses which he gives are mostly country-breds. . . ."⁴

From the inscriptions we can gather a few facts about the system by which the Government secured fodder for their horses. A copper-plate grant dated A.D. 1447 contains a *nirūpa* or written order of a *sēvaka mānya* or service *mānya*. "The following *nirūpa* of a service *manya* was granted by the *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Pratāpa Rāya to Pedda Cheppappa Redḍi, the *dēsāyi* of Māyikollāpura. For their service of supplying grass to our horses, we have ordered that the lands now in the enjoyment of your people of the Samudra-kulāchāra, wherever they may reside, should be free from imposts (specified) and. . . . (*kirti varṇādulu naḍapukōṇi*). You are at liberty to cultivate the lands in your places well and to enjoy in succession whatever crops you may grow, with all rights (specified) and without any molestation".⁵ Another inscription dated Śaka 1451, Vi-rōdhi, Māgha (A.D. 1530, January) narrates that a certain

¹ Sewell, *For. Emp.*, p. 361, n. (2).

² *Ibid.*, p. 381.

³ Commentaries of Albuquerque, III, pp. 246-7.

⁴ Sewell, *ibid.*, p. 381.

⁵ E.C., XII, Tm. 52. The meaning of the expression *kirti-varṇādulu* is not clear. *Ibid.*, p. 14, n. (2), text, p. 49.

Timmarasa built a choultry and made provision for feeding twelve Brahmans at Yaḷape (Bellary district) which was a *mukāsa* village given to him by Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya to maintain horses.¹

Some powerful viceroys, however, resorted to force in procuring the necessary supplies. Tirumala Nāyaka, on hearing of the invasion of Diṇḍigul by the Mysoreans, called together the Pāleyagāras and addressed himself to Raṅgaṇa Nāyaka the Pāleyagāra of Diṇḍigul, thus: "As we are going to fight against the capital of the Mysore country, and as for many years past you have acquired a great extent of territory, having had the full proceeds of all revenues from the privilege of being an adopted child of Madura, (heretofore accorded to your ancestors) it is now fit that you contribute sixteen thousand (gold) *chakra-pons* towards the expense of the army." But when he pleaded that he was unable to pay such a huge amount, it was reduced to 7,000 *pons*.²

The remarks of Nuniz that the king gave the horsemen provisions every month may be set side by side with those of Barbosa, who, as we saw while dealing with the royal kitchens, speaks of the monthly allowance of four or five *paradaos* given to the knights, with a groom and a slave girl for personal service, and daily provisions supplied from the great royal kitchens.³

Paes gives us the following particulars about the dress of the Hindu cavalry: "Now I should like to describe to you how they were armed and their decorations. The cavalry were mounted on horses fully caparisoned, and on their foreheads plates, some of silver but most of them gilded, with fringes of twisted silk of all colours, and reins of the same; others had trappings of Mecca velvet, which is velvet of many colours with fringes and ornaments; others had them of other silks, such as satins and damask, and others of brocade from China and Persia. Some of the men with the gilded plates had them set with many large precious stones, and on the borders lace-work of small stones. Some

¹ 216 of 1913. The date Saka 1451 (Virōdhi, Māgha) is evidently meant for expired Saka 1451. Swamikannu, *Ind. Eph.*, V. p. 262. "Mukhasa—a village or land assigned to an individual either rent free or at a low quit rent condition of service." Wilson, *Glossary*, p. 352.

² Taylor, *O.H. MSS.* II, p. 171.

³ *Barbosa*, Dames, I, p. 210, op. cit.

of these horses had on their foreheads heads of serpents and of other large animals of various kinds, made in such a strange manner that they were a sight to see for the perfection of their make. The horsemen were dressed in quilted tunics, also of brocade and velvet and every kind of silk. These tunics are made of layers of very strong raw leather, and furnished with other iron (plates) that make them strong; some have these plates gilded both inside and out, and some are made of silver. Their headpieces are in the manner of helmets with borders covering the neck, and each has its piece to protect the face; they are of the same fashion as the tunics. They wore on the neck gorgets (*cofos*) all gilded, others made of silk with plates of gold and silver, others of steel as bright as a mirror. At the waists they have swords and small battle-axes, and in their hands javelins with the shafts covered with gold and silver. All have their umbrellas of state made of embroidered velvet and damask, with many coloured silks on the horses. They wave many (standards with) white and coloured tails, and hold them in much esteem—which tails are horses' tails".¹

III. ELEPHANTS

The third main division of the Hindu army was made up of elephants. 'Abdur Razzāq, as we have already seen, was astonished at their size; and he tells us of the houses in which they were lodged.²

As regards the method in which they were armed, we have the following from Paes. "The elephants in the same way are covered with caparison of velvet and gold with fringes, and rich cloths of many colours, and with bells so that the earth resounds; and on their heads are painted faces of giants and other kinds of great beasts. On the back of each one of them are three or four men, dressed in their quilted tunics, and armed with shields and javelins, and they are arrayed as if for a foray".³

This number of men carried by an elephant which Paes gives agrees with that given by Faria y Sousa,

¹ Sewell, *For. Emp.*, pp. 275, 276, n. (2), 277. Sewell on p. 276, n. (2) refers to the description of the dress of the Hindu cavalry by Barros. For a description of the horse during festival times, see *ibid.*, p. 377. *Infra* Volume II, Chap. IX. Festivals, Games and Amusements.

² Elliot, *Hist. of India*, IV, pp. 105, op. cit.; Major, *India*, p. 27.

³ Sewell, *ibid.*, p. 277.

who, as remarked in a previous page, says that each elephant carried four men in its "castle". Nuniz says: "The war-elephants go with their howdahs (*castellos*) from which four men fight on each side of them, and the elephants are completely clothed, and on their tusks they have knives fastened, much ground and sharpened, with which they do great harm".¹ Varthema tells us, however, that in the very large and strong wooden box carried each on side of the elephant, there were in all seven persons, among whom was included the elephant driver. The description of a war-elephant given by Varthema has already been cited.²

IV CAMELS

These formed a regular division of the Vijayanagara army. But we have very meagre notices of the camels either in literature or in the accounts of foreign travellers. Vijayanagara, according to tradition, as we have narrated, commanded a force of 10,000 camels, which was in charge of Nāgama Nāyaka.³ Varthema's remarks about the dromedaries which run with great swiftness, have already been noticed. *The Rāma Rāja Charitre*, we may add, gives the number of camels on the battlefield of Rākshasa-Taṅgaḍi as 1,874,429.⁴

V BULLS

About the contingent of bulls too very little can be gathered from reliable sources. The *Bakhair of Rāma Rāja* gives an incredible number of bulls in the army: 9,876,543,210,000! We do not know whether this formidable figure is in any way trustworthy. While describing the conquests of Kaṇṭhīrava Narasa Oḍeyar, who "conquered Denaikancotta (Daṇāyakanakotṭa) Sattimungal (Satyamaṇ-galaṁ) and other places," Wilks in his *Sketches* says that "Nagana Naid, described to be the head of the bullock department of Acheta Deva Rayeel of Vijayanuggur, founded the dynasty of the Naieks of Madura about the year 1532, with the aid of a colony of Telingas, which seems to

¹ Sewell, *For. Emp.*, p. 328.

² *Varthema*, Jones, p. 126; Temple, p. 51. Cf. The description of the war elephants given by Nikitin, Major, *India*, p. 12; Sewell, *ibid.*, p. 104.

³ Taylor, *O.H. MSS.*, II, p. 1, op. cit.

⁴ *Mack. Coll.*

have been planted in that country sometime before by the government of Vijayanuggur".¹ Nuniz, as we shall see, speaks of sumpter-mules and asses, and of great numbers of oxen which carried all the supplies of the camp.²

VI ARTILLERY

Unlike the two foregoing parts of the Vijayanagara army, the last division which was made up of artillery has figured in the writings of foreign travellers as well as in indigenous records. Firishtah, while describing the campaign of A.D. 1368 and the complete failure of the Hindus against the Muhammadans, writes thus: "According to the Tohfut oos-Sulateen, two thousand elephants, three hundred gun-carriages, and battering rams, seven hundred Arabian horses and a sing'hasun set with jewels, were included in the booty of the King—all other articles were left to the officers and soldiers".³

Briggs, who accepts the veracity of the above narrative,⁴ comments thus on the passage: "If any reliance is to be placed on Molla Dawood Bidury, the author of Tohfut-oos-Sulateen, guns were used at this time by the Hindoos; and in a subsequent passage, it is remarked that the Mahomedans used them for the first time during the next campaign. But I am disposed to doubt the validity of both these statements. From the latter passage it seems possible, indeed, that the Mahomedans might have procured guns from the West in 1368, because they are said to have been used eighteen years previously by Edward III at the battle of Cressy, though it is very improbable; and Ferishta, in stating it to be the first time the Mahomedans employed them, also observes, that Toorks and Europeans, skilled in gunnery, worked the artillery. That guns were in common use before the arrival of the Portuguese in India, in 1498, seems certain from the mentioned made of them by Faria-y-Sousa, who represents the Moorish vessels in India, in 1502, bearing down upon the vessel of Peter de Ataide, called the 'St. Peter, into whom she passed her shot, and then made away, and was

¹ Wilks, *Sketches*, I., p. 54, n. (1810); I., p. 34, n. (1869).

² *Infra*, A Picture of the Hindu Camp.

³ Firishtah, Briggs, *The Rise*, II, p. 312.

⁴ Sewell also relies on Firishtah. *For. Emp.*, pp. 34-5, 35, n. (2).

pursued and taken off the bay of Cananor.' . . .¹ Faria-y-Sousa, who accompanied the early Portuguese in India, writes in chap. ix., p. 99. *ibid.*: 'The Moors of Sumatra, Malacca, and the Moluccoes (by which last appellation he means those princes bearing the title of Mookk, that is, the several princes of the Deccan) were well disciplined, and much better stored with artillery than we that attacked them, A.D. 1506'. All these circumstances, however, do not lead to the conclusion that the Hindoos had guns before they were introduced from the West by the Mahomedans, who adopted their use from Europe'.²

There are reasons to doubt the soundness of the conclusion arrived at by Briggs. According to Firishtah, who continues the description of the campaign of A.D. 1368, "Mahomed Shah, by the advice of Khan Mahomed, did not lay siege to Adony, but collecting a train of artillery which had never till then been employed by the faithful in the Deccan, he gave the command to Mookurrib Khan, son of Sufdur Khan Seestany, attaching to him a number of Toorks and Europeans acquainted with the art of gunnery".³ The Muhammadans, therefore, made use of artillery in A.D. 1368. The statement of Faria y Sousa refers to the year A.D. 1502. One may question whether the assertion of the Portuguese historian can be made to disprove the statement of Firishtah. Without entering minutely into the question, we may note in passing that mention is made in the *Sukraniti* of gunpowder and gunners.⁴

But this does not certainly prove that the Vijayanagara monarchs used guns in or about A.D. 1368. It is the inscriptions which enlighten us on this point. That the author of the *Tohful-us-Sulatīn* was not far wrong in stating that in or about A.D. 1368 the Hindus had guns can be gathered from a record dated A.D. 1388 which contains the earliest reference to firearms in Vijayanagara history. The inscription narrates that on the death of the match-lock man (*kōvikāra*) Dēvayya Nāyaka, son of Chik-kagoṇḍa of Muṭṭuguppe, by snake-bite, his wife Muddana

¹ Faria y Sousa, *Asia Port.*, I, p. 58.

² Briggs, *The Rise*, II, p. 312, n.

³ Firishtah, Briggs, *ibid.*, II, p. 312, n.

⁴ *Sukraniti*, II, ll. 393-6, p. 83; IV, ll. ll. 60-3, p. 140. VII, ll. 386-418, pp. 235-237, 237, n. (1).

kēti performed *sahagamana*.¹ There is another inscription, probably of the times of Dēva Rāya II which mentions gunpowder in unmistakable terms. It relates that on "Eṭiva-Maḷaga driving along an elephant for the city elephant of the Male-rāyya—the *Mahā-prabhu* Bayicha Gauḍa, who was supplying gunpowder to the Naḍaṅgiri-nāḍ Rāja (*naḍaṅgirimāḍa rajāna [rājana] maddin sēvayim*), . . . slew some powerful enemies and went to *svarga*".² It is quite likely, therefore, that somewhere between the years A.D. 1360 and 1420, the Hindus might have borrowed the idea of using guns from the Muhammadans, whose acquaintance with cannon in about A.D. 1420 is confirmed by Nicolo dei Conti. This traveller says: "The natives of central India make use of balistae, and those machines which we call bombardas, also other warlike implements adapted for besieging cities".³ There is nothing improbable in the Hindus of southern India having imitated the Muhammadans in this respect prior to A.D. 1420, especially when we remember that these people were brought together more often on the battlefield than on platforms of peace and mutual goodwill.

We have already mentioned the number of cannon used in the great battle of Rākshasa-Taṅgaḍi. The total, according to the *Bakhair*, was 2,667. Nuniz merely says that "Several cannon were also taken" during the Raichur campaign.⁴ The chariots mentioned in the *Bakhair* were evidently carriages on which the cannon were transported. If they had used chariots as an independent unit of the army, foreign travellers could not have failed to notice them.

¹ E.C., VIII, Sb. 433, p. 81; P. II, p. 218. The date of the record is Saka 1310, Vibhava Samvatsara=A.D. 1388. Swamikannu, *Ind. Eph.*, IV, p. 378. There is no other means of verifying the date.

² E.C., VIII, Sa. 68, p. 104. P. II, p. 282. The date is given as *śaka-varushada sāvirada munnūḍ elpatta mūḍ samvat vistārada-abda-Durmatiyō Aśhāda-māsa Sudha Pāḍya*. In the Romanized version we have *Samvatsarad abdada*, p. 197. This epigraph contains some chronological difficulties. The name of the king is given as Immadi Dēva Rāya Mahārāya (A.D. 1446-67), the son of Dēva Rāya II. The record may have been assigned to the times of Immadi Dēva Rāya II, but the cyclic year Durmati agrees with Saka 1363 and not with Saka 1373, the cyclic year of which was Prajotpatti. Saka 1363 Durmati, Aśhāda-māsa Su. Pāḍya=A.D. 1441, June, Monday the 19th (?). Swamikannu, *ibid.*, V., p. 84. In the absence of more reliable data, the suggestion of Rice is followed here. B.A.S.

³ Major, *India*, p. 31; Sewell, *For. Emp.*, p. 86. These machines mentioned by Conti were evidently the *sutarnals* and the *kattarnals* mentioned in the *Rama Rāja Chariṭre*.

⁴ Sewell, *ibid.*, p. 328.

The *raṇagaddi* mentioned in the *Bakhair* were altogether 4,321 on the battlefield of Rākshasa-Taṅgaḍi.¹

SECTION 3. *The Military Department*

A. *Designation*

Without dwelling at length on the details of the military department as given in the *Arthasāstra* and *Sukranīti*², we may observe that the idea of entrusting the charge of the army to the care of a commander-in-chief called *daṇḍanāyaka* or *daṇṇāyaka*, was borrowed by the Vijayanagara monarchs from their predecessors, the rulers of Hoysala-*vamśa*. Under these the office of a *daṇṇāyaka* sometimes combined in itself the functions pertaining to the civil and military departments. This is evident from the designation of *Mahāpradhāna*, *Sarvādhikārī*, *Sēnadhiptai Hiriya Haḍa-vaḷa* (*periya paḍaivaḷa* in Tamil) *Sokkimayya* (*Bōkimayya*) in A.D. 1155.³ They were sometimes also given the title of *sāmāntādhipati* when they were placed over the feudatory chiefs. But the military designation generally remained as *sēnādhipati* or *daṇḍanāyaka* or, as in later times, merely *dalavāyi*. The life-guards, as we might term them, were called *garuḍas* under the Hoysalas. The general Chokimayya (*Bōkimayya*) claimed to be *Biṭṭi Dēva's* (*Vishṇu-varḍhana's*) *Garuḍa*. The Prince Lakshmaṇa was *Ballāḷa Dēva's Garuḍa*.⁴

The military department under Vijayanagara was called *kandāchāra*.⁵ The royal grant of a rent-free *agrahāra* in the villages of Hosakeṛe, otherwise called *Krishṇasamudra*, and *Gaurāpura* in *Pāṇḍya-nāḍ*, in A.D. 1551, was caused to be written on stone by *Lakshmaṇa Bhaṭṭa* of the *kandāchāra* as a perpetual service (*sadā sēve*).⁶

B. *Organization*

(i) *The Commander-in-chief*

'*Abdūr Razzāq* is the earliest foreign traveller who gives us the official designation of the commander-in-chief of the

¹ *Mack. Coll.*

² *Arthasāstra*, Bk., Ch. II, pp. 398-402; *Sukranīti*, IV, vii, pp. 216-7; *Sarkar, Pos. Back.*, II, P. I, p. 114.

³ *E.C.*, X, Bp. 9, p. 136; *E.C.*, P.I., V, Hn. 69, p. 21.

⁴ *Rice, My. & Goorg.*, pp. 170-1.

⁵ *Rice, My. Gaz.* I, p. 472. (1st. ed.); I, p. 579 (Rev. ed.).

⁶ *E.C.*, XI, JI, 24, p. 87.

Vijayanagara forces. According to him the *danāik* (*dan-nāyaka*) was also the chief justice and "his residence lies behind the palace of the king".¹ The Brahman *dannāyaka*, who returned to the capital after ravaging the territory of Gulbarga, gave him "an assignment for 7,000 *fanams* on the mint the very day of his arrival".² This presupposes a harmonious working of the civil and military departments about which unfortunately nothing can be gathered.

We are again unable to ascertain the powers of the *danḍānāyaka*. From Chennamarāju's *Chāruchandrōdaya* we learn something about the insignia of a Vijayanagara general. 'Abdur Razzāq's information regarding this point is interesting, but the seven coloured umbrellas, the mace-bearers and the penegyrists³ are all associated with a court of law rather than with the office of a general. Chennamarāju, however, tells us that the following were the insignia of a general: a triumphal banner of *Garuḍa-Nārāyaṇa*, a costly red cloth with golden flowers worked upon it, a *turāyi* or tiara, an elephant, a costly horse, a necklace called *vira malahāri*, a square-piece pendant on the breast known as *tālichaukaṭṭu* (?), pearl-bangles, an anklet called *ganḍapeṇḍāram*, and a sword ornamented with a tassel at the hilt.⁴

(ii) Minor Officials

The *dannāyaka* may have had under him the *nāyakas* (or chiefs who held *nāyaṅkaṟs*) mentioned elsewhere.⁵ But about the details of the military department nothing can be gathered from the epigraphical records. Foreign travellers, on the other hand, enlighten us on the subject. Paes tells us the following: "In this city the king held another review of the troops of his guard, and he distributed pay to all because it was the beginning of the year, and it is their custom to pay salaries year by year. An inspection is held by the officers of his house, and they write down

¹ Elliot, *Hist. of India*, IV, p. 108; Sewell, *For. Emp.*, p. 91.

² Elliot, *ibid.*, p. 122.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 108.

⁴ *Chāruchandrōdaya. The Sources*, p. 242. The ornament called *Ganḍapeṇḍāra* was in great fashion under the Hoysalas. See *E.C.*, VII, Sk., 153, of A.D. 1039, p. 109; Sk. 138 of 1194, p. 106; Sk. 95 of A.D. 1215, pp. 61-2. Cf. *Ganḍapeṇḍāra* with *dakṣiṇapeṇḍāra*. *E.C.*, XII, Gb. 58.

P. 77.

⁵ *A.S.R.* for 1908-9, p. 185.

the name of each one, and the marks that he has on his face or body. There are men of the guard who have a thousand *pardaos* pay, and others eight hundred, others six hundred and more, and a little more or less; there is a difference, and also a difference in the persons. Some men of them who are of higher rank than others have two horses or three, and others have no more than one. These troops have their captains, and each captain goes with his guard to mount guard at the palace according to order and custom; the king has in his guard five hundred horse, and these watch outside the palace armed with their weapons. There are two watches inside, and people with swords and shields".¹

The evidence of Nuniz cannot be made to reconcile with that of Paes as regards the number of the king's guard. Thus writes Nuniz in his *Chronicle*: "When the King rides out there go with him usually two hundred horsemen of his guard whom he pays, and a hundred elephants, and this in addition to the captains, forty or fifty in number, who are always in attendance with their soldiers. He takes with him two thousand men with shields, all men of good position, ranged in order on the flanks, and in front goes the chief *alcaid* with about thirty horsemen having canes in their hands like porters; the chief *alcaid* bears a different wand; he who is now chief *alcaid* of this King is called Chinapanaique. Behind with the rearguard goes the Master of the Horse with two hundred horsemen, and behind the cavalry go a hundred elephants, and on their backs ride men of high estate. He has in front of him twelve destriers, saddled, and in front of these horses go five elephants, specially for the King's person, and in front of these elephants go about five-and-twenty horsemen with banners in their hands, and with drums and trumpets and other music playing so loudly that you can hear nothing. Before these goes a great drum carried by men at the sides, and they go now and then striking it; the sound of this is heard a long distance off; and this drum they call *picha*. After the King has mounted he counts the two hundred horsemen and the hundred elephants and the

¹ Sewell, *For. Emp.*, pp. 283. We have seen that, according to Barbosa, before admitting recruits into service, the Government entered their names in books after noting all the marks on their bodies. What Paes relates refers to an annual review and the same procedure is repeated obviously with the idea of checking earlier reports. B.A.S.

shield-bearers of the guard, and whoever is missing is severely punished and his property confiscated".¹

Why the king after mounting should himself count the two hundred horsemen and the shield-bearers when even, according to Nuniz's own narrative, there were important officers like the chief *alcaid* (?) and the Master of the Horse and the various captains on the scene, cannot be made out. In a later passage he explains more clearly the nature of the king's guard: "The King has continually fifty thousand paid soldiers, amongst whom are six thousand horsemen who belong to the palace guard, to which six thousand belong the two hundred who are obliged to ride with him. He has also twenty thousand spearmen and shield-bearers, and three thousand men to look after the elephants in the stables; he has sixteen hundred grooms who attend to the horses, and has also three hundred horse trainers and two thousand artificers, namely blacksmiths, masons, and carpenters, and washermen who wash clothes".²

These observations of Paes and Nuniz definitely suggest that there was a centralized military department in Vijayanagara with its rules and customs, its gradation of officers and a large staff of persons whose services were indispensable during a campaign. Duarte Barbosa's remarks about the order and arrangement which prevailed in the kitchen section of the *kandāchara* department already mentioned in an earlier page may be recounted here. His evidence is specially valuable in this connection, since it confirms our supposition that the Hindu rulers had a centralized military system. According to Barbosa, "if the knight to whom the king has given a horse cares for it and treats it well, they take away that one and give him another and a better one; and if he is negligent, they take his away and give him another that is worse. And thus all the king's horses and elephants are well fed and cared for, at his cost: and the grandees, to whom he gives a great quantity of them, act in the same manner with their knights".³

(iii) *The King's Armoury*

Mention is made in the history of the *Carnataka Governors* of the armoury at the capital. Viśvanātha Nāyaka, on

¹ Sewell, *For. Emp.*, pp. 371-2.

² *Ibid.*, p. 381.

³ Barbosa, Stanley, p. 90; Dames I, p. 211, op. cit.

the ninth day of the festival of Navarātri, was informed by a goddess to select a sword from the armoury of the king. He offered his services to the king, "provided he might have a suitable sword, to be selected from the number of swords kept in a chest in the king's armoury" at Penugonḍa.¹ The provincial rulers too had their own armouries. The location of the armoury of Tirumala Nāyaka is thus given in the same work: "To the north of that (i.e., a pointed dome) is the place for captive kings: in it there are many guns and arms".²

(iv) Military Accounts

From the observations of foreign travellers cited above, it is clear that the soldiers were paid by the Government. The system of giving pay to soldiers is very ancient. Kauṭilya enjoins thus: "That army which is vast and is composed of various kinds of men and is so enthusiastic as to rise even without provision or wages for plunder. . . . is (to be considered as) a compact body of vast power".³ In the detailed enumeration of wages given by Sukrāchārya, provision is made for the payment of salary even to the deceased servants of the king.⁴ It is obvious, therefore that long before the thirteenth or fourteenth century, the system of paying soldiers was already in vogue.

The Persian ambassador tells us that "the *sipāhis* receive their pay every four months, and no one has an assignment granted to him upon the revenues of the provinces".⁵ According to 'Abdur Razzāq, therefore, the military organization was thoroughly centralized. But the Portuguese travellers do not agree with him as regards the time when the soldiers received their pay, although all of them admit that the State disbursed salaries to its soldiers. In a passage already cited above, Paes informs us that it was their custom to pay salaries year by year.⁶ In another connection he tells us: "Each of these captains labours to turn out the best troops he can get because he pays them their salaries . . .".⁷ Perhaps the rulers of Vijayanagara might have

Taylor, *O.H. MSS.*, II., p. 7.

Ibid., II., p. 157.

Arthaśāstra, Bk. IX, Ch. II, 344, p. 400.

Sukraniti, II., ll. 780-831, pp. 98-9.

Elliot, *Hist. of India*, IV, p. 109.

Sewell, *For. Emp.*, p. 283, op. cit.

Ibid., p. 281.

introduced a reform as regards the time of the disbursement of the salaries to the soldiers, after the days of Dēva Rāya II. But it is certain that, as Barbosa narrates, they had pay books on which the names of the soldiers with all necessary details, remained enrolled.¹

The feudatories too had a system of military accounts. We infer this from the term *sēnāpatya-kaṇakku* found in the inscriptions of the Pāṇḍyas of the south. A transaction was made in Śaka 1475 (A.D. 1553-4) effecting the transfer of the tax-free gift of an unclaimed land and house originally given to a person for looking after the military accounts (*sēnāpatya-kaṇakku*) in the times of Jaṭilavarman Kula-sēkhara Dēva.² At the instance of Prince Aḷagaṇ Perumāl Ativīrarāman, in Śaka 1479 (A.D. 1557-8) under the same Pāṇḍyan ruler, lands were granted to Ekanārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa of Vaṅgipuram, as a permanent holding for writing the military accounts.³

SECTION 4. *Reforms*

Firishtah is our only authority on the subject of the reforms introduced by Dēva Rāya II. "About this time (A.D. 1437-8?) Dew Ray of Beejanuggur summoned a council of his nobility and principal bramins; observing to them, that as his country (the Carnatic) in extent, population, and revenue, far exceeded that of the house of Bahmuny, and also as his army was more numerous, he requested them to point out the cause of the successes, of the Mahomedans, and of his being reduced to pay them tribute. Some said, that the Almighty had decreed to them a superiority over the Hindoos for thirty thousand years, a circumstance which was foretold in their own writings; that it was on this account, therefore, the Hindoos were generally subdued by them. Others said, that the superiority of the Moslems arose out of two circumstances; first that their horses were stronger, and able to endure more fatigue than the weak animals of the Carnatic; secondly, that a great body of excellent archers was always maintained in pay by the kings of the house of Bahmuny, of whom the Ray had but few in his army.

¹ Barbosa, Stanley, p. 91, op. cit. Cf. Nuniz, Sewell, *For Emp.* p. 381, op. cit.

² 557 of 1917. This was the son of Abhirāma Parākrama Pāṇḍya Dēva.

³ 572 of 1917.

"Dew Ray, upon this gave orders to enlist Musulmans in his service, allotting to them estates, and erecting a mosque for their use in the city of Beejanuggur. He also commanded that no one should molest them in the exercise of their religion, and, moreover, he ordered a Koran to be placed before his throne on a rich desk, so that the faithful might perform the ceremony of obeisance in his presence without sinning against their laws.¹ He also made all the Hindoo soldiers learn the art of archery; to which both he and his officers so applied themselves, that he could soon muster two thousand Mahomedans, sixty thousand Hindoos well skilled in archery, besides eighty thousand cavalry, and two hundred thousand infantry, armed in the usual manner with pikes and lances".²

We may be allowed to mention here the reforms introduced by Muhammad Shāh Bāhmani II in about A.D. 1477. This ruler abolished the old custom of allowing forts in each province in the hands of the governor, or *turufdar*, who appointed his own soldiers; and replaced it by a new measure by which only one fortress was left in the hands of the governor, while all the others were directly controlled by the officers of the king. These were distinctly appointed by the ruler, and paid from headquarters.³ Firishtah continues thus: "The mode of paying the army was also altered; formerly the officers of five hundred men had one lac of hoons per annum; of a thousand, two lacs, whether payable in cash or in jageer assignment. Khwaja Mahmood, after the entire conquest of Tulingana, in order to conciliate the army, increased the pay of an officer of five hundred to one lac and twenty-five thousand hoons, and an officer of a thousand to two lacs and fifty thousand. In the jageer assignments it was understood, if the revenues fell short of the estimate even by one hoon, the balance was payable out of the royal treasury: at the same time, if the officers kept one soldier less than the complement, a sum equal to his pay was deducted from the allowances. By these excellent rules order every where prevailed, the government acquired strength and justice was done to all parties; but this rigid scrutiny gave offence to many ambitious

¹ Cf. Rāma Rāja's measure already described in Chapter VIII. See Firishtah, Briggs, *The Rise*, III, pp. 78-9.

² Firishtah, *ibid.*, II, pp. 430-1.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 503.

chiefs, who, in consequence, entertained hatred to the minister".¹

With the limited information we have of Vijayanagara on this particular subject, we may now venture to compare the Hindu and Muhammadan methods of maintaining soldiers, making due allowance for other things:

In the first place, both the Hindu and Muhammadan governments appointed their own generals and officers over the large forts in their provinces.

Secondly, both of them assigned lands to those officers for the maintenance of their forces. The *jāgīr* assignments of the Bāhmani government were similar to the rent-free lands or estates granted to the *nāyakas* and the *amara-nāyakas* of Vijayanagara.

Thirdly, both the Hindu and Muhammadan governments paid their soldiers—excepting those who were attached to the personal staff of the provincial rulers²—directly from headquarters. Firishtah's remarks that the soldiers under Muhammad Shāh Bāhmani II, were paid from headquarters, may be compared with the evidence of 'Abdur Razzāq, who says, as we have already noticed, that the Vijayanagara soldiers received their salary from the capital.

But there was some difference between the two systems. The Bāhmani government punished its officers who had failed to keep "one soldier less than the complement" by deducting an equal sum from the allowances; the whole system proved beneficial, because everywhere order prevailed. But the nobles entertained hatred to the minister. The Vijayanagara Government obviated the latter but secured the former advantage, according to the contemporary standards of efficiency. Instead of punishing the negligent nobles by deducting amounts from their pay, they substituted, as Barbosa tells us, a worse horse or an elephant for the one which the noble had failed to feed properly. This had the desired effect of appealing to the better feeling of the officials, and of compelling them, without wounding their sense of justice, to maintain efficient contingents of horses and elephants. We may observe in this connection that the statement of Paes that every captain tried to have the best troops by giving pay to them, suggests that there

¹ Firishtah, Briggs, *The Rise*, II, pp. 503-5.

² These were the soldiers who were responsible to their immediate masters, the viceroys.

may have been healthy rivalry between the officers of the Hindu army in the matter of furnishing themselves with efficient troops.

Before we describe a military review, we may note that roads were constructed for military purposes in the Hindu Empire. The existence of military roads is proved by an inscription dated A.D. 1524 which mentions *daṇḍina-dāri* and *daṇḍa-mārga* (military road).¹

SECTION 5. *A Review of Troops*

One notable feature of the military organization of the Hindu Government was the annual review. This was held at the end of the great Mahānavami festival. Paes writes thus: "When these days of festival are past, the king holds a review of all his forces, and the review is thus arranged. The king commands to pitch his tent of Mecca velvet a full league from the city, at a place already fixed for that purpose; and in this tent they place the idol in honour of which all these festivals are celebrated. From this tent to the king's palace the captains range themselves with their troops and array, each one in his place according to his rank in the king's household. Thus the soldiers stand in line; but it does not appear to you to be only one line but in some places two or three, one behind the other. Where there was a lake it was surrounded with troops, and where the road was narrow they were drawn up on the plain; and so on the slope of the hills and eminences, in such a way that you could see neither plain nor hill that was not entirely covered with troops. Those on foot stood in front of those on horses, and the elephants behind the horses; in this array was each captain with his troops. The captains who had their stations inside the city, since the soldiers could not be drawn up to the flat roofs of the houses put up scaffoldings across the mouths of the streets to hold the troops, in such a way that all were full, both outside and in. . . The king leaves his palace riding on the horse of which I have already told you, clothed in the many rich white cloths, I have mentioned, with two umbrellas of state all gilded and covered with crimson velvet, and with the jewels and adornments which they keep for the purpose of wearing at such times: he who ever wears such jewels can under-

¹ Gupte, *Ep. Ind.*, XIX., pp. 133-4.

stand the sort of things so great a lord would wear. Then to see the grandeur of the nobles and men of rank, I cannot possibly describe it all, nor should I be believed if I tried to do so; then to see the horses and the armour that they wear, you would see them so covered with metal plates that I have no words to express what I saw, and some hid from me the slight of others; and to try and tell of all I saw is hopeless, for I went along with my head so often turned from one side to the other that I was almost falling backwards off my horse with my senses lost. The cost of it all is not so much to be wondered at, as there is so much money in the land and the chiefs are so wealthy.

"There went in front of the king many elephants with their coverings and ornaments, as I have said; the king had before him some twenty horses fully caparisoned and saddled, with embroideries of gold and precious stones, that showed off well the grandeur and state of their lord. Close to the king went a cage such as is seen at Lisbon on the day of the Corpo de Dios festival, and it was gilded and very large; it seemed to me to be made of copper or silver; it was carried by sixteen men, eight on each side, besides others who took their turns, and in it is carried the idol of which I have already spoken. Thus accompanied the king passed along gazing at his soldiers, who gave great shouts and cries and struck their shields; the horses neighed, the elephants screamed, so that it seemed as if the city would be overturned, the hills and valleys and all the ground trembled with the discharges of arms and musquets; and to see the bombs and fire-missiles over the plains, this was indeed wonderful. Truly it seemed as if the whole world were collected there.

"In this way it went on till the king arrived at the place where the tent was that I have already mentioned, and he entered this and performed his usual ceremonies and prayers. You must not think that when the king passed the troops moved from their positions, on the contrary they stood motionless in their places till the king returned. As soon as the king had finished his ceremonies he again took horse and returned to the city in the same way he had come, the troops never wearying of their shouting; as soon as he passed by them they began to march. Then to see those who were on the hills and slopes, and the descent of them with their shouts and beating of shields and shaking of arrows and bows that were without count. Truly, I was

so carried out with myself that it seemed as if what I saw was a vision, and that I was in a dream. Then the troops began to march to their tents and pavilions in the plains, which were great in number; and all the captains accompanied the king as far as the palace, and thence departed to rest themselves from their labour".¹

The grand military pageant in the reign of Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya the Great, as described by Paes, seems to have struck the foreign travellers with its orderliness and magnificence. One does not find a similar picture of the Emperor Achyuta from the pen of Nuniz; "And after these nine days are finished the Rao rides out and goes to hold a review of the troops of his captains, and he goes a length of two leagues between the armed men. At the end he dismounts and takes a bow in his hand and shoots three arrows, namely one for the Yadallcāo (Ādil Shāh), and another for the King of Catamuloco (Qutb Shāh of Golkonda), and yet another for the Portuguese; it was his custom to make war on the kingdom lying in the direction where the arrow reached furthest. After this is done the King returns home, and on that day he fasts and with him all the people of the land. . ."² Now, we know that the Vijayanagara monarchs did not allow their discretion to be directed by their bows and arrows. Paes, who was also an eye-witness of the review, does not mention this incident. But the fiction of the arrow must have been circulated among the foreigners, for Barbosa speaks of it but on an altogether different occasion. We shall presently cite his evidence. For the present, we may note that the observations of Nuniz relating to the arrows savour more of superstition rather than of personal observation.

SECTION 6. *Some Features of the Army*

Much can be gathered about this phase of their military life from foreign travellers. We shall deal with the method by which the Hindus mustered their troops, pitched their camp, conducted their campaigns and concluded peace. The very fact that the annual military review was held at the close of the great Mahānavami festival, and that during its course the king examined the troops in company with

¹ Sewell, *For. Emp.*, pp. 275-9.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 378-9.

an image, which was obviously carried in a palanquin, suggests that the Vijayanagara monarchs attached some religious significance to their military manoeuvres. In the methods by which they summoned their army we have a further proof of the same sentiment. Barbosa tells us how the king went for war. "He then gives out in how many days from that time he will start, and this news runs through the whole city and kingdom. Thence he goes forth at once and fixes his camping ground in the open country where he awaits the time fixed for his advance. When the time is fulfilled he issues a proclamation [ordering that the whole city shall be at once set on fire, saving the palaces, fortresses, and temples, and those of certain lords which are not thatched and this he does in order]¹ that all men shall attend with their wives and sons and households, all are ordered to go thither, for he says that men fight better if they have the responsibility of wives and children and household goods on them".² If wives and children, according to Barbosa, were also ordered to follow the soldiers, then, it is difficult to understand why the Government should have included "numerous unmarried women"—mentioned by the same traveller in the same passage—among the camp followers.

The devoutness with which Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya the Great started on his campaign is thus described by Nuniz: "After the King had made his offerings and performed sacrifices to his idols he left the city of Bisnaga with all his troops; and they marched in the following order".³

This must evidently have been after the customary consultation with the Brahmans and nobles who formed the King's Council. Firishtah, while narrating the events of a great campaign, which he assigns to the year A.D. 1366, relates that "The Raja, Kṛishṇa Ray, on receiving the intelligence (of the movement of the Muhammadans) summoned the nobles of his court, and consulted on the best mode of opposing the Mahomedans".⁴

The *Rāyavāchakamu* gives us an account of the military preparations of Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya prior to the siege of

¹ This "ridiculous statement" is explained by Dames, *Barbosa*, I., p. 225, n. (1).

² *Ibid.*, I., p. 225; Stanley, p. 97.

³ Sewell, *For. Emp.*, p. 326.

⁴ Firishtah, Briggs, *The Rise*, II, p. 314; Sewell, *ibid.*, pp. 36-7.

Sivanasamudra. After examining the treasury and army, and making all the necessary preparations for the expedition with the assistance of the able minister Appāji (Sāḷuva Timma), the Emperor entertained all the Bōya nobles (Dōras) and the men of the eighteen Kappaṇas (Kamṇas? provinces?) at a grand feast. He then ordered them to proceed to a distance of about three āmaḍas (thirty miles) into the territories of the enemy, and gather from there men, cattle, sheep and goats, that they might not be available to the enemy. Leaving a company of horse to guard the city along with the minister Sāḷuva Timma, and ordering all the people of the *vinīyōgams* [executive department?], he directed the war-drum to be sounded, and then set out for the city.¹

But there are other interesting aspects of this question, and these relate to the manner in which the soldiers were stirred to action, and the activities of the poets and generals during a campaign. Firishtah informs us that during the expedition of A.D. 1366, the king "commanded the brahmins to deliver every day to the troops discourses on the merit of slaughtering the Mahomedans, in order to excite the zeal of his soldiers. He encouraged the brahmins, also to arouse their indignation, and confirm their hatred of the enemy, by representing them as the destroyers of temples, and of the images of their gods, and also as the slaughterers of cows".²

The fact of the king delivering a speech to the soldiers before or during a campaign is also proved by what Nuniz says about one of the early kings of Vijayanagara. He describes the war which the king of Nagundy (Āneguṇḍi) waged with the king of Delhi. "Then the King of Bisnaga, seeing the determination of the soldiers of the King of Delly that they would never leave the place without making an end of those whom he had with him in the fortress, made a speech to them all, laying before them the destruction that the King of the troops of Dely had caused in his own kingdoms; and how, not content with that, he had besieged this fortress, so that now there was nothing for them to look to but death, since already there was no water in the fortress nor anything left to eat. And (he said) that of the fifty thousand men who had been in the city of

¹ *Rāyavāchakamu, The Sources*, pp. 111, 118.

² Firishtah, Briggs, *The Rise*, II, p. 314.

Nagundy he had chosen them alone as his companions and true friends, and he begged of them that they would hold fast in death to the loyalty which they had borne him in their lives; for he hoped that day to give battle to the King of Delly. Then he said that already there remained to him of his kingdom and lordship nothing but that fortress and the people that were in it, and so he asked them to arm themselves and die with him in battle, giving their lives to the enemy who had deprived them of all their lands.

"All of them were very content and glad at this, and in a short space were all armed; and after they were so the King made them another speech, saying, 'Before we join battle we have to wage another war with our sons and daughters and wives, for it will not be good that we should allow them to be taken for the use of our enemies'.'"¹

Nuniz writes about a king whom he had never seen and about whom even the people of Vijayanagara could have had but dim recollection. Nevertheless on the evidence of Firishtah, who speaks of the events of A.D. 1366, one may be inclined to give some credit to the observations of Nuniz. On the strength of these two witnesses, it is not improbable that the Regent, as is related in the *Bakhair*,² may have delivered a speech to his soldiers on the battlefield of Rākshasa-Taṅgaḍi.

This method of infusing courage into the heart of the soldiers was not an invention of the Vijayanagara monarchs. Kauṭilya has laid down the following rules as regards the encouragement that was to be given to the army: "As to an open fight or fair fight, a virtuous king should call his army together, and, specifying the place and time of battle, address them thus: 'I am a paid servant like yourselves; this country is to be enjoyed (by me) together with you; you have to strike the enemy specified by me'. His minister and priest should encourage the army by saying thus: 'It is declared in the Vedas that the goal which is reached by sacrificers, after performing the final ablutions, in sacrifices in which the priests have been duly paid for, is the very goal which brave men are destined to attain'.'"³

From the Muhammadan standpoint the Brahmans appealed to the baser instincts of the soldiers, confirming the

¹ Sewell, *For. Emp.*, pp. 294-5.

² Mack. Coll.

³ *Arthasāstra*, Bk. X, Ch. III, 367, pp. 425-6.

hatred of the latter for the enemy by depicting them as destroyers of temples, images and cows. But according to the ancient Hindu lawgivers, the Brahmans in Vijayanagara were only doing what was laudable, since Manu had decreed that they should instigate the soldiers by laying stress on the supreme need of self-sacrifice for the sake of the Brahmans, cows and women. For, according to him, "dying without the expectation of a reward, for the sake of Brahmans and of cows, or in the defence of women and children, secures beatitude" to the soldiers.¹ Those who delivered speeches to the army in Vijayanagara times must also have been acquainted with the injunctions of Manu as regards the duties of Kshatriyas on the battlefield.²

The *Rāyavāchakamu* says that when Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya was ready to proceed against Koṇḍavīdu, the court poets commemorated the event by composing two triumphal verses in honour of the king.³

The third feature of the Vijayanagara army was the encouragement given to the soldiers by the king who presented to them precious ornaments and bestowed on them the unique distinction of receiving betel leaf and nut at the royal hands. There is reason to suppose that this latter practice was the acknowledged mode of conferring on warriors and statesmen great honour in southern India. Before we deal with its political significance, we may note that on the eve of a great conflict, the king gave costly presents to the generals and soldiers. The Brahmans also came in for their share of the royal labour. On the battlefield of Rākshasa-Taṅgaḍi, Rāma Rāja, according to the *Bakhair*, presented the Brahmans with 50,000 gold pieces as alms. To the nobles the great Regent gave valuable jewels of stones, bracelets, necklaces, ear jewels, crowns, "*caustodbhāram, culkeetoorayyes*" and to the feudatories, the finest new cloths. The same honour was extended even to the *jamadars* who were presented with rich gifts.⁴ We may assume that the generous Regent, who cared to win the confidence of the *jamadars*, would not have passed over in silence the claims of the rank and file on that memorable occasion.

¹ *Manu*, X., 62, p. 416. But this refers to those excluded from the Aryan community.

² *Ibid.*, VII., 87-95, pp. 230-1.

³ *Rāyavāchakamu, The Sources*, p. 122. See *infra*.

⁴ *Mack. Coll.*

The traditional custom of permitting soldiers and generals to accept betel leaf at the royal hands was common in southern India since early times. It does not figure in the *Arthasāstra* nor is it mentioned in the *Sukranīti*. The author of the latter mentions the preparation and preservation of betel among the *kalās*.¹ One may venture to suggest that this particular custom may have originated in the south. When victory hung in the balance, the commander / called some noted chieftain to lead a forlorn hope, and devote his life to gain the day. To be chosen for such an enterprise was always represented as a great honour and the charge was confirmed with the presentation of betel leaf to the champion from the hand of his chief.² Thus in A.D. 1276 by order of Rāmachandra Dēva, the Yādava king, Timma of Sātuvali with the betel bearers (*haḍḍpadavaru sahitaṁ*) opposed the force of Kumāra Bommarasa, stirred up the enemy, stopped their army, captured and slew them.³ In the eleventh year of the same monarch (A.D. 1282) Bommarasa's son Tammiyarasa along with another chieftain laid siege to a fortress (probably Hosagunḍa) and sending for Kōḍi Nāyaka's son, Soḍḍiga Nāyaka, honoured him with betel leaf, and giving him an order, saying "Fight and help in battle". On which, that able bodied Soḍḍiga, taking the betel leaf from the hand of his ruler, entered into the fight, pierced the horse and men, distinguished himself, and gained the world of gods.⁴

This usage was by no means confined only to the Yādavas of Dēvagiri, and their feudatories in the north of the Karṇāṭaka. Kōṭe Sōmeya Nāyaka was the ruler of Paṭṭi Pombuchchapura (mod. Humacha, Nagar tāluka) in A.D. 1290. He marched against Baṅki Nāyaka and pitched his camp in Kānilachelave. In the course of the siege, Sōyya (i.e., the ruler Sōmeya Nāyaka) called Masūr Jak-kaya's son Bammeya Nāyaka and "giving him betel leaf from his tray (*pariyāḷada viḷeyava koḍut int enḍam*) and holding him with his lotus hands, directed him in the full character of hero to conquer the hill fort".⁵ Three years later (A.D. 1293) Kōṭi Nāyaka, the ruler of Sētu, sent for

¹ *Sukranīti*, II, ll. 410-11, p. 84; Sarkar, *Pos. Back.*, I, pp. 187-8.

² Rice, *Mysore & Coorg*, p. 171.

³ *E.C.*, VIII., Sa. 69-70, pp. 104-5.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Sa. 86, p. 107. Sa 84-5 of the same date evidently refer to the same episode.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Nr. 33, p. 133.

Bīre Nāyaka, and ordered him thus: "Recover the cows which the daḷavāyi of the Yādava family, Paraśurāma Dēva by his servant Mojoru has impounded, and come", and giving him betel leaf said, "March with all your army". Bīre Nāyaka hastened away with his army, released the cows but fell in the fight with the Yādava general Paraśurāma Dēva.¹

These instances prove that a great political significance was attached to the betel leaf in early times. It has no doubt played a conspicuous part in the social life of the people about which we shall relate in detail in a subsequent connection. In the political sphere too its importance was equally felt. Twenty-five people (named) of the Eighteen Kaṁpaṇas of the Āraga-vēṇṭhe, agreeing among themselves, in A.D. 1404 granted a *vīle* or betel leaf to Virappa Oḍeyar, the Viceroy of Āraga, stating that since they were unable to plough all the land, (obviously in the village of Bondi, in Mēlubbhāgi of Maduvaṅka-nāḍ), they gave it to the Viceroy for twenty-five *hon* to provide offerings for the god Kalinātha of the Mūlasthāna of Āraga, on the specific understanding that they had no further connection with that land of the Bondi village, having bestowed it, in the presence of witnesses, of their own free will.²

Foreign travellers do not tell us that the ancient custom of presenting generals with betel leaf prevailed in Vijayanagara. Their remarks are mainly confined to the importance of the betel leaf in the every day life of the people. But the *Rāyavāchakamu* narrates many events of the time of the great Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya. During his northern campaign, he came to know, chiefly through his spies, the atrocities committed by the Muhammadans in his own territory to the south of the Kṛishṇā. Summoning the chief of his *āmara-nayakas*, Pemmasāni Rāmaliṅga, he told him about the Muhammadan advance to the south, and consulted him how best to act under the circumstances. The general Pemmasāni Rāmaliṅga said that it was no serious matter, and assured him that he could, if entrusted with the attack, march into the enemy's camp and cut the ropes of their tents. He also gave other advice at which the Emperor presented him with betel and nut in token of his approval

¹ *ErC.*, VIII, Sa. 102, p. 110.

² *Ibid.*, Tl. 10, p. 164. See also *ibid.*, Tl. 9.

of Pemmasāni Rāmaliṅga's leading the attack.¹ From the *Bakhair* we learn that on the eve of the great battle, Rāma Rāja caused immediately the arrears of the army and their pay to be disbursed accompanied with betel leaf.²

Firishtah narrates that one of the conditions imposed by Vijayanagara on Husain Nizām Shāh I, in A.D. 1559, was that he "should submit to pay Ramraj a visit, and receive a *pān* (betel leaf) from his hands". The Sultan came to the Hindu court and gave the keys of Kallyān to Rāma Rāja, and said, "I give them to you as a present". Ramaraj immediately sent them to Ally Adil Shah, and gave Hoossein Nizam Shah *pān* . . ."³

SECTION 7. A Picture of the Hindu Camp

From the *Chronicle* of Nuniz we learn a great deal about the camp of the Hindu army. That traveller thus describes the manner in which Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya the Great pitched his camp on the eve of the battle of Raichur: "The tent of the King was surrounded by a great hedge of thorns with only one entrance, and with a gate at which stood his guards. Inside this hedge lodged the Brahman⁴ who washes him and has charge of the idol that he always carries about with him, and also other persons who hold offices about the King's person, and eunuchs who are always to be found in his chamber. And outside this circle all around are his guards, who watch all night at fixed spots; with this guard are quartered the officers of the household; and from thence to the front were all the other captains in their appointed posts, according as each one was entrusted and ordered. Outside of all these people, in a camp by themselves, were the scouts of whom I have

¹ *Rāyavāchakamau, The Sources*, pp. 112, 119.

² *Mack. Coll.*, op. cit.

³ *Firishtah, Briggs, The Rise*, III, pp. 241-2; Sewell, *For. Emp.*, p. 196. The tradition of giving betel leaf to warriors was handed down in the later days. Read Lakshmiśa, *Jaiminī Bhārata*, Sandhi, 2. v. 42, p. 24. (Sander-son).

⁴ This Brahman "who washes" the king may have been the same learned Brahman "who never married or ever touched a woman" mentioned in a later passage, p. 390. If it is so then he was probably Vyāsarāya, the well-known Madhva teacher. Nuniz is certainly wrong when he asserts that the Brahman washed the king. But this fiction, like the one relating to the great temple cars, seems to have been popular among foreigners. We shall see that Paes also relates the same about the king. B.A.S.

already spoken, whose duty it is to patrol all night through the camp and watch to see if they can catch any spies. On the other side the washermen, (who are those that wash clothes) were in a camp by themselves, and they were near to the place where they could best wash clothes.

"All the camp was divided into regular streets. Each captain's division has its market, where you found all kinds of meat, such as sheep, goats, pigs, fowls, hares, partridges and other birds, and this in great abundance; so much so that it would seem as if you were in the city of Bismaga. And you found many endless kinds of rice, grains, Indian-corn, vetches (*minguo*)¹ and other seeds that they eat. Besides these things, which are necessities, they had another (market) where you could find in great abundance everything that you wanted; for in these markets they sell things that in our parts are sold by professional hucksters. There were craftsmen, also, working in their streets, so that you saw made there golden jewels and gewgaws, and you will find all kinds of rubies and diamonds and pearls. with every other kind of precious stone for sale. There also were to be seen sellers of cloths, and these were without number as that is a thing so many want, they being of cotton. There were also to be seen grass and straw in infinite abundance. I do not know who could describe it so as to be believed, so barren a country is this Rachol and so sandy. It is a mystery how there should be an abundance of everything therein. Any one can imagine what grass and straw would be required each day for the consumption of thirty-two thousand four hundred horses, and five hundred and fifty-one elephants, to say nothing of the sumpter-mules and asses, and the great numbers of oxen which carry all the supplies and many other burdens, such as tents and other things. Indeed no one who did not understand the meaning of what he saw would ever dream that a war was going on, but would think that he was in a prosperous city. Then to see the numbers of drums and trumpets, and other musical instruments that they use. When they strike up their music as sign that they are about to give battle it would seem as if the heavens must fall; and if it happened that a bird came flying along at the time when they made such a terrific noise, it used to

¹ "*Minguo*, probably, *moong* or green grain ('Hobson-Jobson'). Ibn Batuta calls it *munj*, others *mungo*." Sewell, *For. Emp.*, p. 333, n. (1).

come down through terror of not being able to get clear of the camp, and so they would catch it in their hands; principally kites, of which they caught many.

"But I cease to speak more of this because I should never finish; and so I turn to tell of the battle".¹

While describing the camp followers, the same chronicler tells us that there were "washermen, who are numberless here—they wash clothes", twenty thousand public women, "some ten or twelve thousand men with water-skins" who go seeking water, and place themselves along the road to give water to those who have no one to bring it to them;" and some "fifty thousand men who are like scouts", who have to spy the country in front, and always keep that distance (i.e. of four leagues in front of all this multitude), and two thousand cavalry on their flanks.²

On the basis of the observations of Nuniz one may venture to think that the following figures given in the *Bakhair of Rāma Rāja* may not be entirely wrong, although we may repeat, it would be interesting if independent evidence could be found to confirm them. The *Bakhair* contains the following figures :

| | | |
|------------------------------|-----|------|
| Europeans | ... | 3454 |
| Harcarrahs | ... | 3454 |
| Mahaldars | ... | 4594 |
| Chapdars | ... | 6486 |
| Jasoods | ... | 4689 |
| Sastries | ... | 4864 |
| Masatjis | ... | 5786 |
| Murakkorras | ... | 4689 |
| Camelmen | ... | 4879 |
| Pooraneeks (Purāṇiks) | ... | 4687 |
| Taffa Joodes (Dancing girls) | ... | 5789 |
| Vabakas | ... | 7438 |
| Carpenters | ... | 4380 |
| Stonecutters | ... | 4376 |
| Saddle makers | ... | 3763 |
| Pallalgars | ... | 3767 |

¹ Sewell, *For. Emp.*, pp. 332-4. Cf. With the description given by Lakshmiśa, *Jaimini Bhārata*, Sandhi, 4, v. 18. p. 58. (Sanderson). Nuniz was not far wrong in his notices of the extraordinary noise made by the people on this occasion. B.A.S.

² Sewell, *ibid.*, p. 328.

| | | |
|---|-----|---------------------|
| Checklegars (Chucklers ?) | ... | 3763 |
| Gaddedas | ... | 4321 |
| Hookabundars | ... | 4597 |
| Charchubardar | ... | 5678 |
| Dallburder | ... | 4976 |
| Callaries | ... | 4567 |
| Boyees (palanquin bearers) | ... | 6789 |
| Booyas | ... | 5476 |
| Purlavanaras | ... | 4897 |
| Baultas | ... | 4579 |
| Shroffs | ... | 3643 |
| Faums (?) | ... | 3779 |
| Vidwans | ... | 4867 ✓ |
| Kavisvaras | ... | 5787 ✓ |
| Vinakars (Musicians) | .. | 467 |
| Cahdy (Cahly) Talladars | ... | 579 |
| Tellada Bhagavatas | ... | 379 |
| Artificers : | | |
| Ironsmiths | ... | 3736 |
| Goldsmiths | ... | 3775 |
| Brassmiths | ... | 3776 |
| The twelve classes of Artisans called "Balla- balottis" | ... | 76,321 ¹ |

Having thus formed some idea of the vastness and arrangement of the Hindu camp, we may now proceed to note a few more details about it. Nuniz tells us the manner in which the camp was supplied with the necessaries of life. "In this order, as I have stated, they left the city of Bisnaga, and with them a great number of merchants, besides many others who were already in advance with all supplies; so that wherever you may be you will at once find all you want. Every captain has his merchants who are compelled to give him all supplies requisite for all his people, and in the same way they carry all other necessaries".² In the description of the actual camp at Raichur which we have noted above, Nuniz says how the services of these merchants were called into requisition in order to turn "so barren a country" into a prosperous city.

¹ Mack. Coll. Some of the names, however, are indistinctly written in pencil. B.A.S.

² Sewell, *For. Emp.*, pp. 328-9.

It is interesting to inquire in this connection whether the Hindus had tents during a campaign. Paes, in the passage cited above, is positive about the tents and pavilions in the plains, which were great in number.¹ Nuniz also speaks of the great number of oxen which carried all the supplies and many other burdens "such as tents and other things".² Then again he says: "According to the King's custom, when he wishes to lie down and sleep, they make for him a hedge of brushwood and of thorns behind which his tent is pitched, which was done for him all along this route. . . ." But he contradicts this in a later passage thus: ". . . and when he (the king) takes the field, wherever he pitches his camp there they make for him houses of stone and clay, for he does not stay in a tent, and he always has these decorated with cloths".⁴ Barbosa speaks of the king pitching his tents and camp in the country.⁵

One particular feature of the camp which struck the foreign witnesses as remarkable was the presence of the public women in the army. There is no denying the fact that these formed an indispensable element in the Vijayanagara camp. Nuniz's remarks are confirmed by the other Portuguese traveller Barbosa, who gives us the reason why they were taken to the front, with an account of the manner in which the monarchs started on their campaigns. "In order that these may not take to flight he directs large pay to be given to all; in the first place, to the enchanting single women, who are numerous, and who do not fight, but

¹ Sewell, *For. Emp.*, p. 279, op. cit.

² *Ibid.*, p. 333, op. cit.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 329.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 370. See also *ibid* page where Nuniz speaks of a mosquito curtain and a house made of pieces of iron. One may question the validity of Nuniz not only on the strength of his own earlier assertion but on that of the fact that the Hindus—who were in close relationship with the Muhammadans on the battlefield from the later half of the thirteenth century,—may have borrowed the idea of the tents prior to the times of Krishna Dēva Rāya the Great. Indeed, it seems probable that even in earlier ages the Hindus of the south were not ignorant of the use of tents. This can be inferred from the mention that is made in inscriptions of *javanike*. Perumāla-mantri, the great minister of the Hoysala king Narasimha, according to a record dated A.D. 1284, acquired the title of *javanike Nārāyaṇa*, because in the presence of two contending armies he offered up the head of the brave Ratnapāla to the Lakshmi Victory, and seized his (Ratnapāla's) *javanike*. *E.C.*, IV, Ng. 38, p. 122. See also *E.C.* III, TN. 27, p. 72.

⁵ Barbosa, Stanley, p. 97. Dames does not mention it. I, p. 224. He translates the passage thus: "Thence he goes forth at once and fixes his camping ground in the open country where he awaits the time fixed for his advance".

their lovers fight for love of them very vigorously. And it is also said that many men come from all the other kingdoms to the king's camp for the love of these women, amongst whom there are many honourable ones, great confidantes of the king, who came of great houses, and are very rich. Each one of them keeps seven or eight pretty waiting women, who are given to them by their mothers to bring them up, and put them in the court enrolled on the pay list. They hold this service in great honour. . . .¹ While Barbosa's assertion that there were public women in the army only proves the remarks of the other travellers and of the *Bakhair*, it may be doubted whether entire reliance can be placed on him when he says that the great nobles allowed their ladies to join the army in their capacity as public women.²

We may read along with the above description of the Hindu camp that of the Muhammadans as recorded by Firishtah. While dealing with the campaign of A.D. 1366, he says that Muhammad Shāh Bāhmani I was compelled to take certain precautions. "As it was common for bands of thieves to steal into the camp at night, and murder and maim men and horses, he commanded the elephants taken from the Raja (of Vijayanagara) to be sent to Koolburga, desiring the officers to return all their baggage to that place, except what was absolutely necessary. The artillery was placed round the camp, connected by strong ropes and chains; and regular patrols went the rounds during the night".³ This insecurity which prevailed in the Muhammadan camp could also be observed so late as A.D. 1573. 'Ali Ādil Shāh after his victorious return from the battlefield of Rākshasa-Taṅgaḍi, tried to subdue one "*Velap Ray*", the ruler of Baṅkāpur. While the Sultan's army was besieging the fortress, the Hindu chieftain "prevailed on some chiefs to join his son; who acted with such vigour, that grain became scarce in the King's camp, which was molested every night by bands of robbers and assassins, who did much execution". The Hindu soldiers "entered

¹ *Barbosa*, Stanley, pp. 97-8; *Dames*, I, pp. 225-6.

² *Faria y Sousa*, *Asia Port.*, I, Pt. iii, p. 236, op. cit., may have followed Nuniz in his estimate of the courtezans who accompanied the Hindu army during the same siege of Raichur. See also Sewell, *For. Emp.*, p. 145, n. (1). For the position occupied by the public women in Vijayanagara see *infra* Volume II, Chapter IV, Women.

³ Firishtah, Briggs, *The Rise*, II, p. 313.

the tents at night and stabbed the soldiers (of the Sultan), while sleeping, without mercy. Every night numbers were killed by them in this treacherous manner, and so great a dread and discontent prevailed among the troops, that they were near forcing the King (Adil Shāh) to raise the siege. At length Moostufa Khan provided a remedy, both to ward off famine and to repel the nightly murderers. He detached the Bergy chiefs with six thousand horse against the enemy in the field, and stationed a chain of eight thousand foot round the camp every night".¹

The absence of such preventive measures in the Hindu camp notwithstanding the vast numbers of camp followers, in the accounts of the foreign eye-witnesses, suggests that it was more efficiently organized according to the standards of the age. But we may remark at the same time that the Hindus could be as indifferent to the needs of the hour as the Muhammadans were inefficient to guard their camp. The following sad plight which befell Dēva Rāya is related by Firishtah. "Lody Khan, Adam Khan, and Dilawar Khan (A.D. 1422) marched during the night, and fording the river at a distance, reached the environs of the enemy's camp at day-light. The Ray was then sleeping, attended only by a few persons, in a garden, close to which was a thick plantation of sugar-cane. A body of the Mahomedans entered the garden for plunder, and Dew Ray, being alarmed, fled, almost naked as he was, into the sugar-cane plantation. Here he was found by the soldiers, who taking him for a villager, loaded him with a bundle of canes, and obliged him to run with it before them. Dew Ray, perceiving he was undiscovered, took up the burden readily, hoping that he should be released when he reached the enemy's camp, or be able to effect his escape.

"They had not gone far when an alarm spread through the camp of the Hindoos, that Ahmud Shah (the Bāhmani Sultan) had crossed the river, and that the Ray was missing. The King entered the lines without opposition; and the soldiers who had taken Dew Ray, hoping to obtain more valuable plunder than sugar-cane, hastened to join their comrades, leaving him to shift for himself. Dew Ray fled, unnoticed, and about noon came up with some of his officers, by whom he was recognised, and received with

¹ Firishtah, Briggs, *The Rise*, III, p. 137.

great joy". His army began to re-assume some kind of order but he was compelled to fall back on Vijayanagara.¹

SECTION 8. *How Campaigns were Conducted* *Battle Array*

We may now turn to the arrangement of troops on the field and the method in which the Hindus commenced their campaigns. The details regarding these are unfortunately not numerous. Kautilya has minute regulations about the arrangement of troops in respect of wings, flanks, and front. According to him "the array in which the front is occupied by elephants, the flanks by chariots, and the wings by horses, is an array which can break the centre of the enemy's army". The general distribution of the units in the front and flanks is as follows: "An array of elephants may also be made: the front by such elephants as are trained for war; the flanks by such as are trained for riding; and the wings by rogue elephants. In the array of horses, the front by horses with mail armour; and the flanks and wings by horses without armour. In an array of infantry, men dressed in mail armour in front, archers in the rear, and men without armour on the wings, or horses on the wings, elephants on the flanks, and chariots in front . . ." That this was by no means the only order to be followed is clear in the next sentence which says that "other changes may also be made so as to oppose the enemy's army successfully".² Then Kautilya describes the different arrays—those formed like a staff, a snake, a circle, or in detached order. Each of these is dealt with in detail.³

¹ Firishtah, Briggs, *The Rise*, II, pp. 401-2. There are two considerations against this story. We know from the account of Nuniz that great precautions were taken by the Vijayanagara king to guard his camp day and night. This must also have been observed in the days of Dēva Rāya. It is difficult, therefore, to believe that that ruler could have lost himself without the knowledge of his body guard. Further, it seems incredible that the ruler should have pitched his camp near a sugar-cane plantation which, as is well known, is always a marshy ground. We may also remember the glowing account of the personality of Dēva Rāya II, as given by 'Abdur Razzāq (Elliot, *Hist. of India*, IV, p. 113), to realize the impossibility of the Hindu ruler being mistaken for a common villager. Nevertheless the episode as narrated by Firishtah illustrates one of the defects of the Hindu camp. B.A.S.

² *Arthasāstra*, Bk. X, Ch. V, 373, pp. 431-2. See also pp. 430-1.

³ *Ibid.*, Bk. X, Ch. VI, pp. 433-6.

Kauṭilya makes provision only for four divisions of the army; the Vijayanagara rulers, as we have observed, superseded the limits of the ancient times. Evidently with the increased number of parts they could only be guided by a writer like Śukrāchārya, who had taken the later improvements and additions into consideration. Śukra deals with the *shakata* (cart-like), *makara* (crocodile), *vajra* (thunder), and *chakra* (circle) arrays.¹ These are also described by Kauṭilya.² But Śukra also introduces the needle array and the pigeon array³ which are not mentioned in the *Arthaśāstra*. We can only conjecture that these injunctions of early and later legists may have been in the minds of the mediaeval generals of Vijayanagara.

The actual practice in southern India must have been somewhere within the limits of the regulations set down by the lawgivers. From the inscriptions we can learn a few details about it. Fragmentary as their evidence on this subject is, nevertheless it enables us to assert that the ancient and mediaeval regulations were quite known to the people of the Kārṇāṭaka. One of the battle arrays mentioned by Kauṭilya is the circle array. In the *Arthaśāstra* it is called the *maṇḍala*, and in the *Sukranīti*, the *chakra*. The technical name given to the battle order is *vyūha*.⁴ An inscription dated A.D. 982, found at Sravaṇa Belgola, mentions this kind of battle array exactly as it has been described in the classical and mediaeval codes. The epigraph further enlightens us on two kinds of fighting known to the people of the Kārṇāṭaka—the defence called the *ola sādḥaka* and the attack called *hora-sādḥaka*. This inscription which contains verses that have a double meaning, describes the greatness of the Raṭṭa king Indra Rāja, who could subdue hosts of enemies who had formed themselves into a *chakra-vyūham*, and mentions the two kinds of fighting—defence (*ola-sādḥaka*), including nine cuts, which made to the right and left hands, come to eighteen; and attack (*hora-sādḥaka*). The *chakra-vyūha* can be attacked on the four sides and above; these five cuts, made with the thirty-two kinds of weapons, give 160, which again made to the right and left

¹ *Sukranīti*, IV, vii, ll. 527-31, pp. 242-3.

² *Arthaśāstra*, Bk. X, Ch. VII, pp. 433-5.

³ *Sukranīti*, IV, vii, ll. 527-63, p. 242.

⁴ *Arthaśāstra*, *ibid.*; *Sukranīti*, *ibid.*

hands, come to 320. "These 338 kinds of blows or cuts did he deliver, varying them in a crore of ways . . . In this manner attacking the *chakra-vyūha* like a *chakra*-bearer by going round it, leaping on it, penetrating it here and there, he was unequalled in receiving no injury. . . ."

The bearing of a hero on the battlefield, with a description of the dress which he was given, is thus narrated in a later record dated A.D. 1290 which says that when Kōte Sōveyya Nāyaka marched against Baṅkī Nāyaka and pitched his camp in Kānilachelave, the hero Bomma, who, as we have seen, had the honour of receiving betel leaf from the hands of his ruler, prepared to meet the enemy. "He (Bomma) put on gold-coloured silk cloths, bound woollen cords round his head, and came forth bellowing like a bull to the cows".²

Although it is not possible to assert that the precepts of Kauṭilya or Sukrāchārya guided the action of the Vijayanagara monarchs in military affairs, yet it is not improbable that much of the theoretical knowledge as well as the practice current in the Karṇāṭaka may have been handed down to the new comers, who, as we have often remarked, were zealous to protect the ancient constitutional usage of the country. Gaṅgadēvī in her poem *Madhurāvijayam* gives us the earliest description of their method of warfare. The soldiers used not only arrows but also catapults which were worked with stones, and ladders to scale the walls. This was during the siege of Rājagambhīra where Champa (i.e., Sambhuva Rāya) had taken refuge.³

How Kaṁpaṇa went to war is also described in the same poem. Having attended to the usual ablutions of the morning, prescribed in the *sāstras*, he ordered his commander to march the army to the south. The battle drums were sounded, caparisoned elephants and horses arrayed, men in their mailed coats marshalled and the infantry got ready. The generals were adorned with ornaments suitable to the occasion and they gathered in the gateway of the palace awaiting the arrival of Kaṁpaṇa. Flags were unfurled, umbrellas of white silk held over the Prince, and the Brahmans reciting the *atharvaṇa mantra* blessed him

¹ E.C., II, No. 57, p. 145, (1st. ed.); No. 57, p. 62. (2nd. ed.) Cf. *Sukraniti* IV, vii, ll. 539-550, p. 245.

² E.C., VII., Nr. 33, p. 133.

³ *Madhurāvijayam*, Canto IV, vv. 69-73, pp. 35-6.

with victory, the cry of *jaya* (victory) ringing out everywhere. Kāmpaṇa approached the gate of the palace where his favourite horse was awaiting his arrival and mounted it, while the generals and nobles wished him success by holding both their hands in the *añjali* pose over their heads. The Chōla, Kēraḷa, and Pāṇḍya kings, as the poem relates, holding their batons in their hands proceeded forward on foot to make way for Kāmpaṇa's horse. The women folk of the town threw fried rice on the person of Kāmpaṇa by way of benediction, and prayed to God for his success.¹

An inscription dated A.D. 1403 mentions a kind of fighting called *sāmbraṇi*, the meaning of which is not clear. It narrates that a *Mahānāyakācharya*, having a mind to see a fight with left foot advanced and right foot in the *sāmbraṇi* fashion (*yeḍada-kāla chāchi balada-kāla sāmbraṇi-raṇa*)", Chennappa, son of Kāmeya Nāyaka, fell fighting against Palasumāmiḍi Chanda-bōva in the battle of Nāgārjunktōṭe.²

Nuniz again is our sole authority as regards the order in which Krishṇa Dēva Rāya the Great marched his troops during the Raichur campaign. "After the King had made his offerings and performed sacrifices to his idols he left the city of Bisnaga with all his troops; and they marched in the following order. The chief of the guard . . .³ led the advance with thirty thousand infantry—archers, men with shields, and musqueteers, and spearmen—and a thousand horse, and his elephants.⁴ After him went Trimbi-cara⁵ with fifty thousand foot and two thousand horse and twenty elephants. After him went Timapanayque; he had with him six thousand foot and three thousand five hundred horse and thirty elephants; and after him went Adapanayque with one hundred thousand foot and five thousand horse and fifty elephants. After him came Com-damara⁶, and he had one hundred and twenty thousand foot six thousand horse and sixty elephants; and after him went Comara⁷, and he had eighty thousand foot, and of horse two

¹ *Madhurāvijayam*, Intr., pp. 6-7, Canto IV, vv. 1-33, pp. 28-31.

² E.C., XI., C. 42, p. 102, n. (1)

³ His name was Kāma Nāyaka. Sewell, *For. Emp.* pp. 326, n. (2) 329.

⁴ Barros, in describing the same event, says sixteen elephants. Sewell, *ibid.*, p. 326, n. (3).

⁵ Triyambaka. Cannot be identified.

⁶ Cannot be identified. Sewell, *ibid.*, p. 360, n. (1).

⁷ Kumāra? Later on he speaks of 'Comarberya,' as being father-in-law of the Emperor. *Ibid.*, p. 336.

thousand five hundred, and forty elephants; after him the forces of Ogemdraho,¹ the governor of the city of Bisnaga, with one of his captains, who had one thousand horse and thirty thousand foot and ten elephants. After him went three eunuchs, favourites of the King, who had forty thousand foot, and one thousand horse and fifteen elephants. The page who served the King with betel had fifteen thousand foot and two hundred horse, but he had no elephants. Comarberca had eight thousand foot and four-hundred horse and twenty elephants. The people of the chief of Bengapor went by another route with the people of Domar, who were very numerous; and in the same way went other captains of ten or twelve thousand men, of whom I make no mention, not knowing their names. The King took of his guard six thousand horse and forty thousand foot, the pick of all his kingdom, men with shields, archers and three hundred elephants. . . .

"In the rear with the king, but always on the road in front of him, some ten or twelve thousand men with waterskins, who go seeking water. . . . Three or four leagues in front of all this multitude go" the scouts already mentioned.²

Nuniz unfortunately does not give the exact positions occupied by the contingents of horses, elephants and cannon. But in a later passage he says the following: ". . . he (the Emperor) ordered a general advance of all his forces. He divided his army into seven wings".³

The success or failure of a campaign sometimes rests on the activities of the scouts and the spies. Nuniz has given us some details about the former. As regards the latter⁴ Firishtah informs us the following in connection with the campaign of A.D. 1417. Firūz Shāh Bāhmani attacked Pangul, and Dēva Rāya with the aid of the ruler of Telingana, "marched against the King, with a vast host of horse and foot." In the course of the conflict "Meer Fuzl Oolla, who commanded the troops of Islam, charged the infidels with great valor, and routing their centre, fell upon their right wing, and was on the point of obtaining the

¹ Sewell suggests Ganda Rāja (Gundā? Gōvinda?) *For. Emp.* p. 327, n. (2). Perhaps the name may refer to Vijendra Rāya. This is uncertain. B.A.S.

² Sewell, *ibid.*, pp. 326-8.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 336.

⁴ For Kautilya's injunctions as regards spies, see *Arthaśāstra*, Bk. X., Ch. III, 368, pp. 426-7; Bk. XIII, Ch. III, p. 463, *seq.*

victory, when one of his own attendants, said to be bribed for the purpose by Dew Ray, inflicted a severe wound on his head, of which he instantly died." This fatal event changed the fortune of the day: the king was defeated, and managed to effect his escape with the utmost difficulty.¹

The war, however, continued under Ahmad Shāh I, whose bloody orgies on the battlefield exasperated the Hindus. A body of five thousand Hindus "united in taking an oath to sacrifice their lives in an attempt to kill the King, as the author of all their sufferings. For this purpose, they employed spies to observe his motions, that they might seize the first opportunity of accomplishing their ends".²

The *Rāyavāchakamu* contains some interesting details about the stratagem used by the minister and general of Krishṇa Dēva Rāya the Great during the siege of Koṇḍaviḍu, Vinukoṇḍa, and other fortresses in the kingdoms of the Gajapati ruler and of the Sultan of Bidar. On capturing the town of Ahmadnagar, the Emperor directed the fortifications to be destroyed; and for this purpose ordered that castor seeds should be sown where the fortifications stood. He proceeded towards Poṭlūri Simhādri (Simhādri Poṭṭunūr) but was deterred for a moment by the news of the great preparations made by the Gajapati ruler and his sixteen Mahāpātras to repel his army. The minister Appāji came to the rescue of the Emperor at this juncture. He despatched some chests full of gold and valuables with the consent of the Emperor to the sixteen Pātras along with secret letters. The letters said that the boxes were despatched to them according to the agreement between the Pātras and Krishṇa Dēva Rāya, and exhorted them to act up to it, by deserting the Gajapati ruler during the battle. Some of these boxes containing presents were captured by the messengers of the Gajapati king and were taken to him. On reading them he began to fear for his own safety, and retreated unnoticed towards the north. When the sixteen Pātras learnt about the flight of their master, they retired to their respective fortresses. The Gajapati capital consequently fell into the hands of the enemy.³

¹ Firishtah, Briggs, *The Rise*, II, p. 390; Sewell, *For. Emp.* p. 68.

² Firishtah, *ibid.*, II, p. 402; Sewell, *ibid.*, p. 68.

³ *Rāyavāchakamu*, *The Sources*, pp. 115-16, 124-5. See also pp. 112, 123 for the activities of the spies, generals and poets of the Vijayanagara ruler.

SECTION 9. *Striking Tents*

The same order which was seen in the Kitchen Section of the Army Department, and in the manner in which they started on their campaign, could also be noticed in the final stages of their warfare. Some idea of how they broke their camp is gathered from the history of the later rulers of Madura. Kumāra Muttula Nāyaka, the younger brother of Tirumala, was engaged in operations against the Mysoreans. On hearing the news of his brother's death and the coronation of Muttu Virappa Nāyaka, "He forthwith had the *generale* beat, gave directions to the *hircarrahs*, and put his camp in motion," and came to Madura to claim his kingdom.¹

We have already remarked on the retreat of the Hindus after the battle of Rākshasa-Taṅgaḍi. Nothing can be made about the detailed arrangements made by them for the evacuation of the capital.²

SECTION 10. *How Victory was Celebrated*
Military Awards

The *Rāyavāchakamu* tells us that Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya after his decisive victory over the Sultans of Bijapur, Golkonda and Ahmadnagar, camped on the bank of the river Kṛishṇā. He then held a court along with his minister Appāji and the generals Ayyamarusu, Koṇḍamarusu, and Bacharusu. There were of course the court-poets Mukku Timmanna, Allasāni Peddanna and Mādayagāri Mallanna. The Emperor asked the latter to describe to him the day's victory, and Mukku Timmanna composed a verse praising the monarch.³

¹ Taylor, *O.H. MSS.*, V, p. 183. For Sukra's injunctions, see *Sukraniti*, IV, vii, §. 532-8, p. 243.

² The Rev. Heras relates an incident which, according to the Jesuits, happened in about A.D. 1558. The Vijayanagara forces which had attacked Travancore, retreated panic-stricken pursued by the Malayāla soldiers, because the latter, with a standard with the name of Jesus painted on it carried it in front of them, fervently invoking the name of Jesus, and charged the enemy. *Aravida*, p. 162. For want of independent evidence, this may be reckoned to be one of the ingenious stories of the Jesuits. As regards a description of cowardly Hindu soldiers, read Lakshmiśa, *Jaimini Bhārata Sandhi*, 4, v, 47, p. 69. (Sanderson). Floris in A.D. 1611 gives an account of three Englishmen who defied three thousand Hindus! Purchas, *Pilgrims*, III., pp. 339-40.

³ *Rāyavāchakamu*, *The Sources*, pp. 113, 122, op. cit.

About the House of Victory built by the same monarch on his return to the capital after the conquest of Orissa, as described by Paes, we have already spoken in an earlier connection.¹

In the camp of Rāma Rāja, during the battle of Rākshasa-Taṅgaḍi, as mentioned in the *Bakhair*, the *vidvāns*, *kaviśvaras* and *viṇakārs*, were evidently entrusted with the charge of celebrating a probable victory.²

Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya the Great gave many costly presents not only to the Brahmans but also to the ministers and generals. On his return from the northern campaign, he reached Sētu (Ramēśvaram) from where he crossed over in barges (*kālamś*) to Dhanushkōṭi. Here he washed the blood-stains off his sword and performed three *tulābhāras*. Then after three days he returned to the capital by way of Gokarṇam. He gave very costly presents to the gods Viṭṭhala and Virūpāksha and held his *darbar* on an auspicious day. The great minister Appāji was made to sit on a costly carpet (*ratna-kāmbali*) and the Emperor had his *suvarṇābhishēkham* and *ratnābhishēkam* performed. Appāji was presented with costly jewels and perfumery. The other generals were also rewarded each according to his merit.³

Of Timma, son of Rāma Rāja by Lakkāmba, it is said in the *Bālabhāgavatam* that when he brought the governor of Ādavāni (Adoni) a prisoner before his sovereign, Vīra Narasiṁha Rāya, the latter presented him with a *gaṇḍa-peṇḍāra* as a military reward.⁴

SECTION II. *Treatment of Prisoners—Treaty*

The conduct of the Hindu rulers and soldiers at the end of a campaign deserves to be noted. While describing the war of A.D. 1366, Firishtah says that the forces of Vijayanagara after capturing Mudkul, "with a rancorous cruelty put men, women, and children to the sword, with the exception of one man only, who escaping, brought intelligence of the event to the King".⁵ Then again in A.D. 1417, according to the same historian, the Hindus after

¹ Sewell, *For. Emp.*, pp. 263-4, op. cit.

² Mack. Coll.

³ *Rāyavāchakamu*, *The Sources*, pp. 117, 29.

⁴ *Bālabhāgavatam*, *ibid.*, pp. 205, 207.

⁵ Firishtah, Briggs, *The Rise II*, p. 310; Sewell, *ibid.*, p. 34.

defeating Mir Fuzl-ulla, the general of Firūz Shāh, "made a general massacre of the Mussulmen, erected a platform with their heads on the field of battle, and pursuing the King into his own country, laid it waste with fire and sword. They subsequently took many towns, broke down the mosques and other holy places; slaughtered the people without mercy; and by their savage conduct seemed desirous to discharge the vengeance and resentment of many ages".¹

Brutality breeds brutality, and the exigencies of war know no mercy. There is some truth in the statement of Firishtah that the Hindus treasured up the resentment of ages in their minds, especially when we remember the fact that from the early days when poor Haripāla had been flayed alive to the frightful times when Vināyaka Dēva suffered an equally inhuman treatment at the hands of Muhammad Shāh Bāhmani I, it was one long and painful era of mutual misunderstanding and revengeful retaliation which justified the actions of neither the Hindus nor the Muhammadans.

The Hindus could not expect a humane treatment at the hands of their enemy after their atrocities of A.D. 1366. And so we find that Muhammad Shāh I, on hearing the sad fate of his soldiers, took a solemn oath "that he would not sheath the sword till he had put to death one hundred thousand infidels, in revenge for the massacre of the faithful".² He soon realized his ambition; that part of the Hindus which was made up of their market and baggage fell into his hands, and the Sultan "put to death, without distinction, men, women and children, free and slave, to the number of seventy thousand souls".³ This did not quench his thirst for blood: on his soldiers winning another victory, this time near the Hindu capital itself, he himself gave orders for a general massacre. Firishtah continues thus: ". . . when the King appearing, the massacre of the unbelievers was renewed in so relentless a manner, that pregnant women, and children at the breast even, did not escape the sword".⁴

¹ Firishtah, Briggs, *The Rise*, II, pp. 390-91; Sewell, *For. Emp.* p. 65.

² Firishtah, *ibid.*, p. 311.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 312.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 316.

If the Hindus could make a platform of skulls of the enemy on the battlefield, the Muhammadans could celebrate a festival on a similar occasion for three days after slaying every time twenty thousand men. Ahmad Shāh Bāhmani continued the war of A.D. 1422, and "without waiting to besiege the Hindoo capital overran the country; and wherever he went, he put to death men, women, and children, without mercy, contrary to the compact made between his uncle and predecessor, Mahomed Shah and the rays of Beejanuggur. Whenever the number of slain amounted to twenty thousand, he halted three days, and made a festival in celebration of the bloody event. He broke down, also, the idolatrous temples, and destroyed the colleges of the bramins".¹

Firishtah continues to narrate the cruelties perpetrated by the Hindu soldiers in A.D. 1558 in the times of Rāma Rāja. "The infidels of Beejanuggur, who for many years had been wishing for such an opportunity, left no cruelty unpractised. They insulted the honour of the Mussulman women, destroyed the mosques, and did not respect even the sacred Koran". Then again Firishtah says: "The Hindoos of Beejanuggur committed the most outrageous devastations, burning and rasing the buildings, putting up their horses in the mosques, and performing their abominable idolatorus worship in the holy places".²

The same brutality characterized the dealings of the later Nāyakas of the south with each other. *Daḷavāyī* Veṅkaṭa Kṛishṇappa Nāyaka stormed Tanjore, and "had the head of *Achyuta-Vijia-Rāgava Naicker* (of Tanjore), and of his son, cut off, and taking these, together with many rich jewelled garments,. . . he entered the town (Trichinopoly), and presented the two heads of the Tanjore persons, and jewelled robes, before the *Maha raja Sri Raja-Chokanatha-Naicker's* presence . . .".³

But the conduct of the monarchs and generals of Vijayanagara was not tainted with cruelty on all occasions. In the figure of Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya we have the greatest example in south Indian history of a generous Hindu monarch. According to Nuniz, "Crisnaraο, being aware

¹ Firishtah, Briggs, *The Rise* II, p. 402.

² *Ibid.*, III., pp. 120-21.

³ *Taylor, O.H. MSS.*, II, p. 198. Nelson describes a Hunt for the Noses, *Mad. Country*, P. III, p. 139.

of the approach of the king of Orya, left the city (Koṇḍavīḍu) without assaulting it, saying that he preferred to fight the King in person and his army rather than to attack the city, and that there would be plenty of time afterwards to take it. . . . King Crisnarao halted his army on this side of the river, and sent the King a message that if he (the Gajapati ruler) desired to fight with him he would retire from the river two leagues, so that he (the king of Orya) might pass the river unmolested, and as soon as he had passed he would join battle. . . ." The Gajapati ruler was obstinate and received a crushing defeat at the hands of the Emperor. A wife of the Gajapati ruler, one of his sons, and seven principal captains whom the Emperor found at Koṇḍapalle, were despatched to Vijayanagara.¹ The Gajapati queen, however, was honourably restored to the ruler²; and the prince Virabhadra, as we have already related, was raised to the position of a provincial governor.

But Kṛishṇa Dēva Raya could be severe with his opponents. A Muhammadan whom Nuniz calls "Madarmeluquo, who was captain of the King on this side," and who opposed Sāluva Tīmma with sixty thousand men, was defeated, and he together with his wife, son, horses, elephants and treasures was captured. "The king commanded to put (the captives) in prison, and there they died".³

Kṛishṇa Dēva Raya's magnanimous treatment of the fallen foe is seen in the same *Chronicle* of Nuniz. 'Alī Ādil Shāh of Bijapur during the Raichur campaign, was hopelessly beaten. His army was relentlessly pursued by the Hindu forces, and the Emperor "reached the river (the Kṛishṇā) where, seeing, the death of so many—for here you would see women and boys who had left the camp, there horses and men who through clinging to one another could not escape as there was so much water in the river—and

¹ Sewell, *For. Emp.*, pp. 317-9.

² *Ibid.*, p. 320.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 322. I find a note in pencil on the word "Madarmeluquo" evidently by the late Mr. Longworth Dames, who has written several notes in the Royal Asiatic copy of Sewell's *Forgotten Empire* (1900 ed.). The note runs thus: "Madarmeluquo 'Imad ul Mulk, founder of the Imād Shahī family. He was one of the officers of the Bahmani King of the Deccan, whom the Portuguese called the Daquem-d'aquem, on this side, never Ré de Daquem," p. 322. B.A.S

the King's troops stood on the bank, so that whenever a man appeared he was killed, and the horses that tried to clamber up by the bank of the river, unable to do so, fell back on the men, so that neither one nor the other escaped, and the elephants went into the stream, and those that they could seize were cruelly killed by them. Seeing what passed, I say, the King, out of compassion commanded the troops to retire, saying that numbers had died who did not deserve death nor were at all in fault; which order was at once obeyed by all the captains, so that each one withdrew all his forces".¹

The spoil that fell into the hands of the Hindus, according to Nuniz, was enormous. He continues to narrate: "I take no account of the sumpter-horses and oxen and other beasts, for they were numberless, nor of the numbers of men and boys, nor yet of some women, whom the King ordered to be released".²

But the Emperor had lost sixteen thousand and odd of his soldiers in the battle. "Here the King stayed till all the dead had been burned, and the customary honours had been paid to them; and here he gave much alms for the souls of those who had been killed in battle on his side".³

When Raichur capitulated, the Hindu ruler entered the city. Nuniz tells us the manner in which he was received by the populace and what he did to them. "As soon as the next day dawned, the King, after he had performed both his customary prayers and others which it is their wont to offer after victories, giving thanks to God (for indeed the principal thing they pray for is a conquest such as this), rode in company with the other great lords and his captains, and with his guard took the way to the city. There the citizens were standing awaiting his arrival, with more cheerful countenances than their real feelings warranted, yet striving to take courage, and they followed him with much loud shouting; crying—'God be praised who has sent to save us after so many years!' And with these and other such words they begged him to spare them and have pity on them. So he proceeded till he arrived close to the citadel, when he sent to call the most honoured men in the city, and to these the King said that he would spare

¹ Sewell, *For. Emp.*, pp. 339-40.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 342-3.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 343.

all their property, that they might freely act as they wished regarding both that and their persons, and those who wished to stay in the city might remain in their old state as before; and as for those who wished to depart they might do so at once with all that they possessed. They all raised their hands to Heaven, and threw themselves on the ground in thankfulness for such gentle treatment. While the King was thus engaged there came men to tell him that his troops were robbing the city, and he at once took measures to prevent this, and everything was returned to its owner;¹ but as in such cases as these the conquered are content merely with their own liberty, laying little store by anything they may get back, great robberies took place; and some of these afterwards came to the ears of the King, and those who had done it were soundly chastised".²

Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya on reaching Gulbarga "took three sons of the King of Daquem. He made the eldest King of the kingdom of Daquem, his father being dead. . . . He whom he thus made King was received by all the realm as such, and obeyed by all the great lords, and even by the Ydallcāo owing to his fear of the King. The other two brothers he took with him, and gave them each one an allowance, to each one every year fifty thousand gold *pardaos*; and he holds them and treats them as princes and great lords, as indeed they are".³

During the height of the Hindu power, there were not only generous monarchs, but brave soldiers as well. We have recorded the opinion of Paes about the character of the Hindu soldier in the Vijayanagara army. ". . . and in this review there were the finest young men possible to be seen or that ever could be seen, for in all this array I did not see a man that would act the coward".⁴

The tradition of courage and duty stated above could also be seen in earlier times. Bommeya Nāyaka's son Nārappa Nāyaka took part in a conflict around the Durgā fortress in A.D. 1410. He seems to have been in charge of the boundary of Durgā. The remarkable sense of duty

¹ Cf. The conduct of Rāma Rāja at Mylapore related elsewhere.

² Sewell, *For. Emp.* pp. 347-8. See also pp. 346-7.

³ *Ibid.*, p 358, and n. (1) in which Sewell remarks that this statement of Nuniz relating to the reinstating of the eldest son of the King of Daquem, does not seem to be very exact from an historical standpoint. See *ibid.*, p. 157 and note.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 281, op. cit.

and service to the State which prompted this official is seen in the epigraph which states that he "did his duty and fighting till his quiver was empty," fell in the skirmish.¹

In later days also Vijayanagara could boast of gallant soldiers. Rāma Rāja proceeded towards Kalyāṇa which he besieged. The *Sivatattvaratnākara*, which informs us these details, tells us that during the siege, the Regent summoned all his generals before him, and throwing the weapon called *yamadaṁśtrikā* into the fort, asked which of them would enter the fort and fetch him back the instrument. All the generals except Sadāśiva Nāyaka kept silent. Sadāśiva Nāyaka stormed the fort and brought back the weapon to his master. The sovereign was greatly pleased with this and he bestowed upon him the titles *kōṭe-kōlāhala* and *rājanāyaka* together with the governorship of Guṭṭi, Bārakūru, and Maṅgaḷūru.²

¹ E.C., VIII, Sb. 484, p. 81, text, p. 218.

² *Sivatattvaratnākara*, Kallōla, V, Ch. v. 22-7; *The Sources*, p. 199.

(End of Vol. I)



Foreigners with Horses at Vijayanagara (middle row)

[Vol 1, p 57]

